

The Fihrist of al-Nadim

The Fihrist of al-Nadim

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The Fihrist of al-Nadīm

A TENTH-CENTURY SURVEY OF MUSLIM CULTURE

Bayard Dodge EDITOR AND TRANSLATOR

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*Bayard Dodge is President Emeritus of
the American University of Beirut.*

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Foreword

by W. T. H. JACKSON

When Bayard Dodge told me that some years ago the Records of Civilization had asked him to translate *Al-Fihrist* of al-Nadīm I was immediately enthusiastic. Here, surely, was a work which fitted the purpose of the series as few others could do, for it provided a link of a unique kind between several civilizations. In this tenth-century work is a compendium of the knowledge possessed by a learned Arab of Baghdād, knowledge in great part derived from earlier cultures, particularly Hellenic and Roman. Not only is the work extremely valuable for a knowledge of the culture of medieval Islam and of the literary personalities of the period but it gives important information about the classical material available for transmission through Muslim culture to the Western world. *Al-Fihrist* is thus a true "record of civilization."

To provide a translation of a work such as this requires not only a scholar but an enthusiast. Bayard Dodge is both. He has provided us with an excellent translation, but before doing so he had to set up a text to be translated, since earlier editions had taken no account of manuscripts which are now available. In this work, which has occupied many years of his life, Professor Dodge has earned the gratitude of scholars in many fields of endeavor, for he has made available to them knowledge which has heretofore been confined to the very few who could read Arabic and had access to a rare work.

Preface

In 1871 Gustav Flügel accomplished a masterly piece of work by publishing the Arabic text of *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, but unfortunately he lacked reliable copies of the principal manuscripts. I am, therefore, very grateful to the authorities of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, as well as to friends at Robert College, Istanbül, and to Muḥammad Rashād 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib of the League of Arab States for helping me to examine and to obtain photostat copies of the most important manuscripts of the book.

Because *Al-Fihrist* deals with almost every phase of medieval culture, it would require a staff of experts to do justice to the translation. However, with the help of generous friends I have done my best to make the work as accurate as possible.

I am grateful to Constantine K. Zurayk, Jibrail M. Jabbur, Anīs K. Frayha, and other members of the faculty of the American University of Beirut for their aid. I also wish to thank Philip K. Hitti, Farhat J. Ziadeh, and Samuel D. Atkins of Princeton University for helping me to understand some difficult passages. Elias Shoufani corrected the translation of a number of poems, as well as the transliteration in some of the especially difficult sections of the book.

Johann W. Fück very kindly sent me publications and notes, and Edward S. Kennedy and David Pingree helped me with the passages on mathematics and astronomy. Harald Ingholt of Yale University joined me in studying the Ṣābiāns. Mustafa Ziade of Cairo University and Mojtaba Minovi of Tihiran have also been generous in giving me their help. I am also grateful to Reza Tajaded of Tihiran and Mahdi Nakosteen of the University of Colorado for sending me their books, which provide valuable material for an understanding

of the Arabic text of *Al-Fihrist*. Thanks are due, furthermore, to A. F. P. Hulsewé of Leiden, Louis Hambis of the Institut des Hautes Études Chinoise de l'Université de Paris, Herbert Franke of Munich, and E. H. Schafer of the University of California for suggestions about the passage on China.

This difficult and complicated book has been copyedited by Linnae Coss. She not only prepared every detail for the typesetter but she also discovered numerous errors, simplified the footnotes, corrected the Bibliography, and helped to give consistency to the translation of the book titles. I am most grateful for her perseverance, skill, and encouragement.

Because *Al-Fihrist* is a reference book, I have made the translation a literal one, seeking accuracy rather than literary style. I have also provided a number of aids for study, which are explained in the Introduction that follows this Preface.

The book is a unique specimen of literature, coming to us from medieval Baghdād. We know very little about the author and the sources from which he derived his vast amount of information. But all honor is due al-Nadīm, who compiled this encyclopedic volume, for as the Prophet Muḥammad said, "The ink of the learned is as precious as the blood of the martyrs."

Princeton, New Jersey
July 1969

BAYARD DODGE

Introduction

THE SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION FROM ARABIC INTO ENGLISH

The system used is the one described in Bulletin 49, November 1958, issued by the Cataloging Service of the Library of Congress.

alif (see note below)

<i>bā'</i> — b	<i>zā'</i> — z	<i>fā'</i> — f
<i>tā'</i> — t	<i>sīn</i> — s	<i>qāf</i> — q
<i>thā'</i> — th	<i>shīn</i> — sh	<i>kāf</i> — k
<i>jīm</i> — j	<i>ṣād</i> — ṣ	<i>lām</i> — l
<i>hā'</i> — h	<i>ḍād</i> — ḍ	<i>mīm</i> — m
<i>khā'</i> — kh	<i>ṭā'</i> — ṭ	<i>nūn</i> — n
<i>dāl</i> — d	<i>ẓā'</i> — ẓ	<i>hā'</i> — h
<i>dhāl</i> — dh	<i>‘ayn</i> — ‘	<i>wāw</i> — w
<i>rā'</i> — r	<i>ghayn</i> — gh	<i>yā'</i> — y

As a rule *alif* is transliterated according to the vowel which governs it. But *alif* with a *maddah* or a *maqsūrah* is a form transliterated as *ā*.

VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

	short	long
<i>faḥah</i>	a	ā
<i>kasrah</i>	i	ī
<i>ḍammah</i>	u	ū

Shaddah is indicated by a doubling of the consonant, but a double *yā'* after *kasrah* is written as in *kullīyah*. The definite article is not written with a capital, except at the beginning of a sentence. The *nisbah* is written *ī*. Final *hā'* is written with *h*, rather than *t*, except when it is in construct state or in a few words like *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, and *Ghulāt*.

In the Arabic text the titles of an author's books are listed after the account of his life. In the translation each list is as a rule preceded by the phrase "among his books there were." Moreover, before each book title the Arabic version has *kitāb* (book). This word is usually omitted in the English translation.

Words in brackets are explanatory material, added to clarify the meaning of the original text. Parentheses are used for equivalents of Arabic and English words, as well as for alternative translations and interpretations. There are few paragraph divisions and no quotation marks in the Arabic text.

There are two devices to indicate gaps in the text. When a word or a phrase has been purposely omitted by al-Nadīm, who hoped to be able to fill the space at a later time, a long dash is used. When a word or a phrase is omitted because the original copy is garbled or missing, an ellipsis is inserted to indicate missing material.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography follows the main text of the book. It is strictly limited in size, with only a selected number of books mentioned. The authors are listed alphabetically, with the titles of their books placed after their names. All references in the footnotes, Glossary, and Biographical Index are to the names of these authors. When the titles of more than one book are given after the name of an author, the reference indicates which one of these books is involved. The size of the Bibliography has been limited by omitting most of the recently published editions of the medieval books mentioned in the text of *Al-Fihrist*.

THE GLOSSARY

Coming immediately after the Bibliography is the Glossary. It should be studied in connection with the religious sects and for an understanding of numerous technical terms. It also explains the significance of many of the book titles.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

The names of men and women mentioned in *Al-Fihrist* are included in the Biographical Index, which comes directly after the

Glossary. It is in the form of a Who's Who. In the main text of the book the part of the man's name by which he is listed in the Biographical Index is printed in italics, unless the name is repeated in the same passage. Names which are garbled in the manuscripts or belong to unimportant characters of fiction are omitted.

It may seem strange to list Greek and Latin scholars with the Arab ones, but they belonged to the Muslim culture of medieval times, just as truly as they do to the scholarship of our modern world.

References will be found in the Biographical Index to throw light on the names of the persons included. The Encyclopaedia of Islam and standard works on history, literature, and biography give further information about the men and women mentioned in *Al-Fihrist*.

THE GENERAL INDEX

The General Index is placed at the end of the book, after the Biographical Index. It includes numerous topics and technical terms, as well as the names of tribes and geographical localities.

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR

The author of *Al-Fihrist* was Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, but as a rule he is called al-Nadīm because he had the distinction of being a *nadīm* or court companion. As the surname of his father was Abū Ya'qūb, he evidently had an elder brother named Ya'qūb and probably had other brothers and sisters as well.

The year of his birth is unknown, but it cannot have been much after A.D. 935 and more likely was somewhat earlier. In Chapter VI, section 8, the author tells about meeting a scholar named *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bardha'i,¹ who explained the doctrine of the Mu'tazilah and gave him a list of his legal books. If al-Nadīm, the author of *Al-Fihrist*, was mature enough to be interested in the doctrine of an unorthodox sect and books about the law, he must have been at least sixteen years of age, or probably a number of years older. Because this meeting occurred during the year 340 (A.D.

¹ The men's names mentioned in the Introduction can be found in the Biographical Index, where they are listed according to the part of the name given in italics. For information about al-Nadīm, see Goldziher, *ZDMG*, XXXVI (1882), 278-84; Füick, *ZDMG*, New Ser. IX, No. 2 (1930), 111-24; Ritter, *Der Islam*, XVII, No. 1 (February 1928), 15-28.

951/952), it is evident that al-Nadīm's birth was about 935. He was, therefore, almost certainly born during the reign of al-Muqtadir, 908-932, or of al-Qāhir, 932-934, or, less likely, of al-Rādi, 934-940.

The author's father was called a *warrāq*, which in his case evidently meant that he was a book dealer. As he seems to have been prosperous, it is likely that he presided over a large bookstore, which was almost certainly at Baghdād. It is easy to imagine how he commissioned his sons to buy manuscripts from other dealers and had his own scribes make copies of manuscripts for his customers.

A medieval manuscript was about the size of a modern book, but it was written by hand instead of being printed. The leaves were made of a paper of good quality, with writing on both sides. As a rule these pages were bound in a leather cover. The bookshop, like the old shops in al-Najaf, was probably on an upper story, where it formed a meeting place for scholars who came to examine the books, enjoy refreshments, and discuss academic problems.

Most authorities have taken it for granted that the father, as well as the son, was a *nadīm*, or court companion. Ibn Ḥajar² refers to the author as Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn al-Nadīm. Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'ah mentions the author thirteen times.³ On pages 57, 175, 207, 208, 209, 220, 244, and 309 he calls him Ibn al-Nadīm, but on other pages he refers to him as al-Nadīm. Yāqūt calls him Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm.⁴

The main title of the authoritative Beatty manuscript is *Kitāb al-Fihrist li-al-Nadīm*. In the heading of Chapter II of this manuscript there is a curious clause, which also appears in the headings of the last three chapters of MS 1934. Following the words "The composition of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm" there is this clause, "Ishāq being known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq."

One wonders if the author of *Al-Fihrist* added this ungrammatical phrase in order to make it clear that whereas he himself was a *nadīm*, or court companion, his father was merely a *warrāq*, or book dealer. What seems to be certain is that both the father and the son were men of considerable importance and social standing.

² See Bibliography, Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part 5, p. 72, I.15.

³ See Uṣaybi'ah, 'Uyūn al-Anbā'.

⁴ See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), p. 408.

When he was about six years old the author undoubtedly attended an elementary class, attached to a mosque. One can visualize the little boy sitting on the ground in a group of other children, swaying back and forth as he repeated the verses of the Qur'ān, which his teacher recited to be memorized. The child also must have learned how to write the verses on his board, erasing each verse when he learned how to copy it, in order to make the board clean for a new quotation. By the time he was ten years old he had probably memorized the entire Qur'ān, so as to be prepared for study of a more mature nature.

It is reasonable to believe that al-Nadīm joined a study circle in some important mosque to learn the intricacies of Arabic grammar and rhetoric as well as something about Qur'ānic commentary, the Ḥadīth or traditions of the Prophet, and rules for reciting the Qur'ān in an authorized way. Before long he undoubtedly worked as an apprentice in his father's book shop, copying manuscripts, entertaining scholars, and helping to sell what they wanted to buy. Yāqūt endorsed this idea when he wrote: "It is not unreasonable that he was a *warrāq* who sold books."⁵

Al-Nadīm, however, was so much interested in his studies that he did not spend all of his time in the book store. An inscription on the title page of the Beatty MS records that he quoted, or was a pupil of, Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfi the jurist, Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī the famous compiler of poetry and literary anecdotes, and Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Marzubānī, who was interested in history. Ibn Ḥajar⁶ says that al-Nadīm had permission to quote Isma'il al-Ṣaffār, who was an authority for the Ḥadīth, and Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī points out that he also studied with al-Ḥasan ibn Sawwār, a logician who translated scientific books;⁷ Abū Aḥmad, who was perhaps al-Ḥusayn ibn Ishāq ibn Karnīb the theologian and natural scientist; Yūnus al-Qass, who translated classic works on mathematics, and Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Nāqīṭ, a scholar interested in Greek science.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah remarks that al-Nadīm was a *kātib*,⁸ which may mean that he was simply a writer. On the other hand it may

⁵ See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 408.

⁶ See Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part 5, p. 72.

⁷ See Abyārī, *Turāth al-Insānīyah*, III (March 5, 1965), 196.

⁸ Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 57.

imply that he was a government secretary, perhaps in the library or in the bureau for correspondence. Because al-Nadīm was surnamed Abū al-Faraj he must have been married, with at least one son and a home of his own in Baghdād.

Ibn Ḥajar says that al-Nadīm was a Shī'ite,⁹ which statement is confirmed by the text of *Al-Fihrist*. In Chapter VI the author speaks of the Shī'ah as *al-khaṣṣi* or elite, while he refers to persons who were not Shī'ites as *al-'āmmī* or ignorant. In *Al-Fihrist*, moreover, the Sunnites are referred to as *al-hashwīyah*, which is a contemptuous term for persons who blindly accept anthropomorphic ideas.¹⁰

When speaking about the father of al-Zubayrī Mu'ab ibn 'Abd Allāh, al-Nadīm says that he was one of the most wicked of men, because he maligned the descendants of 'Alī.¹¹

In the same passage in which Ibn Ḥajar calls al-Nadīm a Shī'ite he also states that he was a Mu'tazilī. Even if he was not an official member of this heretical sect, al-Nadīm must have been very much interested in it, because such a large part of the fifth chapter of *Al-Fihrist* is devoted to it.

Because he met an Ismā'īlī leader and attended an Ismā'īlī meeting,¹² some people have claimed that al-Nadīm was one of the Ismā'īliyah, but this idea does not seem to be a true one.

Al-Nadīm mentions that he wrote one other book in addition to *Al-Fihrist*. In speaking about the excellencies of books he says, "I have dealt with this subject and similar ones in the chapter on writing and its instruments in a book which I have composed about descriptions and comparisons (*al-awsāf wa-al-tashbihāt*)."¹³ Evidently al-Nadīm was so much interested in books and government work that he did not attempt to become a teacher. The inscription on the title page of the Beatty MS says that no one quoted him, which implies that he did not have students.

It is probable that while he was still a young man al-Nadīm began to make a catalogue of authors and the names of their compositions for use in his father's bookstore. At the beginning of Chapter IV,

⁹ Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part 5, p. 72.

¹⁰ Chap. VI, section 6, n. 47 and n. 66 of the translation.

¹¹ Chap. III, section 1, near n. 208.

¹² Chap. V, section 4, near n. 93 and n. 96.

¹³ Chap. I, section 1, following n. 35.

section 2, he explains that, as other scholars have given details about the poets, what he himself aims to do is "to present the names of the poets and the amount of verses written by each poet among them . . . so that whoever desires to collect books and poems can have this information."

It is reasonable to believe that al-Nadīm wrote notes about each author on a piece of paper. When dealing with a man who was a scholar rather than a poet he tried to give some biographical material, as well as the titles of the author's books. When speaking about the books of the Zaydiyyah¹⁴ he says, "If some observer sees one of them while we are writing, I will add it in its proper place." In the course of time the notes must have been arranged according to subjects and in chronological sequence. Then, when enough of them had been collected, the author undertook to compile them in the form of chapters for his book.

As he grew older, al-Nadīm evidently became interested in so many subjects about which he read in books, or which he learned about from friends and chance acquaintances, that he included a great deal of additional material with his notes about the poets and scholars. Thus, instead of being merely the catalogue for a bookshop, *Al-Fihrist* became an encyclopaedia of medieval Islāmic culture.

We do not know to what extent al-Nadīm searched for information in places other than Baghdād. He very likely visited al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, as scholarship flourished in those cities during the eighth century. He may have gone to Aleppo, where Sayf al-Dawlah, during the middle of the tenth century, created a center of literature and culture. It is not very likely that he visited Damascus or the famous cities of Persia and Khurāsān. What is certain, however, is that he spent some time at al-Mawṣil, probably when Nāṣir al-Dawlah was ruler of the region, between A.D. 929 and 968.

Al-Fihrist mentions that he met a book collector there. He also saw the tutor of the sons of Nāṣir al-Dawlah¹⁵ and a man named Muḥammad ibn Hāshim, who was brought up in the environs of al-Mawṣil.¹⁶ He evidently visited the libraries of al-Mawṣil, as he

¹⁴ Chap. V, section 4, near n. 140.

¹⁵ Chap. II, section 1, near n. 9, and section 3, near n. 79.

¹⁶ Chap. IV, section 2, near n. 95.

found a fragment of one of Euclid's books in a private collection.¹⁷ Apparently in addition to searching for books, he learned what he could about religious sects. He associated with an Ismā'īlī leader and attended an Ismā'īlī meeting, which may have inspired him to include his long passage about the Ismā'īliyah in *Al-Fihrist*.¹⁸ It is obvious that al-Nadīm was at al-Mawṣil before he completed his chapter about the poets, because he says that he saw a certain amount of poetry there.¹⁹ Sarton states that al-Nadīm went to Istanbūl, taking it for granted that Dār al-Rūm referred to the Byzantine city of Constantinople. But this is an error, as Dār al-Rūm really refers to the Greek Orthodox section of Baghdād.²⁰

Nāṣir al-Dawlah, the ruler of al-Mawṣil, was a Shī'ite who was anxious to make his city a center of culture and learning. As al-Nadīm was also a Shī'ite, it is possible that his service as a court companion was at al-Mawṣil. It is much more likely, however, that he went to al-Mawṣil to obtain books and that his life as a court companion was spent at Baghdād. What seems probable is that al-Nadīm became attached to the court at the time of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, who, with the title of *Amīr al-Umarā'*, overshadowed the puppet caliph and ruled at Baghdād from A.D. 945 to 967. He was a member of the Buwayh family and a sympathizer with the Shī'ites, so that it would have been natural for him to make a Shī'ite like al-Nadīm a member of his court, perhaps connected with the royal library. If al-Nadīm was a court companion in the palace of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, it is likely that he also served 'Izz al-Dawlah, the weak son and successor of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, until this son died in A.D. 977. Unfortunately we can only guess about these events in the life of al-Nadīm, as we do not have accurate information about his biography.

It cannot have been very long after the death of 'Izz al-Dawlah that al-Nadīm undertook the laborious task of arranging his mass of notes and compiling them in the form of a book. Near the end of Chapter I²¹ of *Al-Fihrist*, the author records: "This is the end of

¹⁷ Chap. VII, section 2, near n. 5.

¹⁸ Chap. V, section 4, near n. 93 and n. 96; also Chap. V, section 5.

¹⁹ Chap. IV, section 2, near n. 5.

²⁰ Chap. IX, section 2, n. 40; Sarton I, 662.

²¹ Chap. I, section 3, near n. 133.

what we have composed of the first chapter of the book *Al-Fihrist*, until the time of the appearance of the new moon on Saturday of Sha'bān during the year three hundred and seventy-seven." This was probably December, 987.

Yāqūt cites this same year for the writing of *Al-Fihrist*.²² Near the end of Chapter II²³ al-Nadīm gives this date also for completion of the account of the scholars of grammar and language. Two other statements can be mentioned to confirm the accuracy of this date. In speaking about Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Naṣr, the author of *Al-Fihrist* says, "who died a few months ago." Ibn Taghrī-Birdī gives the year three hundred and seventy-six (A.D. 986/987) as the time of this man's death.²⁴ Then at the end of Chapter VI there is the statement in *Al-Fihrist*, "until our time, which is the year three hundred and seventy-seven."²⁵

It is possible that al-Nadīm did not complete the last chapters of his book until a year or two later. In Chapter IX he tells the story of a Christian monk who returned from China. As this monk did not reach Baghdād before the year three hundred and seventy-seven (A.D. 987/988), it is possible that Chapter IX was not written in its final form before A.D. 988 or 989.²⁶ It seems to be certain that *Al-Fihrist* was completed by the year A.D. 990 at the latest, probably twelve or eighteen months before that time. This was just at the time when higher education was being established at the al-Jāmi' al-Azhar in Cairo and a little less than a century before the First Crusade. Hugh Capet was King of France, and Aethelred the Second was ruling in England.

Ibn Ḥajar says that a certain Abū Ṭāhir al-Karkhī gave the date for al-Nadīm's death as the year four hundred and thirty-eight (A.D. 1047), but he said of this statement, "he was not reliable about this." Ibn Ḥajar also quotes other assertions which seem to be equally unreliable.²⁷

²² Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 63; VI (3), 54.

²³ Chap. II, section 3, near n. 87.

²⁴ Chap. III, section 2; Taghrī-Birdī, Part 4, p. 149, l. 5. Shujā', VI (H), 438 (408), gives a later date, which must be an error.

²⁵ Chap. VI, section 5.

²⁶ Chap. IX, section 2, n. 39.

²⁷ Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part 5, p. 72. Although the date A.D. 1047 seems to be inaccurate, numerous authorities have given it as the year of al-Nadīm's death. The

It seems inevitable that if al-Nadīm had lived until A.D. 1047 he would have added to *Al-Fihrist* some of the great names of the eleventh century, such as Ibn Sīnā and al-Bīrūnī, as well as something about the famous Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'. Furthermore, al-Nadīm left blank spaces in his manuscript, to be filled in as he could obtain further information. Evidently he died before he was able to include new data in these blank spaces.

Accordingly, the note on the title page of the Beatty manuscript is probably correct. It says of al-Nadīm that "he died on Wednesday, the tenth [day] from the end of Sha'bān in the year three hundred and eighty (A.D. 990/991)."²⁸ As this note was almost certainly written by the great historian al-Maqrīzī, it has real importance and seems to be reliable.²⁹

It is reasonable to believe that when al-Nadīm died the original copy of his manuscript was placed in the royal library at Baghdād, while other copies made by scribes about the time of his death were assigned to his family bookstore, where some of them were probably sold to customers who came to purchase interesting books. Farmer says; "Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) averred that he used a copy of the *Fihrist* in the handwriting of al-Nadīm himself. The lexicographer al-Ṣaghānī (650/1252) made a similar claim. Either of these autograph copies may have been in the Caliph's library, which was destroyed utterly at the sacking of Baghdād in 656/1258)."³⁰

Beatty MS has been made available so recently that these authorities have obviously never had a chance to study it. As many of the persons mentioned in this paragraph and those which follow lived after *Al-Fihrist* was written, their names are not included in the Biographical Index, although some of them are mentioned in the Bibliography.

²⁸ This passage probably means that al-Nadīm died on the nineteenth day of the eighth month of the lunar year, which began March 31, 990. The first seven lunar months have 207 days, which added to the nineteenth day of the eighth month makes a total of 226 days. The solar calendar date for 226 days after March 31 is November 12, 990. This seems to have been the true date for al-Nadīm's death.

²⁹ Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī was born at Baʿalbek in 1365. He was an official at Damascus but later lived in Egypt, where he died in 1441. He was one of the greatest of the medieval Egyptian historians. See Zirikli, I, 172; "al-Maqrīzī," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 175.

³⁰ Farmer, *Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society*, II (1959-1961), 47.

Ibn al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah depended upon *Al-Fihrist* for information. Khalil ibn *Aybak* and other authorities also alluded to al-Nadīm, who in medieval times seems to have been highly regarded.

In order to sum up what has been said, it is reasonable to assume that al-Nadīm was born about A.D. 935, very likely a few years earlier. He profited by an unusually comprehensive education, as he not only mastered the conventional Islāmic studies but also learned something about history, geography, comparative religion, and the Greek sciences. He undoubtedly served as an apprentice in his father's book business, at the same time that he attended the lectures and classes of some of the leading scholars of the tenth century.

When grown, al-Nadīm married and had at least one son. About the time that he married it is likely that he started to help his father by collecting data about books and their authors. Evidently he wished to assemble a catalogue to show customers and to help with the procuring and copying of manuscripts to be sold to scholars and book collectors.

Although he visited al-Mawṣil and perhaps other cities, most of his research was almost certainly done at Baghdād, where he may have been one of the directors of the great government library. His position of court companion was probably, but not certainly, during the reigns of *Mu'izz* al-Dawlah and his son.

Perhaps because his work at the library and the court came to an end, or else because of some illness which threatened him, al-Nadīm decided that it was time to collect his notes, so as to compile them in book form. Accordingly, during the years 987 and 988 he completed his difficult task so as to form the book *Al-Fihrist*. He evidently hoped to live for a number of years longer in order to fill in blank spaces in his manuscript, but this hope was not realized. During the autumn of 990 his life came to an end.

THE MANUSCRIPTS: SOURCES FOR THE TRANSLATION

When Gustav Flügel published his Arabic edition of *Al-Fihrist* in 1871 he included a *vorwort* in German, in which he described the

manuscripts available for his use.³¹ The principal manuscripts upon which Flügel based his text were: (i) the old Paris manuscript, containing four chapters; (ii) the copy of a manuscript in Istanbûl, which de Slaue had transcribed, by a scribe named Aḥmad al-Miṣrî for use in Paris; (iii) two copies in Vienna; (iv) several fragments in Leyden. Flügel realized that his manuscripts were incomplete, and it is true that he lacked part of the material about the Mu'tazilah sects, given in Chapter V, section 1, of the translation, as well as source material for other less important passages. As Flügel has described the manuscripts which he used in detail, it does not seem to be worth while to repeat what he wrote in his *vorwort*.

The principal manuscripts available for use at the present time are the following.

The Beatty Manuscript. This manuscript is No. 3315 in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. It comprises the first half of the book, ending with an account of al-Nāshī al-Kabīr in Chapter V, section 1. There are 119 folios, with writing on both front and back of each leaf. As several pages are left blank, there are 234 pages of text, each measuring 22 by 16.5 cm and averaging twenty-five lines to the page. The handwriting is in the form of an old *naskh* script, clear, well marked, and transcribed with a good quality of black ink. The titles are also written in black, in a similar script but in large letters. The paper is fairly thick, smooth, and of a dark cream color. As the Chester Beatty Library has had the pages bound in leather and carefully repaired by a skilful technician, the manuscript does not appear to be as old as it really is. It contains the material about the Mu'tazilah omitted by Flügel, but even in this excellent manuscript certain pages are lacking.³²

The main heading of the Beatty Manuscript is *Kitāb al-Fihrist li-al-Nadīm*. It is in an oblong design with white letters and a gold background somewhat decorated. Alongside this oblong space there are two lines of notes, written in a small script. The upper line is not clear enough to be read accurately. The lower line has, "Aḥmad ibn

³¹ See also Flügel, *ZDMG*, XIII (1859), 559-650; Füick, *Ambix*, IV, Nos. 3 and 4 (February 1951), 81-144.

³² Some of the missing segments are Chap. I, section 1, see n. 59; Chap. I, section 3, see also n. 59; Chap. IV, section 2, see n. 103; Chap. V, section 1, see n. 1.



كتاب الميراث في الدين

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ وَسَلِّمْ

9

وقف وحسی از مصداق بدیهات است

[illegible]

عمله و بعد از آن عیسی علیه السلام

١٢٠



'Alī al-Maqrīzī 824.'³³ This evidently means that the manuscript became the possession of the famous historian Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī.³⁴

Somewhat below the main heading there are two other notes in small script. One of them reads "from the books" of Aḥmad ibn 'Alī"; the other, "at Damascus 825." It is known that al-Maqrīzī went to Damascus about 810 (A.D. 1407/1408) to serve in government posts and returned to Cairo some ten years later. He may have written these notes at Cairo or perhaps on some occasion when he returned to Damascus for a visit.

There is also written on the title page, going from the bottom to the top and in the right-hand margin, a longer inscription, which was probably written by al-Maqrīzī. This inscription has been translated as follows:

The author of this book was Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Abī Ya'qūb Ishāq ibn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Warrāq known as al-Nadīm. He quoted Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfi, Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Marzubānī and others, but nobody quoted him. He died on Wednesday, the tenth (day) from the end of Sha'bān, in the year three hundred and eighty (A.D. 990). He was suspected of being a Shī'ī, may Allah forgive him.³⁵

There are certain other notes on the title page, but they are evidently not in the handwriting of al-Maqrīzī and are illegible.

Below the main heading on the title page and in large handwriting, written over a small inscription of al-Maqrīzī, there is the following statement, which designates the manuscript as a mortmain, established by Aḥmad Pāshā al-Jazzār, who died in A.D. 1804.

A Waqf of Allāh Almighty

Al-Ḥājī Aḥmad Pāshā al-Jazzār has made this book a waqf, pious foundation and trust in the Mosque of al-Mubārak at 'Akkā, the praiseworthy,

³³ For al-Maqrīzī, see n. 29.

³⁴ The signature should be compared with the copy given in Part I, section 3, p. 961, of al-Maqrīzī's history. *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwāl al-Mulūk*, edited by Muṣṭafā Zīāde, Cairo, Lajnat al-Ta'lif, 1956.

³⁵ For the significance of this passage, see the preceding statement about the life of al-Nadīm.

the Ahmadiyah, for the seeking of learning He establishes it as a true and legal waqf, so that it will not be removed, sold or exchanged . . . upon Allāh, for Allāh is the hearing and knowing.

This inscription was deciphered with the help of a scholar from 'Akkā, but even he could not translate accurately the two places which have been left blank.

On the title page of each chapter other than the first there is written under the heading and close to the left hand margin, *hikāyat khatṭ al-muṣannif*, which means "an imitation of the handwriting of the author." Under this inscription there is a copy of the signature of the author, "His (God's) servant, Muḥammad ibn Ishāq."³⁶

Beginning with the back of folio 9 and at the end of every tenth folio which follows, there is written on the lower margin, *'urīd* (compared). This means that the copy was compared with the original manuscript at the end of each lot of paper. For some reason the same word appears at the end of folio 8 and also at the termination of Chapter IX. At the bottom of folio 69 the inscription is extended to read: "Compared with the original of the author, transcribed from it and confirmed, thanks be to Allāh, Lord of the Knowing." At the end of folio 99, there is a similar inscription with the following variation: "Compared with the original, which is in the handwriting of the author, transcribed from it and confirmed."

Arabic scholars have explained that when a medieval scribe copied a manuscript he reproduced not only the words but also the handwriting of the author and the arrangement of the page. These inscriptions in the Beatty Manuscript were evidently made by a scribe who transcribed the book from the original copy, which was written by al-Nadīm himself in his own handwriting. It is not certain, but not unlikely, that the Beatty Manuscript was transcribed before al-Nadīm died, under his personal supervision. As he was a court companion, probably connected with the royal library, he very naturally may have deposited the original copy of *Al-Fihrist* in that institution. At the same time, he almost certainly would have had

³⁶ See Arberry, *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, I (1948), 20, where he states: "The author signed his copy in this manner at the beginning of each separate part. The transcription has moreover been collated with the author's autograph."

copies made for the family bookstore, so that they could be used as catalogues and sold to customers. Thus it is reasonable to guess that the Beatty Manuscript was transcribed during the final months of the life of al-Nadīm or soon afterwards. The manuscript, for instance, lacks the statement that al-Šābī "died before the year three hundred and eighty (A.D. 990)," although this item of information is in the Flügel edition.³⁷

If the original manuscript, written in al-Nadīm's own handwriting, was placed in the royal library at Baghdād, it undoubtedly was destroyed when the Mongols sacked the city in A.D. 1258. The Beatty Manuscript, on the other hand, was evidently a copy, which was probably sold to some customer and taken to Damascus, where it escaped the destruction of Baghdād and during the year A.D. 825 became the possession of the historian al-Maqrīzī.

We know nothing about the history of the manuscript until it was placed in the library of the great mosque at 'Akkā, when the notorious Aḥmad Pasha al-Jazzār was ruling there at the time of Napoleon Bonaparte. After the fall of Aḥmad Pasha, the manuscript was evidently stolen from the mosque. It was probably at this time that it became divided, as the Beatty Manuscript includes only the first half of *Al-Fihrist*. In the course of time the dealer Yahudah sold this first half to Sir Chester Beatty, who placed it in his library at Dublin.³⁸

Manuscript 1934. This manuscript comprises the last half of *Al-Fihrist*. It begins with an account of al-*Wāsiṭī* in Chapter V, section 2, and continues to the inscription, which indicates the completion of the book. An Arabic number is on top of each page, and a modern number has also been stamped for each of the one hundred and eighty-eight folios. As there are some empty pages, only three hundred and sixty-two of them contain writing. There is no proper title page. The first page contains only an Ottoman seal, a recent rendering of the name of the book and its author, with some notes which are too indistinct to be deciphered accurately.

³⁷ See Chap. III, section 2, n. 207.

³⁸ See the catalogue of the Beatty Library, in the section entitled "A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts," Vol. II, p. 31 (Dublin, Walker, 1955 ff.).

كتاب الفهرست
تأليف أبي الفرج محمد بن إسحاق
الوراق المعروف بابن أبي يعقوب
الهمداني

This manuscript is identical with the Beatty Manuscript in almost every detail. The handwriting is the same, the pages are the same size, and similar inscriptions are introduced to show that the copy has been checked with the original. The same ungrammatical form appears in Chapter II of the Beatty Manuscript and Chapters VIII, IX, and X of Manuscript 1934. This is the phrase already mentioned, "Muḥammad ibn Iṣḥāq al-Nadīm, Iṣḥāq known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq."

Many scholars think that this manuscript is the other half of the Beatty Manuscript, but Professor Mojtaba Minovi of Tihiran, who saw the Beatty Manuscript before it was repaired, considers that copy to be much older than Manuscript 1934.

Manuscript 1934 forms part of the Shadīd 'Alī Pasha collection, which is now cared for in the library adjacent to the Sulaymāniyyah Mosque at Istanbul. In the library catalogue it is described as "Suleymaniye G. Kütüphanesi kısmi Shetit Ali Pasha 1934."

The Beatty Manuscript, which comprises the first half of *Al-Fihrist*, and Manuscript 1934, which contains the last half, are the two most authoritative and important sources for a knowledge of the book.

Manuscript 1135. This manuscript contains Chapter I, section 1, of *Al-Fihrist*, as well as the last four chapters of the book. Both the table of contents and the numbering of the chapters are incorrect. Chapter I, section 1, and Chapter VII are grouped together as the first part of the book, and the last three chapters are designated II, III, and IV, instead of eight, nine, and ten.

There are a hundred and eighteen folios, written on the front and back, with modern numbers stamped on them. There are no empty spaces to be filled in, as is the case with the other manuscripts. Each page is 25.5 by 18.5 cm in size. The handwriting is well formed, similar to the *naskh* script of the manuscripts already mentioned. As this copy is incomplete, it was evidently transcribed from parts of some older version. It contains some book titles omitted in the earlier sources.

This manuscript is located in the Köprülü Library at Istanbul, where it is catalogued as No. 1135. A date is ascribed to it, which is given as "*Rabī' al-Thānī* 600." This is equivalent to the fourth

month of A.D. 1203/1204. Stamped on the manuscript are numerous seals of the Ottoman period, the principal one containing the name *Kubrili*. The title page bears the heading given at the beginning of Chapter I in the translation. It is written in black ink, whereas the subtitles and names of authors are in red.

Manuscript 1134. This manuscript is in the Köprülü Library at İstanbul, catalogued as No. 1134. It is written on good paper, each page measuring 20.3 by 15 cm, and is divided into two separate parts. The first might easily be a copy of Chapter I, section 1, as given in Manuscript 1135. The second part contains what is probably most of Manuscript 1934. This version does not seem to be as old and authentic as the other copies.

The Tonk Manuscript. This transcription of a portion of *Al-Fihrist* is in the Sa'idiyah Library at Tonk, where it originally belonged to the Nabob of the region. Tonk is a city of Rājastān, a hundred and twenty-five miles southwest of Agra. The manuscript contains forty-four folios, with writing on the front and back of each page. At the beginning there is a page which is empty except for some blurred seals and a title, written in small letters: "*Fihrist* of Accounts of the Scholars and the Names of Their Compositions," followed by the name of al-Nadīm partially blotted out.

After a pious phrase this copy starts with a poem in Chapter III. It ends with a short passage about an unimportant author named Plutarch in Chapter VII.³⁹ There is a postscript which reads:

The second section of the *Book Al-Fihrist* has ended, with the help of Allāh Almighty and his kindness. If Allāh Almighty so wills, there will follow it in the third section an account of *Yahyā al-Nahwī*. It has been transcribed by Ḥunayn ibn 'Abd Allāh, the nephew of *Yahyā al-Jawharī*, thanks be to the Lord of the Knowing.

The numbering of the sections does not correspond with that of the other manuscripts, but in all of the versions an account of *Yahyā al-Nahwī* comes directly after the point where the Tonk manuscript ends. The name mentioned at the end of the postscript is evidently

³⁹ Chap. III, section 3, near n. 52, and Chapter VII, section 1, near n. 168.

that of the copyist. This manuscript is so well described in an article written by Johann Fück⁴⁰ that it is necessary to mention only a few facts in this introduction.

The manuscript lacks a segment of material from Chapter IV and Chapter V.⁴¹ The point in Chapter V, section 1, where the manuscript recommences corresponds to folio 10, at the top of the reverse side. Between that point and the beginning of manuscript 1934⁴² the Tonk Manuscript contains material lacking in the other versions. It is because of this additional material that this transcription is valuable.

The Tonk Manuscript, moreover, gives the list of book titles of Ibn al-Mu'allim.⁴³ This list is lacking in the Flügel edition at the bottom of page 197, as well as in the other manuscripts and in the compilation of al-Ṭūsī.⁴⁴ For other material which is unique in the Tonk Manuscript, see Chapter V, section 5, notes 145, 188, and 189. Note 198 indicates that al-Ṭūsī drew upon sources similar to those used by the scribe of the Tonk Manuscript. Ibn Ḥajar⁴⁵ also quotes items which he evidently found in the part of *Al-Fihrist* unique to the Tonk Manuscript. Except for this additional material, this manuscript is not as valuable as the others, as the handwriting is not always clear and there are many clerical errors.

Manuscript 4457. This is in La Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, Fonds Arabe, 1953 catalogue, page 342 (cf. 5889, fol. 128, vo. 130), No. 4457. This transcription contains the first part of *Al-Fihrist* and is dated six hundred and twenty-seven (A.D. 1229/1230). It has 237 folios, each page measuring 20 by 13.5 cm, with sixteen lines to the page. It ends with a statement of intention to continue with the fifth chapter and a prayer for Muḥammad and his family. This is probably the copy referred to by Flügel in his *vorwort* as the "Old Paris Manuscript," comprising Chapters I to IV. Flügel must have depended to a large extent on this manuscript for the part of his

⁴⁰ See Fück, *ZDMG*, New Ser. XV, No. 2 (1936), 298-321.

⁴¹ Chap. IV, section 2, n. 100, and Chap. V, section 1, n. 237.

⁴² Chap. V, section 1, near n. 266.

⁴³ Chap. V, section 5, n. 210.

⁴⁴ Ṭūsī, *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, p. 315.

⁴⁵ Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*.

text between his pages one and a hundred and seventy-two. In fact the pious ending is exactly like that given in the Flügel edition on the top of page 172.

Manuscript 4458. This is also in La Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds Arabe, 1953, catalogue page 342 (cf. 5889, fol. 128, vo. 130), No. 4458. This copy starts with Chapter V, section 5. The title is identical with that given by Flügel. There are 246 folios, each measuring 24 by 16 cm. It continues to the end of the book and closes with a note stating that it was confirmed as correct by the copyist Aḥmad al-Miṣrī. The manuscript is marked as being copied in 1846 under the supervision of de Slane, from a manuscript in the *Library Kieuprulu* in Istanbūl. The handwriting is clear, but the headings are not separated as distinctly as they are in the Flügel text and there seem to be numerous clerical errors. In the headings for the last three chapters the name of al-Nadīm is given in the same specialized and ungrammatical way that it is given in Manuscript 1934. De Slane evidently had this copy made by a scribe at Istanbūl from Manuscript 1134 or perhaps from the more accurate Manuscript 1934, which originally was in the Köprülü Library before it was moved to the library by the Sulaymānīyah Mosque.

Vienna Manuscript No. 33. This manuscript comprises part of Chapter V, but omits part of the material about the Mu'tazilah. It continues to the end of the book. This manuscript and the two which follow are described in greater detail by Flügel in his *vorwort*.

Vienna Manuscript No. 34. This copy contains part of Chapter I, part of Chapter VII, and the last three chapters.

The Leyden Manuscript. Flügel gives this as No. 20 and explains that it contains Chapters VII to X. He also found at Leyden some unimportant and unsatisfactory fragments.

The Tanjah Manuscript. This is a recent and unimportant copy, which is described in *Majallat Ma'had al-Khuṭūṭ al-'Arabīyah*, published by the League of Arab States at Cairo, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 179.

Aḥmad Taymūr Pasha Appendix. This consists of some extra pages purchased by Aḥmad Taymūr Pasha after his attention had been directed to them by a publication issued in Germany in 1889. These pages were published as an appendix to the Egyptian edition of *Al-Fihrist* at Cairo, by the Raḥmānīyah Press, in 1929.

Because of the wars and revolutions in medieval times and the insects which thrive in warm climates, great numbers of valuable manuscripts have been lost. It is unfortunate that no complete manuscript exists of a book as important as *Kitāb al-Fihrist* of al-Nadīm.

The Fihrist of al-Nadīm

Kitāb al-Fihrist

The Composition of
Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Warrāq,
known as Ibn Abī Ya‘qūb al-Nadīm¹

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate; I rely upon Allāh, the Unique, the Victorious; may Allāh lengthen the life of the excellent master. Lord by Thy mercy make it easy for² persons accepting conclusions without premises and resting upon the intended purpose without a lengthening of explanations, for we are abridging our statements at the beginning of this book of ours, so as to form a guide to show how we plan to compose it, if Allāh so wills. It is said, "Upon Allāh we rely," and from Him also do we invoke a benediction for all of His prophets and worshippers who are sincere in obeying Him, for there is no strength and no power except with Allāh, the Exalted, the Almighty.³

This is a catalogue of the books of all peoples, Arab and foreign, existing in the language of the Arabs, as well as of their scripts, dealing with various sciences, with accounts of those who composed

¹ The title is taken from MS 1135. *Kitāb* means "book" and *al-fihrist* means "the catalogue" or "the index." A *warrāq* is a man who sells paper and manuscripts, which are often transcribed by his own hand. A *nadīm* is a court companion of some high official. These terms and many others are explained in the Glossary. The author of *Al-Fihrist* was known by the nickname "al-Nadīm," and is listed by this name in the Biog. Index.

² In the Beatty MS these words, "Lord . . . for," are omitted and the word for "persons" is garbled. In the Flügel edition also, some words are omitted. The translation, therefore, follows MS 1135.

³ For the title page of the Beatty MS see the Introduction. Compare this passage with Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, p. 170.

them and the categories of their authors, together with their relationships and records of their times of birth, length of life, and times of death, and also of the localities of their cities, their virtues and faults, from the beginning of the formation of each science to this our own time, which is the year three hundred and seventy-seven after the Hijrah [A.D. 987/88].

Summary of What the Book Contains in Ten Chapters⁴

The First Chapter, in three sections.

The First Section, describing the languages of the peoples, Arab and foreign, the characteristics of their methods of writing,⁵ their types of script and forms of calligraphy.

The Second Section, about titles of the books of the laws revealed to the sects of the Muslims and the sects of [other] peoples.⁶

The Third Section, describing the Book which has nothing false in front of it or behind it, a revelation from the All Wise and All Praised, with the names of the books composed about its sciences and accounts of the readers [of the Qur'ān], with the names of those who quoted them and the digressions from their forms of reading.

The Second Chapter, with three sections, about the grammarians and language scholars.

The First Section, about the beginning of grammar,⁷ with accounts of the grammarians of al-Baṣrah and the Arabians who were masters of literary style, with the titles of their books.

The Second Section, with accounts of the grammarians and language scholars of al-Kūfah and the titles of their books.

The Third Section, mentioning a group of grammarians connected with both schools⁸ and the titles of their books.

⁴ In the Beatty MS this table of contents is written on horizontal lines without any special arrangements for the headings. The Arabic word translated as "chapter" is *al-maqālah*.

⁵ Several extra words are in the Beatty MS, but they are not clear enough to read.

⁶ The Beatty MS varies slightly from the Flügel, but neither of them make the meaning entirely clear.

⁷ Here the word *al-naḥw* seems to mean "grammar" rather than "syntax," the usual translation.

⁸ The two schools of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah.

The Third Chapter, in three sections, about historical traditions, literary pursuits, biographies, and genealogies.

The First Section, with accounts of the historians, narrators of traditions, genealogists, and authors of biographies and anecdotes, with the titles of their books.

The Second Section, with accounts of the kings, secretaries, writers of correspondence, administrators of the revenue, and keepers of registers,⁹ with the titles of their books.

The Third Section, with accounts of the court companions, associates, singers, literary men, buffoons, persons who take slaps good-naturedly, and jesters, with the names of their books.¹⁰

The Fourth Chapter, in two sections, about poetry and the poets.

The First Section, about the groups of poets who were Pre-Islāmic, or else Islāmic surviving the Pre-Islāmic period, with the composers of their anthologies and the names of those quoting them.

The Second Section, about groups of the Islāmic poets and the recent poets coming down to this our own time.

The Fifth Chapter, with five sections, about theology and the theologians.

The First Section, about the beginning of the theological movement and the theologians of the Mu'tazilah and the Murji'ah, with the titles of their books.

The Second Section, with accounts of the theologians of the Shi'ah, the Imāmiyah, and the Zaydiyyah, as well as of others among the Ghulāt (Ghulāh) and the Ismā'īliyah, with the titles of their books.

The Third Section, with accounts of the theologians of the Mujbirah and the Hashawīyah, and the titles of their books.

The Fourth Section, with accounts of the theologians of the Khawārij, their types, and the titles of their books.

The Fifth Section, with accounts of the pilgrims, the ascetics, the devotees, those adopting the Šūfī practices, and students of a

⁹ The Beatty MS omits the word "kings." For the word translated as "registers," the Beatty MS gives *dafātir* and the others give *dawāwīn*. Both words have the same meaning.

¹⁰ Only the Beatty MS includes the word *udabā'* ("literary men"). For these three kinds of court clowns, see "jesters" in Glossary. Consult Glossary also for the names of the sects which follow.

theology based on hallucinations and aberrations, with the titles of their books.

The Sixth Chapter, with eight sections, about the law and the legal authorities, including the recent ones.

The First Section, with accounts of *Mālik* [ibn Anas] and his adherents (*aṣḥāb*), with the titles of their books.

The Second Section, with accounts of Abū *Ḥanīfah* and his adherents, with the titles of their books.

The Third Section, with accounts of al-*Shāfi'ī* and his adherents, with the titles of their books.

The Fourth Section, with accounts of *Dā'ūd* [ibn 'Alī] and his adherents, with the titles of their books.

The Fifth Section, with accounts of the legal authorities of the *Shi'ah*, with the titles of their books.

The Sixth Section, with accounts of the legal authorities who are scholars of the *Ḥadīth*, including the recent ones, with the titles of their books.

The Seventh Section, with accounts of Abū Ja'far al-*Ṭabarī* and his adherents, with the titles of their books.

The Eighth Section, with accounts of the legal authorities of the *Shurāt* (*Shurāh*) and the titles of their books.

The Seventh Chapter, three sections, about philosophy and the ancient sciences.

The First Section, with accounts of philosophers of natural science and logic,¹¹ with the titles of their books, the translations, and the commentaries on them; which ones are extant, which are recorded but no longer extant, and which ones used to exist but later disappeared.

The Second Section, with accounts of the possessors of learning; the geometricians, arithmeticians, musicians, calculators, astronomers, makers of instruments, and those acquainted with mechanics and dynamics.¹²

The Third Section, about the beginning of medicine, with accounts of ancient and recent physicians, with the titles of their books and the translations and commentaries.

¹¹ This could also be translated as "the natural and logical sciences."

¹² Flügel gives a somewhat different interpretation, as he inserts the word "and" before "the geometricians."

The Eighth Chapter, with three sections, about evening recountals, fables, exorcisms, magic, and juggling.

The First Section, with accounts of those who tell stories at night, tellers of fables, and contrivers of illustrations, with the titles of the books of stories and fables which have been composed.

The Second Section, with accounts of the exorcists, jugglers, and magicians, with the titles of their books.

The Third Section, about books composed on various subjects, the compilers and authors being unknown.

The Ninth Chapter, with two sections, about schools of thought [sects] and doctrines.

The First Section, describing the schools of thought of the Chaldaeans of Ḥarrān, known in our time as the Šābians, and of the dualist sects of the Manichaeans, the Dayṣānīyah, the Khurramīyah, Marcionites, Mazdakites, and others, with the titles of their books.

The Second Section, with a description of the foreign and rare schools of thought, such as the sects of India, China, and other countries.

The Tenth Chapter, including accounts of the alchemists and the workers of the Art [alchemy], among the ancient and recent philosophers.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate, who is sufficient for us, upon whom we depend and whose aid we invoke

The First Section of the First Chapter

*with a description of the languages of the Arabs and foreign peoples, the characteristics of their ways of writing, their types of script and forms of calligraphy.*¹

Remarks on Arabic Writing

Men have differed concerning who first originated the Arabic script. Hishām al-Kalbī said that the first to form it was a group of Bedouīn Arabs encamped with ‘Adnān ibn Udd. Their names were Abū Jād, Hawwāz, Huṭṭī, Kalamūn, Ṣa‘faḍ, and Qurusa’āt.²

There is this from [what is written in] the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī in the following way:

The Arabs originated writing for their names and then discovered other letters not in their names: *tā’*, *khā’*, *dhāl*, *zā’*, *shīn*, *ghayn*, which they called *al-rawādif*.³ It is said that these men were kings of Midian, whose destruction was on the Day of the Cloud, at the time of *Shu‘ayb* the Prophet, for whom may there be peace.⁴

¹ Cf. Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), II, 381 ff.; III, 282. See Flügel’s article in ZDMG, XIII (1859), 559.

² Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, 203, spells these names differently but gives them as legendary giant kings.

³ This word means “palm sprouts,” the “back parts,” or the layers of fat on the rear of a camel’s hump. Another form of the plural means one who rides behind on a camel.

⁴ See Qur’ān 7:85-93; 9:84-95; 15:80-84; 26:176-89; 29:36-37.

Kalamūn's elegy was composed by his sister:

Kalamūn my support has been stricken down,
 The central post of the encampment has been destroyed.
 To him chief of the people
 Has death come in the midst of a cloud.
 Over them has a fire been kindled,
 As nought has become their place of dwelling.

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn Abī Sa'd in the following form and construction: Abjād, Hāwar, Ḥāṭā, Kalammān, Šā', Faḍ, Qarasat. They say that they were foreign peoples who, while camping with 'Aduān ibn Iyād and the like, became Arabized and formed the Arabic writing, but it is Allāh who knows.⁵

Ka'b said, and before Allāh I am not responsible for his statement, that the first to originate the Arabic and Persian scripts and other forms of writing was *Adam*, for whom be peace. Three hundred years before his death he wrote on clay which he baked so that it kept safe even when the Flood overflowed the earth. Then each people found its script and wrote with it.

Ibn 'Abbās said:

The first persons to write Arabic were three men of Bawlān, a tribe inhabiting al-Anbār,⁶ who came together and originated letters, both separated and joined. They were *Murāmīr* ibn *Murwah*, *Aslam* ibn *Sidrah*, and 'Amir ibn *Ḥidrah*; [the first and the third were] also called *Murrah* and *Ḥidlah*. *Murāmīr* originated the forms, *Aslam* the separations and connections, and 'Amir the diacritical points.

When the people of al-Ḥīrah⁷ were asked, "From whom did you derive Arabic?" they replied, "From the inhabitants of al-Anbār." It is also said that Allāh, Blessed and Almighty, caused *Ismā'il* (Ishmael) to speak clear Arabic when he was twenty-four years old.

⁵ The tribal names in this list and the one in the preceding paragraph evidently belong to foreign tribes which came from the north as protégés of 'Irāqī Bedouin peoples, whom they taught how to write. These names do not appear in *Durayd*, *Geneal.*, and *Qutaybah*, *Ma'ārif*. 'Adnān ibn Iyād was a subtribe of Ma'add in 'Irāq, rather than the original 'Adnān. See 'Iyād," *Enc. Islam*, II, 565.

⁶ For the tribe of Banū Bawlān, see *Durayd*, *Ishtiḡāq*, p. 397; *Durayd*, *Geneal.*, p. 237. Al-Anbār is a city on the Euphrates northwest of Baghdād.

⁷ Al-Ḥīrah was near Babylon, the center of Christian tribes attached to the Sāsānid dynasty.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: What is near to the truth, acceptable to the mind, and recorded by a reliable authority is that the Arabic speech was the language of Ḥimyar, Ṭasm, Jadīs, Aram, and Ḥawayl, of Arab Bedouin stock.⁸ Then when Ismā'īl arrived at the Ḥaram [shrine of Makkah], grew up, and matured, he married into the Jurham clan⁹ of Mu'āwiyah ibn Muḍāḍ al-Jurhumī, and his children learned their speech from these uncles. As time passed on, the descendants of Ismā'īl derived one word after another, forming names for many objects as phenomena turned up and appeared.

After speech had been developed, good literary poetry appeared among the people of 'Adnān, increasing in quantity after the time of Ma'add ibn 'Adnān. Thus, though each one of the Arab tribes had a dialect by which it was distinguished and which it made use of, at the beginning they shared in common. It is said that the Arabs were prevented from [further] amplifying their language because of the mission of the Prophet, for whom may there be peace, in revealing the Qur'ān.

One thing which confirms all of this is the quotation of *Makḥūl* from his men that the earliest innovators of Arabīc writing were the Nafīs, the Naḍr, the 'Taymā', and the Dūmah,¹⁰ descendants of Ismā'īl, who developed it in detail, and then it was made distinctive by Qādūr and Nabt ibn Hamaysa' ibn Qādūr.¹¹

It has been said that in ancient times a group of the people of al-Anbār formed the letters *alif*, *bā'*, *tā'*, *thā'*,¹² which the Arabs borrowed. Moreover, I have read in a book of Makkah, written by 'Umar ibn Shabbah in his own handwriting, that "A group of the scholars of Muḍar informed me that the person who wrote this

⁸ Aram refers to the Aramaeans and Ḥimyar to the ancient kingdom of southern Arabia. For the other names see Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, pp. 362, 524, 526.

⁹ Jurham was a well-known tribe which settled at Makkah; see "Djurhum," *Enc. Islam*, I, 1066.

¹⁰ The Nafīs, the Taymā', and the Dūmah were ancient tribes called in Gen. 25:14-15 the Naphish, the Tema, and the Dūmah. The Naḍr ibn Kinānah was a well-known tribe which employed the Quraysh as guides. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, 1094, 1103, 1104, 1739.

¹¹ The Beatty MS corrects Flügel's imperfect text in connection with Nabt ibn Hamaysa'.

¹² This is equivalent to saying in English, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*.

Arabic was al-*Jazm*, a man of the tribe of Mukhallad ibn al-Naḍr ibn Kinānah, after which the Arabs themselves wrote."

From another source: "The person who brought writing to the Quraysh at Makkah was Abū Qays ibn 'Abd Manāf ibn Zuhrah." It is also said that it was Ḥarb ibn Umayyah. It is related that when the Quraysh demolished the Ka'bah, they found in one of its supports a stone on which was inscribed, "Al-Siluf ibn 'Abuqar conveys to his lord a salutation." It was three thousand years old.

There was in the library of al-*Ma'mūn* something written on hide in the handwriting of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim mentioning the claim of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim of Makkah against so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, the Ḥimyarite of the Warl Tribe¹⁸ of Ṣan'ā' for a thousand silver coins (s., *dirham*) measured by iron. When he called upon him for this, he proffered the witness of Allāh and the two angels. It is said that the handwriting was like that of women.

One of the Arab writers was Usayd ibn Abī al-'Iṣ. When a flood stream drained off from the ground at the Maṣjīd al-Sūr (Mosque of the Wall) by the tomb of al-Murratūn, there was found a stone upon which there was inscribed, "I, Usayd ibn Abī al-'Iṣ, may Allāh show mercy to the sons of 'Abd Manaf." [But] was an Arab called by this name?

From what was written in the handwriting of Ibn Abī Sa'd:

They record that when Ibrāhīm (Abraham), for whom may there be peace, saw the children of Ismā'il (Ishmael) with their maternal Jurhum uncles he said, "Oh, Ismā'il, who are these?" He replied, "My children with their Jurhum uncles." Then Ibrāhīm said to him in the tongue with which he used to speak, which was the ancient Syriac, "'Urub." Thus he said to him, "Mingle them together."

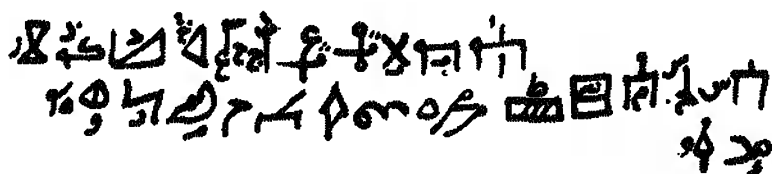
But it is Allāh who knows [the truth].

Remarks about the Ḥimyarite Script

A reliable authority asserts that he heard some Yamanite chiefs say that Ḥimyar used to write with the Musnad script, with varied forms of *alif*, *bā'*, *tā'*. I myself have seen a passage in the library of

¹⁸ In the Beatty MS the word seems to be *warl*. It could be *wazl*. It may be an ancient Ḥimyarite tribe or a misprint. Perhaps, however, it is a variation of the old name of the city Azāl; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 421.

al-Ma'mūn which I have translated, "What the Commander of the Faithful 'Abd Allāh al-Ma'mūn, may Allāh honor him, ordered the translators to transcribe."¹⁴ It contained Himyarite script and I give you an exact reproduction of what was in the transcription [Example 1]



Example 1

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: The first of the Arab scripts was the script of Makkah, the next of al-Madīnah, then of al-Baṣrah, and then of al-Kūfah. For the *alifs* of the scripts of Makkah and al-Madīnah there is a turning of the hand to the right and lengthening of the strokes, one form having a slight slant.¹⁵ This is an example of it [Example 2]



Example 2

Scripts of Copies of the Qur'ān

Those of Makkah, the people of al-Madīnah, the Nīm,¹⁶ the Muthallath, and the Mudawwar. Also those of al-Kūfah and

¹⁴ Evidently al-Nadīm translated only the title of the passage, not the whole of it.

¹⁵ The Arabic phrase translated as "lengthening of the strokes" is literally "raising of the fingers." See Abbott in *Ars Islamica*, VIII, Nos. 1 and 2 (1941), 71. The article deals with other scripts, too. See also Abbott, *Rise of the North Arabic Script*; Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, II, 1707 ff.; Jeffery in *Muslim World*, XXX, No. 2 (April 1940), 191-98.

Professor Arberry in *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, I (1948), 24, thinks that a contribution of Professor Minovi in Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, II, 1710, is correct. It explains that the Beatty MS is more nearly correct than the Flügel edition and that the words of the script illustrated in the text, "in the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate," are an example of the Makkah-Madīnah scripts.

¹⁶ Flügel has al-Ta'im.

al-Baṣrah, and the Mashq, the Tajāwīd, the Siṭawaṭī, the Maṣnū', the Munābadh, the Murāṣaf,¹⁷ the Iṣbahānī, the Sijillī, and the Firāmūz,¹⁸ which is derived and read by the Persians. It is a recent development in two forms, the Nāsarī and the Mudawwar.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: The man who at the beginning [of Islām] first wrote copies of the Qur'ān, being honored for the beauty of his penmanship, was Khālīd ibn Abī al-Hayyāj; I have seen a copy transcribed in his handwriting. Sa'd¹⁹ singled him out to write copies of the Qur'ān, poems, and reports for al-Walīd [I] ibn 'Abd al-Mālīk, and it was he who wrote, in gold the inscription in the prayer niche (*al-qiblah*) of the Mosque of the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, from "And the sun and its brightness" to the end of the Qur'ān.²⁰

It is reported that 'Umar [II] ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz said, "I want you to transcribe a Qur'ān for me like this model." So he [Khālīd ibn Abī al-Hayyāj] made a copy of the Qur'ān for him, exercising great care. 'Umar started to look it over and admire it, but when he found the price to be excessive, he returned it to him.

Mālīk ibn Dīnār, a protégé of Sāmāh ibn Luwa'i ibn Ghālīb, who was called Abū Yahyā, used to transcribe copies of the Qur'ān for pay. He died in the year one hundred and thirty [A.D. 747/48]. It is said that he was Mālīk ibn Dīnār ibn Dād Bahār, ibn Ḥashīsh ibn Rāzī.²¹

Some of the Transcribers of the Copies of the Qur'ān

Khashnām of al-Baṣrah and al-Mahdī of al-Kūfah lived during the days of al-Rashīd. We have not seen their equals even as late as our own time. *Khashnām* used to write long *alifs*, striking with the pen.

¹⁷ Some of these names are taken from the Beatty MS, which does not make the spelling clear.

¹⁸ See Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, II, 1717.

¹⁹ It has not been possible to identify this man, although he must have been someone of importance at Damascus during the early eighth century.

²⁰ In other words, the inscription which Khālīd ibn Abī al-Hayyāj wrote was a quotation from the Qur'ān which began with the phrase "And the sun and its brightness" and continued until the end of the Qur'ān. The quotation is from the Qur'ān 91:1. The Mosque of the Prophet is at al-Madīnah.

²¹ This sentence appears in the Beatty MS. The names are not written clearly enough for one to be sure of their spelling.

Among them [the transcribers] there was *Abū Juday*, who used to write the elegant copies of the *Qur'ān* at the time of *al-Mu'tasim* and was one of the great, skillful Cūfic writers. Following these there were in the group of writers of the Cūfic [script]: *Ibn Umm Shaybān*, *al-Mashūr*, *Abū Khamirah*, *Ibn Humayrah*, and in our own time *Abū al-Faraj*.

Then among the transcribers who wrote copies of the *Qur'ān* with the *Muḥaqqaq*, *Masliq*, and similar scripts, there were *Ibn Abī Hassān*, *Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī*, *Ibn Zayd*, *al-Quryānī*, *Ibn Abī Fāṭimah*, *Ibn Mujālid*, *Sharāshir* the Egyptian, *Ibn Sayr*, *Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Maliḥ*, *al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ni'ālī*,²² *Ibn Ḥadīdah*, *Abū 'Aqīl*, *Abū Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī*, *Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Naṣr*, and his son *Abū al-Ḥusayn*, both of whom I have seen.

A Copy Transcribed from What Was Written in the Handwriting of *Abū al-'Abbās ibn Thawābah*

Qūṭbah was the first transcriber during the period of the *Banū Umayyah*. He developed the four forms of writing, deriving one from the other, for *Qūṭbah* was the best Arabic penman on earth.

Al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn 'Ajlān, the scribe, followed him at the beginning of the caliphate of the *Banū al-'Abbās*. He added to what *Qūṭbah* did, and next to him was the best calligrapher in the world. After him, during the caliphates of *al-Manṣūr* and *al-Mahdī*, there was *Ishāq ibn Ḥammād*, the scribe, who augmented what was accomplished by *al-Ḍaḥḥāk*.

Then there were a number of pupils of *Ishāq ibn Ḥammād*, among whom was *Yūsuf*, the scribe, nicknamed *Laqwal* the Poet, who was the best penman among the people. Among them there were also *Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mujashshir*, who improved on *Yūsuf*, as well as *Shuqayr* the Servant, a slave of *Ibn Qayyūmā*, who was the tutor of *al-Qāsim ibn al-Manṣūr*. One of them was *Ṭhanā'*, the woman scribe, who was a slave girl of *Ibn Qayyūmā*, and among them was *'Abd al-Jabbār al-Rūmī*. Among them there were also *al-Sha'rānī*; *al-Abrash*; *Sulaym* the servant-scribe, a servant of *Ja'far ibn Yahyā*; *'Anir ibn Mas'adal*; *Aḥmad ibn Abī Khālīd*; *Aḥmad al-Kalbī*, a

²² *Al-Quryānī* and *Sharāshir* are not clearly written in the Beatty MS, and *al-Ni'ālī* is also a guess.

scribe of al-Ma'mūn; 'Abd Allāh ibn Shaddād; 'Uthmān ibn Ziyād al-Ābid; Muḥammad ibn 'Uhayd Allāh, nicknamed al-Madanī; and Abū al-Faḍl Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Tamīmī of al-Khurāsān. It was these who wrote the original measured scripts, never since equaled.

Naming of the Measured Scripts and a Description of What Is Written with Each of These Scripts Which None Can Equal²³

Among them is the Jalil script, which is the father of all scripts and which no one can emulate except with rigorous training. Yūsuf

²³ The pages were measured with animal hairs (*sha'r al-birdhawn*), probably the hairs of donkeys. The full-size page produced in a paper factory was the *tūmār*, 24 hairs in width. The next size was the *thuluthayn*, 16 hairs, then the *niṣf*, 12 hairs, and finally the *thuluth*, 8 hairs. The scripts were measured to fit these different-size pages and named accordingly. For a different theory, see Abbott, *Rise of the North Arabic Script*, p. 32. Qalqashāndī, *Subḥ al-A'shā*, III, 52, presents several theories about how the scripts were named. He does not make it clear whether by *qalam* he means "pen" or "style of writing," so that his descriptions are not conclusive. For a description of the measured scripts and their names, see *ibid.*, pp. 27 ff.; Abbott in *Ars Islamica*, VIII, Nos. 1 and 2 (1941), 90, and Abbott, *Rise of the North Arabic Script*, pp. 17-30; Durustūyah, *Kutāb al-Kutāb*, pp. 65-74; and Ṭibī, *Jāmi' Maḥāsini Kalābat al-Kutāb*.

Ibn Thawābah gives two lists of twelve scripts each. It seems reasonable to suppose that the lists should be arranged as follows:

First List

Al-Jalīl
Al-Sijillāt
Al-Dībāj

Al-Tūmār al-Kabīr
Al-Thuluthayn al-Ṣaghīr (al-Khīrfāj)
Al-Zanbūr
Al-Ḥaram
Al-Mu'amarāt
Al-Uhūd
Amthāl al-Niṣf (light and open)
Al-Qiṣaṣ
Al-Awjibah

Second List

Al-Sumay'ī
Al-Ashriyah
Al-Khīrfāj al-Thaqīl (Khafīf al-Tūmār al-Kabīr)
Al-Khīrfāj al-Khafīf
Al-Mufattaḥ
Al-Mumsak
Al-Mudawwar al-Kabīr (al-Ri'āṣī)
Al-Mudawwar al-Ṣaghīr
Khafīf al-Thuluth al-Kabīr
Al-Riqa'
Mufattaḥ al-Niṣf
Al-Narjis

Two other scripts are mentioned in the summary and evidently taken for granted as being offshoots from the Jalil. They are the Thuluth al-Kabīr al-Thaqīl (big, heavy, third-size) and Niṣf al-Thaqīl (heavy, half-size). A number of the scripts in the list are developments from these two.

Laqwah says that "the Jalīl script vexes the loins of the scribe." There are written with it the genuine documents sent by the caliphs to the kings of the earth, and derived from it there are two scripts, the Sijillāt and the Dībāj. From the medium Sijillāt script [al-Awsīṭ] are derived two scripts, the Sumay'ī and the Ashrīyāh scripts.

With the Dībāj script are written the official documents and from it is derived the Ṭūmār al-Kabīr script, also used for documents, and an outgrowth of the Dībāj. From it is derived the Khirfāj or the Ṭhuluthayn al-Ṣaghīr al-Thaqīl script, which is derived from the Ṭūmār and with which are written communications from the caliphs to the agents and emirs in the outlying regions. From it are derived three scripts: the Zanbūr script, which grows out of the Ṭhuluthayn and is used for writing on the half-size sheets of paper (*inṣāf*) and from which nothing is derived—the Mufattaḥ script is derived from it;²⁴ the Ḥaram script, which is written on the half-sheets sent to the kings, derived from the Thaqīl; the Mu'āmarāt script, derived from the Ṭhuluthayn—with it are written the half-sheets [exchanged] between the kings.

Four other scripts spring from these two scripts, that is, from the Ḥaram script and the Mu'āmarāt script: the 'Uhūd script, an outgrowth from the Ḥaram, used for writing on the two-thirds-size sheets, from which nothing is derived; the Amthāl al-Niṣf script, from which are developed two scripts, light (*khafif*) and open (*mufattaḥ*); the Qīṣaṣ script growing out of the Ḥaram and the Mu'āmarāt script, written on the half-size sheet and from which nothing was derived; and the Ajwibah script, derived from the Ḥaram and the Mu'āmarāt script, used for writing on the third-size sheets of paper (*al-ithlāth*), nothing being derived from it. These are twelve scripts from which twelve other scripts are derived.

Among them is the Khirfāj al-Thaqīl script, which is the light form of the Ṭūmār al-Kabīr and developed from it. With it are written official documents and from it is derived the Khirfāj al-Khafīf script. There is also the Sumay'ī script, which resembles the Sijillāt handwriting and springs from the Sijillāt al-Awsaṭ. With it are written official documents and other communications.

²⁴ Probably the Mufattaḥ was derived from the Zanbūr.

Among them there is also a script called the *Ashrīyah* script, derived from the *Sijillāt al-Awsaṭ* handwriting. With it are written emancipations of slaves and sales of land and houses and other things. Among them is a script called the *Mufattaḥ*, sprung from the *Thaqīl al-Niṣf*. The *Mumsak* script, with which they write on the half-size sheets, is derived from it. Three scripts grow out of it: a script called the *Mudawwar al-Kabīr*, which the scribes of this period call the *Ri'āsī* and which is written on the half-size sheets; also derived from it is a script called the *Mudawwar al-Ṣaghīr*, a general-utility script with which are written records, traditions, and poems; and a script called *Khafīf al-Thuluth al-Kabīr*. It is written on the half-size sheets, being derived from *Khafīf al-Niṣf al-Thaqīl*. From it there springs a script called the *Riqā'*, which is derived from *Khafīf al-Thuluth al-Kabīr* and with which are written signed edicts and similar things.

Among them is a script called the *Mufattaḥ al-Niṣf*, derived from *al-Niṣf al-Thaqīl*, and among them also is the *Narjis* script, written on the third-size sheets and derived from *Khafīf al-Niṣf*.

These are twenty-four scripts, all of which are derived from four scripts: the *Jalīl* script, the *Ṭūmār al-Kabīr* script, the *Niṣf al-Thaqīl* script, and the *Thuluth al-Kabīr al-Thaqīl* script. The derivation of these four scripts is from the *Jalīl*, which is the father of the scripts.

From [Sources] Other than the Handwriting of Ibn *Thawābah*

People continued to write according to the forms of the ancient script which we have mentioned until the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd rule, and at the time when the Hāshimītes²⁵ appeared, the copies of the *Qur'ān* were written specifically with these forms [scripts].

Then there developed a handwriting called the 'Irāqī, which was the *Muḥaqqaq* known as *Warrāqī*. Elaboration and improvement continued until it culminated for *al-Ma'mūn*, whose companions and scribes undertook to beautify their calligraphy, concerning which the people vied with one another.

²⁵ The Banū al-'Abbās, or caliphs of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty.

Then there appeared a man known as al-*Aḥwal* al-Muḥarrir, a craftsman of the Barmakids,²⁶ who was acquainted with the significations and forms of writing. He spoke about its forms and rules, dividing it into categories. This man used to write the communications dispatched by the sultan to the kings of the distant regions in the official documents. He was in the depths of misfortune and filth, as well as coarse, not fit for anything.²⁷ When he classified the scripts, he gave precedence to the heavy scripts. The finest among these is the *Ṭūmār* script, which is written on the full-size page (*al-ṭūmār*), either with a piece of palm or perhaps it is written with a pen. With it they transmit letters to the kings.

Among the scripts there are the *Thuluthayn* script, the *Sijillāt* script, the *ʿUhūd* script, the *Muʿāmarāt* script, the *Amānāt* script, the *Dibāj* script, the *Mudabbaj* script, the *Muraṣṣaʿ* script, and the *Tashājī* script.

When Dhū al-Riʾāsatayn al-*Faḍl* ibn Sahl arose, he invented a script which was the best of the scripts and known as the *Riʾāsī*. It branched into a number of scripts, among which there are: the *Riʾāsī al-Kabīr* script, the *Niṣf* script from the *Riʾāsī*, the *Thuluth* script, the *Ṣaghīr al-Niṣf* script, the *Khafīf al-Thuluth* script, the *Muḥaqqaq* script, the *Manthūr* script, the *Washī* script, the *Riqāʿ* script, the *Mukātabāt* script, the *Ghubār al-Ḥilyah* script, the *Narjis* script, and the *Biyāḍ* script.

Account of al-Barbarī al-Muḥarrar and His Son

This point of the book requires that we mention him. He was *Ishāq* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ṣubbāḥ ibn Bishr ibn Suwayd al-Aswad al-Tamīmī and subsequently al-Saʿdī.²⁸ Ibrāhīm was squint-eyed, but *Ishāq* taught al-*Muqtadīr* and his children. He was nicknamed *Abū al-Ḥusayn*, and this *Abū al-Ḥusayn* wrote an

²⁶ See Glossary, Barmak family.

²⁷ Although the Beatty MS is quite clear, this sentence does not seem to suit the rest of the passage. It is possible that al-*Aḥwal* was a *Ṣūfī* and therefore poor and dirty; or the passage may be garbled, and al-*Aḥwal* may have been *Abū Khālid al-Aḥwal*, vizier of al-Maʾmūn.

²⁸ This means "fortunate" and may have been given as a nickname after *Ishāq* had become tutor to the caliph.

epistle about penmanship and writing entitled *The Precious Object of the Lover*.

No one else appeared during his time who was a more skillful penman or better acquainted with writing. His brother, Abū al-Ḥasan, was like him, walking in his footsteps. His son was Abū al-Qāsim Ismā'il ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm, whose son, Abū Muḥammad, was al-Qāsim ibn Ismā'il ibn Ishāq. Among his children there was also Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Ishāq. These men were preeminent for their beauty of penmanship and knowledge of writing.

Before the time of Ishāq there was a man known as Ibn Ma'dān, whom Ishāq drew upon for information. Among the young men of Ibn Ma'dān there was Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Nims. Among the writers there were also the sons of Wajh al-Na'jah, in addition to Ibn Munir, al-Zanfalaṭī, and al-Zawā'idī.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: Among the viziers and secretaries who wrote with ink²⁹ there were Abū Aḥmad al-'Abbās ibn al-Ḥasan and Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Isā [ibn Dā'ūd] and Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muqlah, whose birth was after the afternoon prayer on Thursday, nine nights before the end of Shawwāl, in the year two hundred and seventy-two [A.D. 885/86], and who died on Sunday when ten nights of Shawwāl had gone by during the year three hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 939/40].³⁰ His brother, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī [ibn Muqlah], also wrote with ink. He was born at daybreak on Wednesday at the end of the month of Ramaḍān during the year two hundred and seventy-eight [A.D. 891/92] and died in the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir during the year three hundred and thirty-eight [A.D. 949/50]. The like of these two men has not been known in the past, or even as late as our own time. They wrote according to the calligraphy of their [grand] father Muqlah. The real name of Muqlah was 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh, Muqlah being a nickname.

²⁹ The Beatty MS has "and secretaries," evidently referring to members of the government secretariat who were not viziers. Two words are used for "ink": *al-miḍād* is used here, and *al-ḥibr* in the sentence following. See Flügel, p. 9 n.

³⁰ The system of dividing the lunar month into halves and counting the days and nights of the first half forward and the last half backwards is explained in *Durustūyah*, *Kitāb al-Kutūb*, p. 80. Roughly, 30 sun years are similar to 31 moon years.

Some of their kinsmen and children wrote during their lifetime and afterward, but they did not maintain their standards. One of these [kinsmen] might excel in connection with one letter following another or one word after another, but it was Abū 'Alī and Abū 'Abd Allāh who achieved perfection as a whole.

Those of their children who were penmen were Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Abī 'Alī, Abū Aḥmad Sulaymān ibn Abī al-Ḥasan, and Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī 'Alī. I have read a copy of the Qur'ān written in the handwriting of their grandfather Muqlah.

The Names of Persons Who Wrote Copies of the Qur'ān in Gold and Who Are Remembered

Al-Yaqṭīnī, Ibrāhīm al-Ṣaghīr, Abū Mūsā ibn 'Ammār, Ibn al-Saqāṭī, Muḥammad [al-Khuzaymī], and Ibn Muḥammad Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Khuzaymī and his son of our own time.³¹

Names of the Bookbinders Who Are Remembered

Ibn Abī al-Ḥarīsh, who used to bind books in the Treasury of Knowledge of al-Ma'mūn,³² Shafah al-Miqrād, al-'Ujayfi, Abū 'Isā ibn Shayrān, Dimyānah al-Ā'sar ibn al-Ḥajjām, Ibrāhīm and his son Muḥammad, and al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ṣaffār.

Remarks about the Excellence of the Pen

Al-'Attābī said, "Pens are the beasts of burden of understanding." Ibn Abī Duwād said, "The pen is the ambassador of the mind, its apostle, its furthest reaching tongue, and its best interpreter." Ṭurayḥ ibn Ismā'īl al-Thaqafī said, "Men's minds are under the nibs of their pens." Aristotle (Aristātālīs) said, "The pen is the active cause, the ink the material one, script is the principle of form, and style is the cause of perfection."

Al-'Attābī said, "Books smile as pens shed tears." Al-Kindī said, "The pen (*al-qlm*) has the same value as 'usefulness' (*nfā'*), for

³¹ As only a few vowel signs are given in the Arabic text, the names in this and the following list may not be entirely correct.

³² Khizānat al-Ḥikmah; the library attached to the Bayt al-Ḥikmah or research center established by al-Ma'mūn, A.D. 830, at Baghdād.

$f = 80$, $n = 50$, $\bar{a} = 1$, and $' = 70$, which totals 201. $A = 1$, $l = 30$, $q = 100$, $l = 30$, $m = 40$, which totals 201. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd said, "The pen is a tree, the fruits of which are words, and contemplation is a sea, whose pearl is wisdom, wherein is quenching of mental thirst."

Remarks on the Excellencies of Penmanship and Praise of Arabic Speech

Sahl ibn Hārūn, who was the director of the Bayt al-Ḥikmah⁸³ and known as Ibn Raḥyūn al-Kātib (the Secretary), said, "The number of Arabic letters is twenty-eight, like the number of the stations of the moon. The greatest number of them which a word with its extra letters can contain is seven, corresponding to the seven heavenly bodies."

He also said, "The letters which are added are twelve, like the twelve signs of the zodiac." Then he said, "The letters which are elided with the *lām* (l) of the article are fourteen, like the hidden stations of the moon under the earth, while the fourteen manifest letters which do not elide are like the visible stations remaining. Three movements form the declensions; *al-raḥ* [nominative], *al-naṣb* [accusative], and *al-khaṣad* [dative], for the movements of nature are three: motion from the center like that of fire, motion to the center like that of the earth, and motion on a center like that of the heavens." Beautiful is this coincidence and beautiful the interpretation!⁸⁴

Al-Kindī said, "I do not know of any other form of writing in which the letters undergo so much beautifying and refining as they do in Arabic writing. It also makes possible greater speed than can be attained in other forms of writing."

Plato (Aflāṭūn) said, "Handwriting is the shackle of the mind." Euclid (Aqlidus) said, "Handwriting is a spiritual designing, even though it appears by means of a material instrument." Abū Dulaf said, "Handwriting is the garden of the sciences." Al-Nazzām

⁸³ MS 1135 says he was director of the books at Bayt al-Ḥikmah.

⁸⁴ For an explanation of the stations of the moon, see "Astrology," *Enc. Islam*, I, 496. In the last sentence in this paragraph, one or both adjectives may be "novel" instead of "beautiful"; the Beatty MS is not clear. It is not clear whether this sentence is part of the quotation or was inserted by the author.

said, "Handwriting is rooted in the spirit, even though it appears by means of bodily senses."

Remarks about Ugliness of Handwriting

It is said that bad penmanship is one of the two chronic diseases. It is also said that bad handwriting is, in connection with culture, a disease. It is further said that ugly penmanship is sterility of culture.

Remarks about the Excellencies of Books

Someone said to *Socrates* (Suqrāt), "Are you not afraid that you will injure your eyes by continually looking into books?" He replied, "If I save my insight, I don't attend to weakness of eyesight." *Mahbūd*³⁵ said, "If books had not bound together the experiences of former generations, the shackles of later generations in their forgetfulness would not have been loosed."

Buzurjmihr said, "Books are the shells of wisdom, which are split open for the pearls of character." Another has said, "These sciences are camel stallions—use books to line them up; these couplets are runaways—use books for them as halters."

By Kulthūm ibn 'Amr al-'Attābi

We have comrades of whose conversation we never weary;
 Confiding and trustworthy whether absent or present,
 They give us the benefit of their knowledge, a knowledge
 of what has passed,
 With wise opinion, discipline, and instruction well-guided,
 Without cause to be dreaded or fear of suspicion.
 Neither their fingers nor their hands shall we fear;
 If you say they are living it is no lie,
 Or if you say they are dead you will not be held in error.

Naṭṭāḥah has said, and his name is Aḥmad ibn Ismā'īl, surnamed Abū 'Alī, a more complete account of whom will follow when telling about the secretaries, "The book, he is a companion who does not bother you at the time of your work, nor call you away when you are preoccupied, nor demand that you treat him with courtesy. The book, he is the comrade who does not flatter you too much,

³⁵ The third consonant in this word is uncertain and the name cannot be clearly identified.

the friend who does not tempt you, the companion who does not weary you, the counselor who does not mislead you."

Al-Sarī ibn Aḥmad al-Kindī recited one of his own compositions to me, saying, "I wrote on the back of a piece of a composition, which I gave to a friend of mine and which I bound with black leather:

A black object unveils its opposite,
As night the uncovering of the dawn.
I have sent you this, and though dumb
It holds conversation with the eyes about that with which it is entrusted.
Silent it is if its veil be clasped;
Sparkling when it is opened for enjoyment.
A cover encompassing its light
Goes back and forth (opens and shuts) containing it.
By means of it souls find enjoyment
While worries are cast down abased.
Rank nothing with it for enjoyment,
For all that you desire it contains."

Abū Bakr al-Zuhayrī recited to me [some verses] of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā about the volumes (*ḍafātir*):

By the favor of Allāh have these brethren attained their glory,
And by their association and fidelity I am exalted (made greater).
They speak without visible tongues,
Searching are they for hidden secrets.
If I seek knowledge of some past happening from Arab or Persian,
About it the books give me information,
As though I were an eyewitness living in their time,
Even though generations have come and gone.
If oratory I seek, orators arise,
My hand sufficing as a pulpit for the volumes.
How often have I tested men with them!
For the mind of a youth is tested by a book of knowledge.
How often have I defeated a companion by means of them,
When even an army could not have put him to flight!

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: I have dealt with this subject and similar ones in the chapter on writing and its instruments in a book which I have composed about descriptions and comparisons (*al-awṣāf wa-al-tashbihāt*).

Remarks about the Syriac Script

Theodore (Tiyādūrus) the Commentator recorded in his commentary on the first book of the Torah that "God, Blessed and Exalted, addressed *Adam* in the Nabataean dialect, which was purer than the Syriac one. The people of Bābil also used to speak it. Then when God made a babel of tongues, the nations being scattered to their districts and localities, the language of the people of Bābil was unchanged, but the Nabataean spoken by the villagers became a broken Syriac incorrectly pronounced."

Another person said, "The language used for books and reading, that is the literary form (*al-faṣīḥ*), is the dialect of the people of Syria and Ḥarrān. From it the scholars derived the Syriac script, coming to an agreement about it. So it was with the other written forms."

Another said, "In one of the Gospels or some other Christian book, an angel called Saymūrus³⁶ taught Adam the Syriac writing as it exists in the hands of the Christians of our own day."

The Syrians (*al-Suriyāniyūn*) have three scripts: *al-Maftūḥ*, which is called the Estrangelo (*al-Aṣṭrangālā*) and is the finest and best—it is spoken of as the *Thaqīl* script, resembling the *Masāḥif* [Qur'ānīc] script and the *Taḥrīr*; *al-Muḥaqqaq*, called Scholastic (*Askulthiyā*) and spoken of as the *Mudawwar* (round) form, similar to the script of *al-warraqūn*; *al-Serto* (*al-Sarṭā*), with which they write missives and which resembles the Arabic *Riqā'* script.

Here are designs of the Syriac script.³⁷

Remarks about the Persian Script

It is said that the first person to speak Persian was *Gayumarth* (*Gayo Mareta*), whom the Persians call *al-Gil Shāh*, which means King of Clay. He was their Adam, father of mankind. It is said, the first person to write Persian was *Bīwarasp* (*Bīwārasb*), the son of *Wandāsab* known as *al-Ḍaḥḥāk*, the master of *al-Ajdahāq*.³⁸

³⁶ Saymūrus may be confused with the symbol of heaven, portrayed by the *samayyā* or *semeion*. Refer to Ingholt in *Memoirs, Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences*, XII (July 1954), 17–22, 25, 43–46.

³⁷ The designs do not appear in either Flügel or the Beatty MS. For the Syrian scripts, see Abbott, *Rise of the North Arabic Script*, pp. 17–21.

³⁸ For the Persian scripts, see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 76; and Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, II, 1707. *Al-Ajdahāq* was *Azhi Dahāka*, a legendary dragon.

It is said that *Feridūn*, son (descendant) of al-Kayān, when he divided the earth among his sons *Salm*, *Tūr*, and *Īraj*, gave as a share to each one of them a third of the inhabited land and wrote a deed for them. *Amād* the Priest told me that the deed is with the King of China, carried away with the Persian treasures at the time of *Yazdigird*; it is Allāh who knows.

It is said that the first person to write was *Jamshīd*, the son of *Hūshang*,³⁹ who lived in the royal courts of the regions of *Tustar*. The Persians supposed that when he ruled the world and the jinn and men submitted to him, there yielded to him also the Devil (*Iblis*), whom he commanded to make manifest what was in his consciousness, whereupon he [the Devil] taught him [*Jamshīd*] writing.

I have read what was written in the handwriting of *Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī* in the *Book of Viziers*, which he wrote, that "There were few books and epistles before the regime of *Gushtāsp* the son of *Luhrāsp*,⁴⁰ the people lacking the ability to speak plainly and to bring forth their inner intentions by clearness of expression."

One of the things preserved and recorded from the sayings of *Jamshīd*: "From *Jamshīd* son of *Hushāng* to *Adarbādhānī*,⁴¹ I have commanded thee to administer the seven regions; accomplish this and establish the regime which I have ordered for you."

From those [the sayings] of *Feridūn*, son of *Nazakā* and *Anqayān*: "From *Feridūn*, son of *Anqayān*, to ———: I have presented you with a land in which is *Damāwand*.⁴² Receive this and accept a throne of silver gilded with gold."

Among [the records] there was from *Kai Kāūs*: "From *Kai Kāūs* son of *Kai Kubād* to *Rustam*: Verily I have set thee free from

³⁹ Flügel gives *Hūshang*, the Beatty MS gives *Awijhān*, but the word in Arabic is usually written as *Ushhanj*.

⁴⁰ In Arabic, *Kustāsb* ibn *Luhrāsb*.

⁴¹ This is a form for the Persian name *Athravan*, a legendary form of *Magī*. The word later became contaminated and connected with the provincial name of *Ādharbayjān*. See *Firdawsi, Shāhnama*, I, 56. For *Hūshang*, see n. 39.

⁴² *Feridūn's* mother was *Faranūk* and his ancestor *al-Kayān*. The names given in the text may be the Persian forms of these two names. *Demavend*, which is *Damāwand* in Arabic, is the great mountain north of *Tihirān* where *Ḍahḥāk* was chained so that *Feridūn* could rule.

the bondage of slavery and made thee to rule over Sijistān. Yoke no one to servitude and rule Sijistān as I have commanded thee."

When Gushtāsp became king, writing was used more extensively. Then there appeared *Zoroaster*, son of Spitama, lord of the law of the Magi. With the divulging of his wonderful book in all languages, the people themselves began to learn penmanship and writing with more general use and greater skill.

'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa' said, "The languages of the Persians are the Pahlāwī, the Dēri, the Parsī, the Khuzistānī, and the Syriac.⁴³ The Pahlāwī (al-Fahlawīyah) is related to Pahlav (Fahlah), a region which includes five cities: Iṣbahān, Rayy, Hamadhān, Mah Nahāwand,⁴⁴ and Ādharbayjān. The Dēri (al-Durīyah) was the language of the cities of al-Madā'in, spoken at the king's court. It was derived from presence at the court (*al-bāb*), coming chiefly from the language of the people of Khurāsān and the East, the speech of the people of Balkh. Priests, scholars, and their like speak Parsī (al-Farsiyyah), the speech of the people of Fars. The kings and nobles used to speak the Khuzistānī (al-Khūzīyah) in privacy, in places of play and amusement, and with their retinues. The people of al-Sawād⁴⁵ used to speak Syriac (al-Suriyānīyah), writing in one form of Persian Syriac.

Ibn al-Muqaffa' said, "There are seven types of handwriting in Persia." One of them is the form of writing for religion called Dīn Dafīrīyah⁴⁶ with which the religious devotees⁴⁷ write, and of which the following is an example.

Another form of writing is called Watsh Dabīrīyah,⁴⁸ which has three hundred and sixty-five letters. They use it to write about physiognomy, divination, gurgling of water, ringing of the ears,

⁴³ The Arabic names are given in parentheses in the sentences which follow.

⁴⁴ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 846.

⁴⁵ See Glossary.

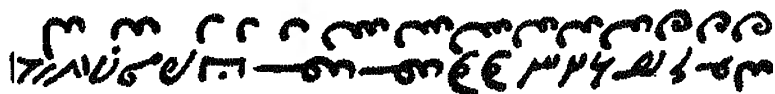
⁴⁶ The correct form is Dabīrīyah.

⁴⁷ "Religious devotees" is a translation of *al-wastā*, a term used for those among the Zoroastrians who called upon God. In the Beatty MS the word is clearly written as *al-wastāq*, but as no such word seems to exist, it may be meant to be either *al-wastā*, as above, or Ahl al-Rustāq (People of al-Rustāq). See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 778. The example referred to in the text is missing.

⁴⁸ *Watsh* means "small." In the Beatty MS the word is not clear, but Dabīrīyah is written with a *b* in a clear way.

beckonings of the eyes, nodding, winking, and the like. This script has not been handed down to anyone, so that none of the sons of Persia write with it today. When I asked *Amād* the Priest about it, he said, "It is going the way of translation, being translated into Arabic writing."

Another form of writing is called the *Kushtah*,⁴⁹ which has twenty-eight letters. With it they write contracts, inheritance assignments,⁵⁰ and land transactions. The rings in Persia are inscribed with this script, and also decorations for garments and rugs, as well as dies for silver coins (s., *dirham*); this is an example of it [Example 3].⁵¹



Example 3

Another form of writing is called *Nīm Kushtah*,⁵² which has twenty-eight letters and is used for medicine and philosophy. This is an example of it [Example 4].



Example 4

Another form of writing is called the *Shāh Dabirīyah*, with which the Persian kings used to carry on their own correspondence, apart from the populace. The other people of the kingdom were prevented from using it, as a precaution, lest somebody related to the king might discover the king's secrets. It has not been preserved for us.

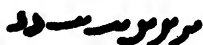
⁴⁹ The letters for *Kushtah* are clear in the Beatty MS, but as the consonant marks are often omitted, it might also be interpreted as "*Kushtaj*."

⁵⁰ The word translated as "inheritance assignments" is not correct in the Flügel edition or clear in the Beatty MS. It may be a form meaning "weighings."

⁵¹ Flügel gives "... dies for gold coins (s., *dīnār*) and silver coins (s., *dirham*)" Flügel adds extra lines to this example, and to the two examples which follow, which are not found in either the Beatty MS or MS 1135.

⁵² *Nīm* means "half."

The Rasā'il form of writing is just as the tongue speaks, without dots. Some of it is written in the first Syriac dialect spoken by the people of Bābil, being read as Persian. The number of letters is thirty-three, and it is called both Nāmāh Dabīriyah and Hām Dabīriyah.⁵³ It is used by all classes of the kingdom, with the one exception of the kings. This is an example of it [Example 5].



Example 5

Another form of writing is called Zār Saharayah,⁵⁴ with which the kings correspond about confidential matters with whatsoever nations they wish. It has forty letters and vocal sounds, with a definite character for each letter and sound. It does not contain anything of the Nabataean tongue; here are examples of it.⁵⁵

They have another form of writing, called Rās Saharayah, used for logic and philosophy, with twenty-four letters and also dots. It has not been preserved for us.

They have a form of spelling called Rawārashn, with which they write both the connected and unconnected letters. There are about a thousand words with which to determine things that are similar. An example of this is that anyone who wishes to write *kusht*, which is "meat" in Arabic, writes it *basarā*, but reads it *kusht*,⁵⁶ according to this example [Example 6].



Example 6

Or if he wishes to write *nān*, which is "bread" in Arabic, it is read as *nān* but written *lahumā*, according to this example [Example 7].⁵⁷

⁵³ *Rasā'il* means "missives"; dots refer to the diacritics to mark consonants. *Nāmāh* means "book" and *hām*, "chiefs."

⁵⁴ This could be Dār Shahrāyah; the texts are not clear.

⁵⁵ The example is missing.

⁵⁶ The Beatty MS gives the consonants *r w a r s h n*, but instead of *r*, the letter might be *z* or *d*. The word *kusht* is equivalent to the Persian *gosht*. *Basarā* is like the Hebrew *bāsār* ("flesh"). See Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 76.

⁵⁷ *Nān* is a Persian word for "bread." *Lahumā* is similar to the Hebrew *lechem*, which also means bread.



Example 7

So it is for whatever they wish to write, except for such things as need no substitution, being written as pronounced.

Remarks about the Hebrew Script

I have read in some of the ancient books that the first person to write Hebrew was 'Ābar ibn Shālikh (Eber son of Shelah), who instituted it among his people, so that they wrote with it. *Theodorus* (Theodore) mentions that Hebrew was derived from Syriac, but so called because *Ibrāhīm* (Abraham) crossed the Euphrates seeking Damascus, when fleeing from *Nimrūd* (Nimrod), the son of *Kūs* (Cush), the son of *Kan'ān* (Canaan).⁵⁸

In connection with writing, the Jews and Christians suppose,⁵⁹ without any dispute between them, that the Hebrew writing was on two tables of stone and that Allāh, may His name be glorified, handed them over to him [Moses], who when he descended from the mountain and found that they [the Israelites] had been worshipping the idol, became angry with them, in fact so much wrought up that he broke the two tables. He [Theodorus] said, "After that, he [Moses] repented, and Allāh, may His name be glorified, ordered him to write on two other tables, so as to inscribe them with the original writing."

One of the more excellent of the Jews recorded that Hebrew writing was not like the present form, which has been corrupted and altered. Some reliable Jews have said that *Yūsuf* [Joseph], upon whom be peace, when he was the vizier of the ruler of Egypt, used figures and signs for the affairs of the kingdom which he recorded.⁶⁰ Here is a design of the Hebrew letters [Example 8].

⁵⁸ In other words, the ancient text claims that the word "Hebrew" (*Ibrānī* in Arabic) comes from the verb "to cross" (*abar*), referring to Abraham crossing the Euphrates.

⁵⁹ The Beatty MS lacks the material in the text from here until Chap. I, sect. 3, near n. 59. MS 1135 is intact with regards to this passage, but it is not as authentic as the Beatty MS.

⁶⁰ MS 1135 is followed in this paragraph instead of Flügel.

۱ ص ۲ د ۳ ه ۴ و ۵ ط ۶ ی ۷ ع ۸ ر ۹ م ۱۰ ن ۱۱ ز ۱۲ س ۱۳ ف
 ۱۴ ق ۱۵ ک ۱۶ گ ۱۷ خ ۱۸ د ۱۹ ذ ۲۰ ر ۲۱ ز ۲۲ س ۲۳ ف ۲۴ ق

۲۵ ک ۲۶ گ ۲۷ خ ۲۸ د ۲۹ ذ ۳۰ ر ۳۱ ز ۳۲ س ۳۳ ف ۳۴ ق
 ۳۵ ک ۳۶ گ ۳۷ خ ۳۸ د ۳۹ ذ ۴۰ ر ۴۱ ز ۴۲ س ۴۳ ف ۴۴ ق

Example 8

Remarks about the Greek Script

I have read in some of the old histories that in early times the Greeks did not know how to write until two men, one of whom was called *Cadmus* (Qatmus) and the other *Aghanūn*,⁶¹ came from Egypt bringing sixteen letters with which the Greeks wrote. Then one of these two men derived four other letters, also used for writing. Later, another man named *Simonides* (Simūnidus) derived four additional ones, making twenty-four. It was in those days that *Socrates* (Suqrātīs) appeared, according to what *Ishāq al-Rāhib* (Isaac the Monk) records in his history.

I questioned one of the Greeks who had opinions about his language and noted that he had advanced as far as what is called "etymology," which is Greek syntax. He said:

There are three scripts generally known and used by the Greeks in the City of Peace [Baghdād]. The first of these scripts is called *Lepton*. The Arabic script which it resembles is the script of *al-warrāqūn*, with which

⁶¹ Probably Agenor, the father of Cadmus.

they write Qur'ānic manuscripts. They [the Greeks], too, write their scriptures with it. It is known as Iriyā, for the Greek [word meaning] "sacred."

This is an example of it,

"They also have a script called Boustrophedon, the equivalent of which among the Arabic scripts is the Thuluth script, with a share of both the Muḥaqqaq and the Mushil." This is an example of it.

"They have a script called Surīṭūn, which is the Mukhaffaf (light) script of the scribes. Its equivalent with us is the Tarasal al-Dīwānī (official correspondence) script with the letters contracted." This is an example of it.⁶²

They have a script known as the Sāmīyā,⁶³ which does not resemble anything of ours, for a single one of its letters combines many ideas and abbreviates a number of words. Galen (Jālīnūs) has mentioned it in his book *Phoenix*. The meaning of the name is "fixing of writings." Galen said:

In a public session I gave a comprehensive account of anatomy. When a friend met me some days later, he said to me, "A certain man has recorded that you said thus and thus in your public session." Then he repeated my exact words. I said to him, "From where did you get this?" He replied, "I met a scribe skilled in the Sāmīyā, who kept abreast of you in writing down your words."

This script is learned by the kings and most eminent scribes. The rest of the people are prevented from using it because of its great significance. In the year forty-eight [A.D. 959] a man practicing medicine came to us from Baalbek.⁶⁴ As he asserted that he could write the Sāmīyā, we tested what he said. We found that if we spoke ten words, he would pay attention to them and then write down

⁶² The quotation probably ends here, after the three scripts used in Baghdād have been mentioned. The examples are lacking. The scripts were very likely the following: (1) Lepton, λεπτός (delicate). It was called "sacred," ἱερά. (2) Boustrophedon, badly written in MS 1135; it must be βου-στροφῆδόν. This was an early Greek style of writing used for Solon's laws. (3) 'Surīṭūn; it has very likely been garbled, but is possibly from the Greek word σωρηδόν.

⁶³ Sāmīyā must come from the Greek word for "fix," σημειον. The Greek shorthand writer was the σημειο-γράφος, and the shorthand notes falsely ascribed to Xenophon were the ὑποσημειωσάμενος. See Greek dictionaries and "Shorthand," *Enc. Brit.*, XXIV, 1007-8.

⁶⁴ The original form is "Ba'labakk."

one. When we asked him to repeat [the words], he did repeat them as we had rendered them.

Ja'far ibn al-Muktafi said:

The reason the Greeks write from left to right is that they believe that it is fitting for a person seated to meet the sunrise in all of its phases. So if he faces the sunrise, the north will be on his left, in which case the left gives way to the right. Thus, the method for a scribe is to go from the north toward the south.

He also said:

The Greeks have rules for handwriting, with forms among which are the designated⁶⁵ letters among the twenty-four letters. These are *gamma*, *delta*, *kappa*, *sigma*, *tau*, and *chi*. They also have letters called "sonants," which are *alpha*, *ayi* (*epsilon*), *eta*, *iota*, *ūa* (*upsilon*), smaller *wāw* (*omicron*), and the larger *wāw* (*omega*).⁶⁶ The feminine letters are four, *alpha*, the smaller *wāw* (*omicron*), and the great *wāw* (*omega*). The masculine letters are *ayi* (*epsilon*), *eta*, *iota*, and *hū* (*upsilon*).

Declension does not affect any of the Greek letters, except the seven sonant letters, which are known as *lagayn* and *tlagayn*.⁶⁷ The Greek tongue dispenses with six of the letters of the Arabic language: *hā*, *dhāl*, *dād*, 'ayn, *hā*, and *lām-alif*.

Script of the Langobardi and Saxons

These are a people between the Greeks and the Franks, close to the ruler of al-Andalus.⁶⁸ Their writing has twenty-two letters and their script is called the Apostolic.⁶⁹ They start writing from the left toward the right, but their reason for doing so is different from that of the Greeks. They say it is so that the dipping of the ink will be away from the beating of the heart and not toward it, for writing

⁶⁵ For the word which has been translated here as "designated," MS 1135 suggests *muta 'afiyah*, ("restored from illness"). Flügel gives *muta 'aqibah* ("successive," "coupled").

⁶⁶ MS 1135 omits the smaller *wāw* and after the larger *wāw* has "and it is *al-awfūmayghā*," probably garbled for "omega." Evidently one of the feminine letters has been omitted, or else there were only three. Perhaps the fourth was a diphthong.

⁶⁷ These two words might be *λεγειν* ("to say") and *τι λεγειν*, probably meaning "how to say."

⁶⁸ The Langobardi were Lombards. When *Al-Fihrist* was written, the Saxons had become a Christian group on the German frontier. Andalus was southern Spain, under Muslim rule.

⁶⁹ Flügel gives "Afistoliqi" and MS 1135 a garbled form.

from the right is from the liver towards the heart. This is an example of it.⁷⁰

The Script of China

As Chinese writing resembles inscription, even a clever and skillful scribe becomes weary over it. It is said that even a person with a light touch cannot write more than two or three leaves a day. They write their religious and scientific books with it on fans, a number of which I have seen. Most of them [the Chinese] are dualists and sun worshippers,⁷¹ about whom I will speak in detail later on.

In China there is a form of writing called Collective Writing. That is, for every word written with three or more letters, there is a single character, and each word with an augmented design of characters signifies a great deal. If they wish, they can write the contents of one hundred leaves with this script on only one page.

Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā' al-Rāzī said:

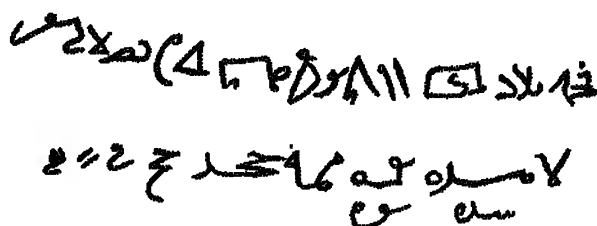
A man from China came to seek me and dwelt with me for about a year. In five months of this time he learned Arabic, both spoken and written, becoming proficient in style, as well as expert and rapid in writing. When he desired to return to his country, he said to me a month in advance, "I am about to set forth and wish that you would dictate to me the sixteen books of *Galen*, so that I can write them down." I said, "Your time is short and the length of your stay will be sufficient for you to copy only a small part of it." Then the young man said, "I ask you to devote yourself to me for the length of my stay and to dictate to me as fast as you can. I will keep up with you in writing." I proposed to some of my students that they join in this project with us, but we did not have faith in the man, until there was a chance for comparison and he showed us everything he had written.

I questioned him about the matter and he said, "We have a form of writing known as Collective, which is what you see. If we wish to write a great deal in a short time, we write it with this script. Then later on, if we wish, we transcribe it with a script which is familiar and not abbreviated." He thought that a man who was quick in learning and understanding could not learn it in less than twenty years.

⁷⁰ The example is missing.

⁷¹ MS 1135 has *Shamsiyah*, whereas Flügel is uncertain about the name. This sect is dealt with at the end of Chap. IX of *Al-Fihrist*.

The Chinese have an ink which they compound from a mixture and which resembles Chinese paint. I have seen some of it in the form of tablets, on which was stamped the image of the king. A piece of it suffices for a long period of constant writing. This is an example of their script [Example 9].



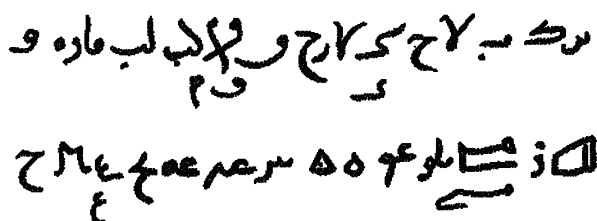
Example 9

Remarks about the Manichaean Script

The Manichaean script is derived from Persian and Syriac. Mānī derived it. The cult is a combination of the Magi system and Christianity. Its letters are more numerous than the Arabic ones. With this script they write their gospels and books of their laws. The inhabitants of Mā 'Warā' al-Nahr (the Region beyond the River, Transoxiana) and Samargand write religious books with this script, so that it is called the Script of Religion.

The Marcionites also have a script by which they are distinguished. A reliable person has told me that he has seen it. He said, "It resembles the Manichaean, but is different."⁷²

These are the Manichaean letters [Example 10].

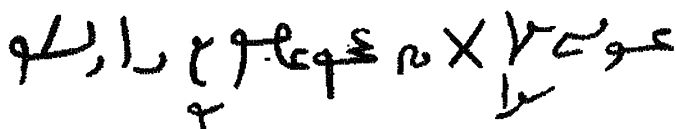


Example 10

⁷² For the Manichaeans and Marcionites, see Chap. IX, sect. 1.

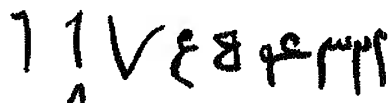
Remarks about al-Sind⁷⁶

The people there have different languages and religions as well as numerous scripts. Some of the people who travel in their country said to me, "They have about two hundred scripts." I once saw at the court of the sultan a yellow idol, said to be an image of the Buddha (*al-Budd*).⁷⁷ It is a figure on a seat, grasping three fingers with his hand. On the seat there is an inscription of which this is a likeness [Example 13].



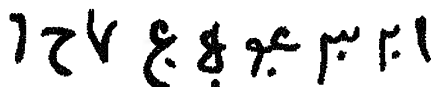
Example 13

This man mentioned above stated that they usually write with nine letters in this form [Example 14].



Example 14

The start is with *alif*, *bā'*, *jīm*, *dāl*, *hā'*, *wāw*, *zāy*, *ḥā'*, and *ṭā'*. Then after reaching *ṭā'* they repeat each of the original letters with dots as in this example [Example 15].

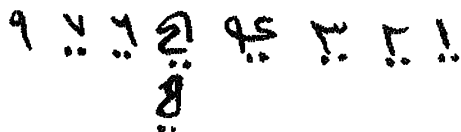


Example 15

⁷⁶ The lower valley and delta of the Indus in what is today part of West Pakistan. It was conquered by the Muslims, A.D. 712.

⁷⁷ This was probably a typical image, with a Buddha seated on a lotus leaf, holding with one hand three fingers of the other hand. The Arabic text has "thirty," but this must be an error. See Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 130, 134, 173, 202.

Thus they become *yā'*, *kāf*, *lām*, *mīm*, *nūn*, *sin*, *'ayn*, *fā'*, and *ṣād*, making eighteen.⁷⁸ If they reach *ṣād* they write as in the following example, placing two dots under each letter in this way [Example 16].



Example 16

Thus they become *qāf*, *rā'*, *shīn*, *tā'*, *thā'*, *khā'*, *dhāl*, and *ẓā'*. When they reach *ẓā'* they write the original letter *alif* with three dots under it [Example 17].⁷⁹ Thus they account for all of the



Example 17

letters of the alphabet and write whatever they please.

Remarks about the Negroes

The races of Negroes are the Nubians, the Bijah (Beja), the Zaghāwah, the Murāwah (Meroe), the Istān,⁸⁰ the Barbar (Berbers), and the types of blacks like the Indians.⁸¹ They write like the Indians because of their proximity, but have no known script or writing of their own.

Al-Jāhīz mentioned in his book *Al-Bayān* that the Negroes have an oratory and eloquence belonging to their own cult and language. A person who saw and witnessed this [custom] said to me, "If

⁷⁸ The texts have *'asharah 'asharah* ("twenty") but *thamānī 'asharah* ("eighteen") must be the words meant, as there are two groups of nine letters each.

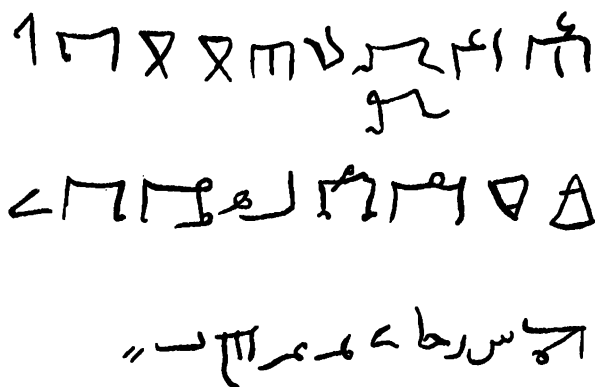
⁷⁹ MS 1135 differs; it has "they write the original letter like this" and then shows the design of an *alif* with the *maddah* or "long" sign over it and three dots under it.

⁸⁰ See Mas'ūdī, III, 1 ff.; cf. Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), I, 120, and also, I 110, with map, for the geographical regions. Istān may refer to the Negroes of southern 'Irāq, famous for the Zanj Rebellion of A.D. 869.

⁸¹ "Al-Sind" is translated as "the Indians," as it seems to refer to the people instead of the area. "Blacks like the Indians" probably signifies other people in southeast Asia.

affairs perplex them and difficulties hard press them, their speaker sits raised above the ground and, looking down, speaks in a way that resembles growling and muttering, but which the rest of them understand." He also said, "When there appears in the speech the counsel they are seeking, they act upon it." It is Allāh who knows.

Some travelers have told me that the Bijah have a script and form of writing, but it has not reached us. Those who go about mention that for religious purposes the Nubians write in Syriac, Greek, and Coptic. The Abyssinians have a script like the Ḥimyarite letters, going from left to right. They separate each of the words by means of three dots, dotted like a triangle between the letters of the two words. This is an example of the letters, which I copied from the library of al-Ma'mūn, but not with the same handwriting [Example 18].



Example 18

The letters *tā'* and *thā'* are one; the letters *hā'* and *khā'* are one; the letters *'ayn* and *ghayn* are one; and the letters *fā'* and *zā'* are one.

Remarks about the Turks and Those Related to Them

The Turks, the Bulgar, the Blaghā', the Burghaz, the Khazar, the Llān, and the types with small eyes and extreme blondness have

no script, except that the Bulgarians and the Tibetans write with Chinese and Manichaean, whereas the Khazar write Hebrew.⁸²

My information about the Turks is what Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ashnās related to me. He said:

Ḥamūd Harār, the Turk, al-Maklī from al-Tūrūniyah,⁸³ who was one of those who left his country because of haughtiness and rage, told me that the great Turkish king, if he desired to write to a lesser king, summoned his vizier and ordered the splitting of an arrow. Then the vizier traced on it characters understood by the Turkish nobility and indicating the meaning intended by the king and comprehended by the person to whom it was sent.

He supposed that this scant design represented many ideas and that it was used for truces and peace treaties, as well as at the times of their wars. He mentioned that they carefully guard an arrow inscribed in this way and fulfill their engagements for its sake. It is Allāh who knows.

Russia

A man whose word I trust told me that one of the kings of Mount al-Qabq (the Caucasus) sent him to the king of Russia. He believes that they have writing inscribed on wood, and he showed me a piece of white wood with an inscription on it. The following is an example, but I do not know whether these are words or single letters [Example 19].



Example 19

⁸² The Bulgar are Bulgarians. The Blaghā' were the Vlachs or Blakia, the Walachia of Rumania. Burghaz is a part of Bulgaria, and probably an old tribal name. The Khazar were on both sides of the Itil, or Volga. The Llān or 'Allān were situated next to Armenia, near the Khazar. See "Vlachs," *Enc. Brit.*, XXVIII, 166-68; "Bulgaria" (Burghaz), IV, 768; "Khazars," XV, 774. See also Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 436, for Khazar; IV, 343, for Llān; I, 817, for Tibet. See also Mas'ūdī, Vol. II, Chap. 17, beginning p. 1.

⁸³ This may mean from Turunt, the lower Dvina region of Russia, or from Tawwaz. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 894.

The Franks

Their writing resembles the Greek script, but is more even; we may have seen it on the Frankish swords. The queen of the Franks wrote to al-Muktafī a letter on white silk, dispatched by a servant who happened into her country from the direction of North Africa. It courted the friendship of al-Muktafī and asked him to marry her. The servant's name was 'Albā. He was one of the employees of Ibn al-Aghlab. This is an example of their writing.⁸⁴

The Armenians and Others

The Armenians as a rule write in Greek and Arabic, because of proximity to those cultures. Thus their gospels were written in Greek and their script resembles Greek writing, though it is not Greek.⁸⁵

The kings of the Caucasus and its slopes, which are Llakz, Shirwān, and Zawzan, have no script.⁸⁶ Although there is a common language in the region, each group has its own dialect and expressions differ. We shall speak in detail about them in the proper place in the book.

Remarks about Sharpening Pens

Nations use different ways of sharpening their pens. The Hebrew way of sharpening is with an extreme angle. The Syriac trim is with an angle to the left, or maybe to the right, or perhaps they turn the pen on its back, or split the reed in two, sharpening one half which they call *ṣulb* and use for writing.

The Greek trim is a very oblique deviation to the right, because they write from the left to the right. The Persian trim is with the nib of the pen fringed. The scribe separates it either against the floor or with his teeth, so as to embellish the penmanship. Sometimes they write with the lower end of an unsharpened reed, calling

⁸⁴ The example is lacking. Al-Muktafī was the caliph A.D. 902–908. Ibn al-Aghlab must have been Ziyādat Allāh, the last ruler of the Aghlab dynasty in what is today Tunisia. He reigned A.D. 903–909.

⁸⁵ This last phrase occurs in MS 1135, but not in Flügel.

⁸⁶ The Caucasus region is called Mount al-Qabd. For Llakz, Shirwān, and Zawzan, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 220; II, 957. The consonants of the last name are clearly written in the MS 1135 as *z r z q*, but this must be an error and meant to indicate Zawzan, which lies between Armenia and Ādharbayjān.

this reed *khām*. With it they write *ilhamāh dīnāt*, which are books of religious inspirations, dowries, and other things.⁸⁷

The Chinese write with hairs which they fit into the heads of reeds as painters do. The Arabs write with various kinds of pens and [have various] ways of trimming them. The custom is to have a slant to the right, but the scribes trim pens without an angle.

Remarks about Types of Paper

It is said that first of all *Adam* wrote on clay. Then for a period after that the peoples wrote on copper and stone for the sake of durability. This was before the Flood. To meet the needs of the moment they also wrote on wood and the leaves of trees, as well as on the *tūz*,⁸⁸ bark with which their bows were mounted to make them last long. We have discussed this matter in detail in the chapter on philosophy.

Later on they tanned hides upon which people wrote. The Egyptians wrote on Egyptian paper made from the papyrus reed. It is said that the first person to do this was the prophet *Yūsuf* (Joseph), for whom be peace.

The Greeks write on white silk, parchment, and other things, as well as on Egyptian scrolls and *al-fulhān*,⁸⁹ which is the skin of wild asses. The Persians used to write on the skins of water buffaloes, cows, and sheep. The Arabs write on the shoulder blades of the camel and [on] *likhāf*, which are thin white stones, and on 'usb or palm stems; the Chinese on Chinese paper made of *hashish*,⁹⁰ which is the most important product of the land; the Indians on brass and stone, also on white silk.

Then there is the *Khurāsānī* paper made of flax, which some say appeared in the days of the Banū Umayyah, while others say it was during the 'Abbāsīd regime. Some say that it was an ancient product and others say that it is recent. It is stated that craftsmen from China

⁸⁷ The *khām* was a white reed pen used by the Persians. *Ilhām* means "inspirations" and *dīnāt* is from the word for "religion." "Dowries" is *siyāq*.

⁸⁸ *Tūz*, or *toz*, was the inner bark of a tree used by the Persians to wrap their bows and also as a writing material. See Fück in *Ambix*, IV, Nos. 3 and 4 (February 1951), 113 n. 16.

⁸⁹ This word seems to be a form derived from *pulhānā*. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁹⁰ This may mean "herbs," but more likely refers to "hemp."

made it in Khurāsān like the form of Chinese paper. Its types are the Sulaymānī, the Ṭalhī, the Nūhī, the Fir'awnī, the Ja'farī, and the Ṭahīrī.

For a number of years the people of Baghdād wrote on erased sheets. The registers spoiled at the time of Muḥammad ibn Zubaydah⁹¹ were parchments, which after being erased were once more written upon.

It is said that books used to be made of parchment tanned with *nawrah*⁹² and exceedingly dry. Later the Cūfic tanning was with dates, giving flexibility.

The end of the First Section of the First Chapter of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the learned men. To Allāh alone is the praise.

⁹¹ He is better known as al-Amīn, the elder son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who engaged in a civil war with his brother during the early years of the ninth century.

⁹² Lime mixed with arsenic, used to remove hair from the body before prayer and also by women in the baths. For further information about paper see Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, pp. 467-69; Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), II, 391, 392.

The Second Section of the First Chapter

with the titles of the books of the laws revealed to the community of Muslims and the sects of the peoples [through revealed books].

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: I once read a book which fell into my hands, and which was an ancient transcription, apparently from the library of al-Ma'mūn. In it the copyist mentions the names and numbers of the scriptures and revealed books, with their scope and with the things which most of the common people and the populace feel sure of and believe. I have recorded from it what is related to this book of mine. This statement in the wording of the [ancient] book is [the passage] from it which is needed by me. Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām, a protégé of the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn, whom I esteem as al-Rashīd, said:

I have translated this book from a book of the *ḥunafā'*¹ of al-Šābiyūn al-Ibrāhīmiyah, who believed in *Ibrāhīm* [Abraham], for whom may there be peace, and who received from him the scripture revealed to him by Allāh.²

It is a long book, but I have deleted such material as is unnecessary for an understanding of the reasons which are mentioned for their disagreements and differences. I have introduced into it what is needed for proof

¹ *Ḥunafā'* is the plural of *ḥanīf*, a word which was used for a reformed worshipper of Pre-Islāmic times. Abraham was regarded as a *ḥanīf*; see Qur'ān 3:67, and cf. Qur'ān 6:74 ff.

² For al-Šābiyūn al-Ibrāhīmiyah, see Mas'ūdī, IV, 63, and the account in Chap. IX, sect. 1, of this work, about the Šābians of Ḥarrān. This term may refer to the spiritual sect of the Šābians, opposed to idolatry; see Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part II, p. 4. It is also possible that it refers to the Šābians of the marshlands of southern 'Irāq, or simply to pagans who honored Abraham.

of these things from the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth coming from the Apostle, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, and from his Companions, as well as from the People of the Book who became Muslims, among whom were 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām, Yāmīn ibn Yāmīn, Wahb ibn Munabbih, Ka'b al-Aḥbār, Ibn al-Tihān, and Bahūr al-Rāhib (the Monk).

Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām [also] said:

I have translated the beginning of this book, and the Torah, the Gospels, and the books of the prophets and disciples from Hebrew, Greek, and Ṣābian, which are the languages of the people of each book, into Arabic, letter for letter. In so doing I did not wish to beautify or embellish the style for fear of inaccuracy. I added nothing to what I found in the book which I was translating and I subtracted nothing, unless there were words presented by the language of the people of that book with meanings which could not be clearly translated into Arabic except by transposing. Thus something coming last may not be clear unless it is placed first, so as to be understood in Arabic. For example, the words of one who says *āt māym tān* I have translated into Arabic as *mā' hāt*, only I have placed *mā'* (water) last and *hāt* (bring) first. So in translating these languages correctly into Arabic I seek the protection of Allāh lest I add or subtract, except in the manner which I have recorded and explained in this book.

In another place in the book he said:

The total number of prophets was one hundred and twenty-four thousand, three hundred and fifteen, among whom were those sent forth with revelation on their lips.³ The total number of books which Allāh Almighty revealed was one hundred and four. Among these Allāh Almighty revealed one hundred of the sacred scriptures⁴ between the times of *Adam* and *Mūsā* (Moses).

The first of these books revealed by Him [Allāh], honor to His name, were the sacred writings of Adam, for whom be peace, twenty-one in number. Allāh revealed to *Shīth* (Seth) for whom be peace, the second book, twenty-nine sacred writings. Allāh, may He be exalted, revealed the third book, thirty sacred writings, to *Ikhmūkh* (Enoch) who is *Idrīs*, may peace rest with him. The fourth book of ten sacred writings He, honor to His name, revealed to *Ibrāhīm* (Abraham), for whom be peace,

³ Perhaps the meaning of this sentence is that 315 from among the 124,000 were sent forth with revelation on their lips.

⁴ The word translated here as "scriptures" is *ṣaḥīfah*, which may refer to a whole scripture, or to the leaf of a manuscript.

and the fifth book of ten sacred writings to *Mūsā* (Moses). These are five books of one hundred sacred writings. Some time subsequent to these scriptures He, may He be blessed and exalted, revealed the Torah on ten tables to *Mūsā* (Moses), for whom be peace.

Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh recorded that the tables were green with the writing on them red like the rays of the sun, but *Aḥmad* ibn Ishāq said that the Jews do not know about this characteristic. *Aḥmad* [ibn 'Abd Allāh] also said:

When *Mūsā* (Moses) descended from the mountain and learned that his companions had been worshipping a calf, he threw down [the tables of stone] so that they were broken. Then he repented and asked Allāh, may He be glorified and honored, to give them to him again. So Allāh, honor to His name, revealed, "I will do it again with two tables." This Allāh did for him, one of the tablets being the "Table of the Covenant" and the other the "Table of Witnessing."⁵

Then Allāh, may He be glorified and honored, revealed to *Dā'ūd* (David) the Psalms, that is *al-zabūr*, which are one hundred and fifty in number and in the hands of the Jews and Christians.⁶

A Statement about the Torah, Which Is in the Hands of the Jews, with the Names of Their Books and Information about Their Scholars and Authors

When I asked one of their notable men about these matters, he said, "God, honor to His name, revealed to Moses the Torah in five fifths, each fifth divided into two parts and each part into a number of *farāsāt*, which means *sūrahs*, with every *farāsah* divided into a number of *absūqāt*, meaning verses."⁷

He said that there is a book of Moses called the *Mishna*, from which the Jews derive the science of the law, with the religious ordinances and judgments. It is a large book, its languages being *Kasdānī* and

⁵ See Exod. 24:12, 31:18, and 32:15. See also Qur'ān 7:148-54.

⁶ *Al-zibr* (pl. *al-zabūr*) is used for the Psalms. The number 150 corresponds to the number of psalms in the Bible. See also Qur'ān 3:184(181); 4:163(161); and "Zabūr, *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1184.

⁷ A note in Flügel, p. 12, suggests that the forms *farāsāt* (plural of *farāsah*) and *absūqāt* came from the Semitic words *paraschen* and *psuketh*. *Sūrah* is the word used for a chapter of the Qur'ān.

Hebrew.⁸ In addition to that there were among the books of the prophets:⁹

Joshua; Judges;¹⁰ Samuel; the scripture of Isaiah; the scripture of Jeremiah; the scripture of Ezekiel; Kings,¹¹ which is the scripture of David and his associates, known as "Malkhā al-Mulūk"; the Prophets, comprising twelve minor scriptures. There are also books called *Haftārōth*¹² derived from the books of the twelve prophets.

Among their books there are also:

Ezra; Daniel; Job; Song of Songs; Lamentations;¹³ Ruth; Ecclesiastes;¹⁴ Psalms of David; Proverbs of Solomon; Record of the Days [Chronicles], containing the history of the kings and accounts about them; Ahasuerus, called the Megillah [Esther].¹⁵

Al-Fayyūmī was one of the most eminent of the Jews and of their scholars who were versed in the Hebrew language. In fact the Jews consider that there was nobody else like al-Fayyūmī.¹⁶ His name was Sa'īd, also said to be Sa'dīyā, and he lived so recently that some of our contemporaries were alive before he died. Among his books there were:¹⁷

⁸ *Kāṣdu* was an old Babylonian form for the people of Chaldea. This probably means that the languages were a Chaldean dialect and Hebrew.

⁹ In *Al-Fihrist*, when lists of books are given, the word *kitāb* ("book") is placed before each title. In this translation, this word will be omitted.

¹⁰ The Arabic word is *saffā*, derived, like the Hebrew verb *shāfete*, from an old Semitic word for "judges."

¹¹ This is a transliteration of the old Hebrew form *malkhā*.

¹² This was a translation into Aramaean of selections from the Prophets. In the Flügel edition it is said the book is called *Lha-bīārāth*, but the text is evidently not in its original form. See "Targums," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, XII, 202.

¹³ Song of Songs is in Arabic *Sir Sirīn*, from the Hebrew *Shir Hashīrīm*. Lamentations is in Arabic *Akhā*, which is a transliteration of the Hebrew word with which the book began and by which it was often known. See Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 720.

¹⁴ The Arabic word is a transliteration of the Hebrew word *Qoheleth*. *Ibid.*, p. 724.

¹⁵ This book was evidently Esther, which was known in Hebrew as *Megilloth*. Sometimes, however, this term was used for Esther and four other books. See Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, I, 773.

¹⁶ He was the famous tenth-century Jewish scholar from Egypt, known as Saadia Ben Joseph, Gaon of the Academy of Sura.

¹⁷ In *Al-Fihrist* the phrase usually found before a list of books is, literally, "And to him from the books," which in translation is rendered as "Among his books there were."

Origins; Sacred Laws; Commentary on Isaiah; Commentary on the Torah, arranged without explanation;¹⁸ Proverbs, in ten chapters; Commentary on the Decrees of David; Commentary on "Al-Nikut,"¹⁹ which is an exposition of the Psalms of David, for whom be peace; Commentary on the Third Sacred Book of the Last Half of the Torah, with explanation; Commentary on the Book of Job; Establishment of Prayers and Sacred Laws; Events, which is a history.

Remarks about the Gospel of the Christians, the Names of Their Books, Their Scholars, and Their Authors

I asked Yūnus the priest, who was an excellent man, about the books translated into the Arabic language which they expound and according to which they act. He replied, "Among them is the book *Al-Šūrah* (The Form) which is divided into two parts, the 'Old Form' and the 'New Form.'" He stated that the "Old [Form]" was the ancient basis for the Jewish sect and the "New [Form]" for the sect of the Christians. He also said that the "Old [Form]" depends upon a number of books, the first of which is the Torah, which is five sacred writings. [Then follows] a compilation comprising a number of books, among which are:

Joshua, the Son of Nūn; The Tribes, which is the book of Judges; Samuel and the Judgment of David; Traditions of the Children of Israel; The Story of Ruth; Solomon, the Son of David, about wise sayings; Ecclesiastes [Qoheleth]; The Song of Songs; The Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach [Ecclesiasticus].²⁰ The Prophets, composed of four books: Isaiah the Prophet, for whom be peace; Jeremiah the Prophet, for whom be peace; The Twelve Prophets, for whom be peace; Ezekiel. The New Form, which is composed of four gospels; The Gospel of Matthew; The Gospel of Mark; The Gospel of Luke; The Gospel of John. Book of the Disciples, known as *Frāksis* [Acts]; Paul the Apostle, twenty-four epistles.²¹

¹⁸ The Flügel text has *bilā sharḥ* ("without explanation"), which may be an error, as it would make more sense to have *bi-al-sharḥ* ("with explanation").

¹⁹ *Al-Nikut* is evidently a transliteration of the Hebrew word *nekoṭh* ("treasure house").

²⁰ The Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach, is the title used in the Catholic edition of the Apocrypha for the book usually called Ecclesiasticus.

²¹ *Frāksis* is the Arabic transliteration of the Greek *ᾠδάσεις*. There are 27 epistles in the Bible.

They also have books about the religious law and the judgments of their community, among which are the books of the synods, western and eastern, each of which contains a number of chapters of legal decisions.²²

One of their authorities on the religious law and judicial interpretations was Ibn *Bahriz*, whose name was 'Abd Yasū'. He was at first the metropolitan of Ḥarrān and subsequently became the metropolitan of al-Mawṣil and Ḥarrah. He wrote epistles and books.

There was also the book of *Marqus* the Jacobite, who was known as al-Bādawī. It was a reply to two books which refuted his doctrine and denying the oneness of the Trinity professed by the Jacobites and Melchites.²³

Ibn Bahriz was learned, his scholarship approaching that of Islām. He translated a great deal of material from books about logic and philosophy. There was also *Pethiōn*, who was the most accurate of the translators from the point of view of translation, also the best of them for style and diction. There were *Theodorus* and *Yūsha'* Yaḥb, *Hazqil* (Ezekiel), *Timiotheus*, and *Yūsha'* ibn Nūn, who were translators and commentators.²⁴ We shall give accounts about them in the chapter on the ancient sciences [Chapter VII].

Among their learned men there was *Tawmā* al-Ruhāwī (Thomas of Ruhā' or Edessa), who wrote an epistle to his sister about what took place between him and the opposition at Alexandria. There was also *Ilyās* (Elias), the metropolitan of Damascus, who wrote a book, *The Call*, as well as Abū 'Izzah, the Melchite bishop of Ḥarrān, among whose works there was a book in which he defamed *Nestorius*²⁵ the leader. A group has denounced him.

²² Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, is a good example of a Nestorian or Eastern collection of church records.

²³ Marqus was Jacob Burdeānā, a metropolitan of the Syrian Orthodox Church, called the Jacobite Church after him. He evidently replied to Nestorian books which endorsed the doctrine that Christ had two natures. The Melchites, supported by the emperor, decreed at the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, that the two natures were not separate, but one and composite. Later the Syrian Orthodox Church, or Jacobites, emphasized still further the oneness of Christ's nature as expressed in the Monophysite dogma.

²⁴ These men were all translators and not Biblical characters.

²⁵ The Flügel text has Asṭūrus, but it is evidently an error and intended for Nestorius.

The Third Section of the First Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist with accounts of the scholars and the names of their books. This section includes a description of the Book which has nothing false in front of it or behind it; a revelation from the Wise and Praised, with the names of the books composed about it and accounts of the Seven Readers and others, too, with their writings.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Nāqī¹ said:

Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad Abū al-Qāsim related to us saying, Sulaymān ibn Dā'ūd al-Hāshimī said, Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd [learned] from al-Zuhri from 'Ubayd ibn al-Silf that Zayd ibn Thābit told him saying, "I was sent to Abū Bakr and when I came to him, behold, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was with him. Then Abū Bakr said, 'Umar has come to me and said to me, "As the slaughter of reciters² [of the Qur'ān] was excessive on the day of Yamāmah,³ I fear that the slaughter of reciters in the lands as a whole may be so great that much of the Qur'ān will be lost. I believe, therefore, that the Qur'ān should immediately be compiled." Then I said to 'Umar, "How can I do something which the Apostle of Allāh himself did not accomplish, may Allāh bless him and give him peace?" 'Umar said, "But, by Allāh, it is a good idea!" Then 'Umar continued to remind me about this matter until Allāh opened my heart for him and I viewed the affair as 'Umar saw it.'"

¹ This may have been a personal friend of the author of *Al-Fihrist* who passed on to him the tradition about compilation of the Qur'ān.

² Here the Arabic is translated as "reciters," as the literal meaning, "readers," cannot apply to persons who recited from memory.

³ The battle in A.D. 633, when the Muslim general Khālid ibn al-Walīd defeated the rebellious Banū Ḥanīfah tribesmen and killed the false prophet Musaylimah. It is likely that in the second sentence which follows in the text the wording should be, "I believe, therefore, that you should immediately compile the Qur'ān."

Zayd ibn Thābit also related: "Abū *Bakr* said, 'You are a young man, intelligent, and not headstrong. You used to write down what was revealed to the Apostle of Allāh, may Allāh bless him and give him peace. So now follow up the problem of the Qur'ān and make a compilation of it.'"

Zayd then said: "By Allāh, to move a peak from the mountains would not have been a harder job for me than the one which he commanded me to do, which is the compilation of the entire Qur'ān from scraps, thin white stones, palm stems, and the breasts [memory] of men. I found 'Sūrah al-Tawbah'⁴ [recorded] by Abū *Khazaymah* al-Ansārī and did not discover [recorded] by anybody else the passage, 'An apostle has come to you from your own number; costly for him are your sufferings,' to the end of the sūrah."

This scripture⁵ was with Abū *Bakr* during his lifetime, until Allāh took him. Then it was with 'Umar until Allāh brought his life to a completion, and after that with 'Umar's daughter *Ḥafṣah*.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq: A reliable person has quoted that *Hudhayfah* ibn al-Yamān came to 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān when he was in 'Irāq, saying to him, 'Uthmān, "Get ahead of this people before they disagree about the Book, as the Jews and Christians have disagreed [about their scriptures]." So 'Uthmān sent the message to *Ḥafṣah*, "Send us the scriptures that we may transcribe them as manuscripts and then return them to you." *Ḥafṣah* sent them to 'Uthmān and 'Uthmān gave orders so that *Zayd* ibn Thābit, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, Sa'id ibn al-'Āṣ, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām transcribed them as manuscripts. Moreover, he ['Uthmān] said to the group of the Quraysh,⁶ "If you and *Zayd* ibn Thābit differ about any passage of the Qur'ān, write it in the colloquial speech of the Quraysh, as it was revealed in their vernacular." So they accomplished this work and when the scriptures had been transcribed, 'Uthmān returned them to *Ḥafṣah*. Then he sent a manuscript copy to each district, ordering that every

⁴ This was Sūrah 9. The passage quoted represents the last three verses of the sūrah. *Zayd* ibn Thābit was chosen to compile the Qur'ān in written form because he had been the Prophet's secretary.

⁵ This was evidently *Zayd*'s original collection of Qur'ānic verses, later issued as an authorized canon in corrected form.

⁶ This was the tribe at Makkah to which the Prophet belonged. *Zayd* did not belong to it, but the men chosen to work with him were related to the tribe.

page and manuscript with a different version of the Qur'ān should be burned.

Subdivision concerning the Revealing of the Qur'ān at Makkah and al-Madīnah, with the Sequence of Its Revelation

Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf related to us saying:

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ghālib said to us, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Madīnī, who came from al-Madīnah in the year two hundred and ninety-nine [A.D. 911], said that *Bakr* ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb of al-Madīnah stated, al-*Wāqidi* Muḥammad ibn 'Umar related to us saying, *Ma'mar* ibn-Rāshid quoted what he received from al-*Zuhri* and he from *Muḥammad* ibn Nu'mān ibn Bashīr, who said that the first section of the Qur'ān to be revealed to the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, was:⁷

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Recite in the name of your Lord who created—as far as its clause—He taught men what he did not know	96
Nūn (N) and the Pen	68
Oh, thou who art wrapped up—the last verse, however, being revealed on the Makkah road	73
The Cloaked	74
Quoting from <i>Mujāhid</i> , he said that then there were revealed:	
Perish the hands of Abū <i>Lahab</i>	111
When the sun is covered	81
Glorify the name of your Lord the Most High	87
Have we not expanded your breast for you?	94
Al-'Aṣr (The Afternoon)	103
Al-Fajr (The Daybreak)	89
Al-Ḍuḥā (The Early Morning)	93
Al-Layl (The Night)	92
The runners breathing hard	100

⁷ The quotation continues. The headings in brackets do not appear in the Arabic text, but after the opening words of each sūrah the text adds "then." The numbers of the sūrahs in the authorized version of the Qur'ān have been inserted in a second column, and are not in the Arabic text. For a detailed study, see the Flügel text, p. 25. n. 1.

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
We have given you abundance	108
Rivalry for wealth distracts you	102
Have you considered him who?	107
Say: Oh, unbelievers	109
Have you not seen how your Lord dealt with the owners of the elephant?	105
Say: He Allāh is one	112
Say: I seek refuge in the Lord of the dawn	113
Say: I take refuge in the Lord of mankind—said to have been revealed at al-Madīnah,	114
And the star	53
He frowned and turned away	80
Verily We revealed it	97
And the sun and its morning light	91
And the heaven with the stars	85
And the fig and the olive	95
For uniting of the Quraysh	106
The calamity	101
Verily, I swear by the Day of Resurrection	75
Woe to every slanderer	104
And those who are sent forth	77
Qāf(Q) and the Qur'ān ^a	50
Verily, I swear by this city	90
The Compassionate	55
Say: It has been revealed	72
Yā'(Y) Sīn(S)	36
Alif(A) Lām(L) Mīm(M) Šād(Š)	7
Blessed is He Who has sent down the test of truth	25
Sūrah of the Angels, Praise to Allāh the Creator ^a	35
Sūrah of Maryam (Mary)	19
Sūrah Ṭā'(Ṭ) Hā'(H)	20
When the event occurs	56
Ṭā'(Ṭ) Sīn(S) Mīm(M): The Poets	26

^a This sūrah and some of the others which follow begin with letters. The scholars are not sure what these letters mean.

^b The first clause is the title and the second the opening words of Sūrah 35. Flügel is evidently wrong in giving them as two different titles. Fifteen of the titles which follow give the names of the sūrahs rather than the opening words.

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Ṭā'(T) Sīn(S)	27
Ṭā'(T) Sīn(S) Mīm(M), to its end	28
Sūrah of the Banū Isrā'il (Children of Israel)	17
Sūrah of Hūd	11
Sūrah of Yūsuf (Joseph)	12
Sūrah of Yūnus (Jonah)	10
Sūrah of al-Ḥijr (the Rocky Tract)	15
Sūrah, Wa-al-Ṣaffāt (Those Who Rank Themselves)	37
Sūrah of Luqmān—the last of which is from al-Madīnah	31
The believers have prospered	23
Sabā	34
Sūrah, Al-Anbiyā' (The Prophets)	21
Sūrah, Al-Zumar (The Troops)	39
Sūrah, Ḥā'(H) Mīm(M): Al-Mu'min (The Believer)	40
Sūrah, Ḥā'(H) Mīm(M): Al-Sajdah (The Worship) ¹⁰	41
Sūrah, Ḥā'(H) Mīm(M) 'Ayn(') Sīn(S) Qāf(Q)	42
Ḥā'(H) Mīm(M): Al-Zukhruf (The Ornaments)	43
Ḥā'(H) Mīm(M): Al-Dukhān (The Smoke)	44
Ḥā'(H) Mīm(M): Al-Jāthiyah (The Kneeling) ¹¹	45
Ḥā'(H) Mīm(M): Al-Aḥqāf (The Sandhills)—in which there is a verse from al-Madīnah	46
And those scattering	51
Has there not come to you an account of the over- shadowing?	88
Sūrah of al-Kahf (the Cave)—the last of which is from al-Madīnah	18
Al-An'ām (The Cattle)—in which there is a verse from al-Madīnah	6
Sūrah of al-Naḥl (the Bee)—the last of which is from al-Madīnah	16
Sūrah of Nūḥ (Noah)	71
Sūrah of Ibrāhīm (Abraham)	14
Sūrah of al-Sajdah (Worship)	32
Wa-al-Ṭūr (And the Mountain)	52
Blessed is he in whose hand is the sovereignty	67

¹⁰ This sūrah is usually called "Al-Fuṣṣilat," to avoid confusion with Sūrah 32.

¹¹ The Flügel text gives "Al-Sharī 'ah," which must be a mistake and meant to be "Al-Jāthiyah."

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Al-Ḥāqqah (The Infallible)	69
A questioner questioned	70
Whercof do they question?	78
And those who drag forth	79
When the heavens are cleft	82
When the heavens are split	84
Al-Rūn (The Byzantines)	30
Al-'Ankabūt (The Spider)	29
Woe to the givers of short measure—they say it is from al-Madīnah	83
The hour drew nigh and the moon was cleft	54
And the heavens and the night corner	86

He [Abū al-Ḥasan] said:

Al-*Thawrī* passed on to me¹² from *Farrās* from al-*Sha'bī*, who said "Al-Nahl" was revealed at Makkah, except for those verses, "If you take vengeance, avenge in the way that they take vengeance on you."¹³ Ibn *Jurayj* passed on from 'Atā' al-*Khurāsānī* from Ibn 'Abbās, who said eighty-five sūrahs were revealed at Makkah, whereas twenty-eight sūrahs were revealed at al-Madīnah. At al-Madīnah there were revealed:¹⁴

Al-Baqarah (The Cow)	2
Al-Anfāl (The Spoils)	8
Al-A'rāf (The Heights)	7
Āl 'Imrān (Family of 'Imrān)	3
Al-Mumtaḥanah (She Who Is Examined)	60
Al-Nisā' (The Women)	4
When it quakes	99
Al-Ḥadīd (The Iron)	57
Those who disbelieve	47
Al-Ra'd (The Thunder)	13

¹² The Arabic has "Al-*Thawrī* told me," but the meaning must be "Al-*Thawrī* passed on to me," because al-*Thawrī* lived long before al-Nadīm and his contemporary Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, whom al-Nadīm quoted at the beginning of the passage.

¹³ This evidently refers to the last three verses of Sūrah 16.

¹⁴ As in the preceding lists, the headings and numbers of sūrahs have been inserted, although they do not appear in the Arabic text. Before each title there is the word "then," which has been omitted in the translation.

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Has there come upon man?	76
Oh, Prophet, when you divorce women	65
Those who were unbelievers were not	98
Al-Hashr (The Assembling)	59
When the help of Allāh and the conquest come	110
Al-Nūr (The Light)	24
Al-Ḥajj (The Pilgrimage)	22
Al-Munāfiqūn (The Hypocrites)	63
Al-Mujādilah (She Who Pleads)	58
Al-Hujurāt (The Private Apartments)	49
Oh, Prophet, wherefore dost thou forbid	66
Al-Jumū'ah (The Congregation)	62
Al-Taghābun (Disillusion)	64
Al-Ḥawāriyīn (The Disciples) ¹⁵	61
Al-Faṭḥ (The Victory)	48
Al-Mā'idah (The Dining Table)	5
Al-Tawbah (Repentance)	9

It is said that "Al-Mu'awwidhāt" were revealed at al-Madīnah. Then there is the remainder of the Qur'ān.¹⁶

Subdivision concerning the Arrangement of the Qur'ān in the Manuscript of 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd

Al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān said, "I found in a manuscript of 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd the compilation of the sūrahs of the Qur'ān in accordance with the following sequence:¹⁷

Al-Baqarah (The Cow)	2
Al-Nisā' (The Women)	4
Āl 'Imrān (The Family of 'Imrān)	3

¹⁵ Also called "Al-Ṣaff" ("The Ranks").

¹⁶ In the Sūrahs 113 and 114, the principal word is *a'udh* ("I take refuge"), so that these sūrahs are called "Al-Mu'awwidhat." Here they are counted as one, making a total of 28 revealed at al-Madīnah. The remainder of the Qur'ān was ascribed to Makkah.

¹⁷ 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd was a judge at al-Kūfah at the time of the early caliphs. He evidently owned an ancient manuscript which was kept for future generations to study. In this list, unlike the preceding lists, the word "then" does not precede each title. The sūrah numbers have been inserted by the translator.

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Alif(A) Lām(L) Mīm(M) Šād(Š) ¹⁸	7
Al-ʾAḡʾām (The Cattle)	6
Al-Māʾidah (The Dining Table)	5
Yūnus (Jonah)	10
Al-Barāʾah (Freedom) ¹⁹	9
Al-Naḥl (The Bee)	16
Hūd	11
Yūsuf (Joseph)	12
Banī Isrāʾīl (Children of Israel)	17
Al-Anbiyāʾ (The Prophets)	21
Al-Muʾminūn (The Believers)	23
Al-Shuʾarāʾ (The Poets)	26
Al-Šaffat (Those Who Rank Themselves)	37
Al-Aḥzāb (The Confederates)	33
Al-Qaṣaṣ (The Story)	28
Al-Nūr (The Light)	24
Al-Anfāl (The Spoils)	8
Maryam (Mary)	19
Al-ʾAnkabūt (The Spider)	29
Al-Rūm (The Byzantines)	30
Yāʾ(Y) Sīn(S)	36
Al-Furqān (The Test of Truth)	25
Al-Ḥajj (The Pilgrimage)	22
Al-Raʾd (The Thunder)	13
Sabā	34
Al-Malāʾikah (The Angels)	35
Ibrāhīm (Abraham)	14
Šād(Š)	38
Those who disbelieve	47
Al-Qamar (The Moon) ²⁰	31
Al-Zumar (The Troops)	39
The Praise-Giving Ḥāʾ(H) Mīm(M) Sūrahs: Ḥāʾ(H) Mīm(M): Al-Muʾmin (The Believer)	40

¹⁸ Better known as "Al-Aʾrāf" ("The Heights").

¹⁹ Better known as "Al-Tawbah" ("Repentance").

²⁰ Flügel, p. 26 n. 10, suggests that this is meant to be "Luqmān" or Sūrah 31, which does not appear elsewhere on the list and in v. 29 mentions *al-qamar*. Sūrah 54, usually called "Al-Qamar," is mentioned in this list and others by its opening words, rather than by a title.

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Zukhruf (The Ornaments)	43
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Sajdah (The Worship) ²¹	41
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Aḥqāf (The Sandhills)	46
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Jāthiyah (The Kneeling)	45
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Dukhān (The Smoke)	44
Lo, We have given thee a victory	48
Al-Ḥadid (The Iron)	57
Sabbah: Al-Ḥashr (Praise: The Assembling) ²²	59
Tanzil: Al-Sajdah (Revelation: Worship)	32
Qāf(Q)	50
Al-Ṭalāq (The Divorce)	65
Al-Ḥujurāt (The Private Apartments)	49
Blessed is he in whose hand is the sovereignty	67
Al-Taghābun (Disillusion)	64
Al-Munāfiqūn (The Hypocrites)	63
Al-Jumu'ah (The Congregation)	62
Al-Ḥawāriyūn (The Disciples) ²³	61
Say: It has been revealed to me	72
Lo, We sent Nūḥ (Noah)	71
Al-Mujādilah (She Who Pleads)	58
Al-Mumtaḥanah (She Who Is Examined)	60
Oh, Prophet, wherefore dost thou forbid?	66
Al-Raḥmān (The Compassionate)	55
Al-Najm (The Star)	53
Al-Dhāriyāt (Those Scattering)	51
Al-Ṭūr (The Mountain)	52
The hour drew nigh	54
Al-Ḥāqqah (The Infallible)	69
When there happens	56
Nūn(N) and the Pen	68
Al-Nāzi'āt (Those Who Drag Forth)	79
A questioner questioned	70
Al-Muddaththir (The Cloaked)	74
Al-Muzzammil (The Wrapped-Up)	73

²¹ Usually called "Al-Fuṣṣilat," as Sūrah 32 is called "Al-Sajdah."

²² This title and the one which follows combine the name of the sūrah with the opening word.

²³ Usually called "Al-Ṣaff."

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Al-Muṭṭififīn (Givers of Short Measure) ²⁴	83
He frowned	80
Has there come upon man?	76
Al-Qiyāmah (The Resurrection)	75
Al-Mursalāt (Those Sent Forth)	77
Wherefore do they question?	78
When the sun is covered	81
When the heavens are cleft	82
Has there not come to you an account of the over- whelming?	88
Glorify the name of your Lord the Most High	87
And the night when it enshrouds	92
Al-Fajr (The Dawn)	89
Al-Burūj (The Stars of the Zodiac)	85
Al-Inshiqāq (Rent Asunder) ²⁵	84
Recite in the name of your Lord	96
Verily, I swear by this city	90
Wa-al-Ḍuḥā (And the Morning Light)	93
Have We not expanded for you	94
And the heavens and the night comer	86
Al-ʿĀdiyāt (The Runners)	100
Have you seen someone?	107
Al-Qārīʾah (The Calamity)	101
Those of the People of the Book who were unbelievers were not	98
The sun and its morning light	91
And the fig	95
Woe to every slanderer	104
Al-Fil (The Elephant)	105
For uniting the Quraysh	106
Al-Takāthur (Rivalry for Wealth)	102
Verily, We revealed it	97
And the afternoon. We have created man for loss [of God's favor] in which he will remain until the end of time, except for those who believe, enjoining one	

²⁴ Known as "Al-Taṭfīf."

²⁵ This is probably the title intended in the Arabic,

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
another to piety and committing each other to endurance. ²⁶	
When the help of Allāh cometh	110
Verily, We have given you	108
Say: Oh, you who disbelieved, I do not worship what you worship	109
The hands of Abū <i>Lahab</i> have perished and he has perished.	
His wealth will not be enough for him, nor his gains. His wife, moreover, is the bearer of wood. ²⁷	111
Allāh is one, eternal.	112

These are one hundred and ten sūrahs.²⁸

According to another tradition, "Al-Ṭūr" [Sūrah 52] comes before "Al-Dhāriyāt" [Sūrah 51].

Ibn *Shādhān*²⁹ stated that Ibn *Sīrīn* said 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd did not transcribe into his manuscript either "Al-Mu'awwīdhātān"³⁰ or the opening of the Book.³¹ Moreover, al-Faḍl [ibn Shādhān] quoted in sequence from al-*A'mash*, saying that in the reading of 'Abd Allāh [ibn Mas'ūd] there was "Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M) Sīn(S) Qāf(Q)." ³²

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-*Nadīm*]: I have seen a number of Qur'ānic manuscripts, which the transcribers recorded as manuscripts of Ibn Mas'ūd. No two of the Qur'ānic copies were in agreement and most of them were on badly effaced parchment. I also saw a Qur'ānic manuscript transcribed about two hundred

²⁶ The author has evidently quoted these sentences to show how different they are from the authorized version of the Qur'ān. Cf. Sūrah 103 of the authorized version.

²⁷ Here again the verses are quoted, as they are a variation. The authorized version makes it clear that the wife of Abū Lahab is carrying fuel to feed the flames with which her husband is being burned in Hell. For the sūrah which follows, the authorized version has, "Say, He, Allāh, is one, Allāh the Eternal."

²⁸ In the authorized version there are 114 sūrahs. In this passage there are only 106, not 110.

²⁹ The Flügel text has *Abū* instead of *ibn*, evidently a mistake.

³⁰ Sūrahs 113 and 114. Here the dual form is used instead of the plural.

³¹ This refers to "Fātiḥat al-Kitāb," the first short sūrah.

³² In the authorized version, the letters are "Ḥā' (Ḥ) Mīm (M) 'Ayn (') Sīn (S) Qāf(Q)." This is Sūrah 42.

years ago which included the opening of the Book. As al-Faḍl ibn *Shādhān* was one of the leading authorities on the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth, I have mentioned what he said, in addition to what we ourselves have witnessed.

Subdivision concerning the Arrangement of the Qur'ān in the Manuscript of *Ubayy* ibn Ka'b

Al-Faḍl ibn *Shādhān* said:

One of our reliable friends has informed us, saying that the composition of the sūrahs according to the reading of *Ubayy* ibn Ka'b is in a village called *Qariyat al-Anṣār*, two parasangs³³ from al-Baṣrah, where in his home Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Anṣārī showed us a Qur'ānic manuscript, saying, "This is the copy of *Ubayy* which we have, handed down from our fathers." I looked into it and ascertained the headings of the sūrahs, the endings of the revelations, and the numbers of verses.³⁴

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah] ³⁵
Fātiḥat al-Kitāb (Opening of the Book)—was the first	1
Al-Baqarah (The Cow)	2
Al-Nisā' (The Women)	4
Āl 'Imrān (The Family of 'Imrān)	3
Al-An'ām (The Cattle)	6
Al-A'rāf (The Heights)	7
Al-Mā'idah (The Table)	5
Alif(A) Lām(L) Dhāl(Dh) Yā'(Y)—about which I was confused, but it is "Yūnus" (Jonah) ³⁶	10
Al-Anfāl (The Spoils)	8
Al-Tawbah (Repentance)	9
Hūd	11
Maryam (Mary)	19
Al-Shu'arā' (The Poets)	26
Al-Ḥajj (The Pilgrimage)	22

³³ The Anṣār were the people of al-Madīnah who helped the Prophet. A parasang is a measure of distance of about five miles or less. Various sources give different values.

³⁴ This passage is translated freely.

³⁵ The sūrah numbers have been inserted by the translator.

³⁶ In the authorized version the letters are "Alif(A) Lām(L) Rā'(R)."

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Yūsuf (Joseph)	12
Al-Kahf (The Cave)	18
Al-Naḥl (The Bee)	16
Al-Aḥzāb (The Confederates)	33
Banī Isrā'īl (The Children of Israel)	17
Al-Zumar (The Troops)	39
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Tanzīl (The Revelation)	45
Ṭā'(Ṭ) Ḥā'(Ḥ)	20
Al-Anbiyā' (The Prophets)	21
Al-Nūr (The Light)	24
Al-Mu'minūn (The Believers) ³⁷	23
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Mu'min (The Believer)	40
Al-Ra'd (The Thunder)	13
Ṭā'(Ṭ) Sīn(S) Mīm(M): Al-Qaṣaṣ (The Story)	28
Ṭā'(Ṭ) Sīn(S): Sulaymān (Solomon) ³⁸	27
Al-Şāffāt (Those Who Rank Themselves)	37
Dā'ūd: Sūrah Şād(Ş) (David)	38
Yā'(Y) Sīn(S)	36
Aṣḥāb al-Ḥijr (The Inhabitants of the Rocky Land)	15
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M) 'Ayn(') Sīn(S) Qāf(Q)	42
Al-Rūm (The Byzantines)	30
Al-Zukhruf (The Ornaments)	43
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Sajdah (The Worship)	41
Sūrah of Ibrāhīm (Abraham)	14
Al-Malā'ikah (The Angels) ³⁹	35
Al-Faṭḥ (The Victory)	48
Muḥammad, may Allāh bless him and give him peace	47
Al-Ḥadīd (The Iron)	57
Al-Ṭūr (The Mountain) ⁴⁰	52
Tabārak: Al-Furqān (Blessed: The Test of Truth)	25
Alif(A) Lām(L) Mīm(M): Tanzīl (Revelation)	32

³⁷ The Arabic text has "Al-Mu' minūn" in possessive form after sūrah.

³⁸ Usually called "Al-Naml."

³⁹ The Flügel text gives "Al-Malikah."

⁴⁰ Flügel copied from his imperfect manuscript "Al-Ṭihār," but he points out, p. 27 n. 9, that this is a mistake. The title two lines above has evidently been lengthened by some pious scribe, as the real title is "Muḥammad."

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Nūḥ (Noah)	71
Al-Aḥqāf (The Sandhills)	46
Qāf(Q)	50
Al-Raḥmān (The Compassionate)	55
Al-Wāqī'ah (The Event)	56
Al-Jinn	72
Al-Najm (The Star)	53
Nūn(N)	68
Al-Ḥāqqah (The Infallible)	69
Al-Ḥashr (The Assembling)	59
Al-Mumtaḥanah (She Who Is Examined)	60
Al-Mursalāt (Those Sent Forth)	77
Whereof do they question?	78
Al-Insān (The Man)	76
Verily I swear	75
Covered	81
Al-Nāzi'āt (Those Who Drag Forth)	79
'Abas[a] (He Frowned)	80
Al-Muṭaffifin (Those Who Give Short Measure)	83
When the heavens are split	84
Al-Tin (The Fig)	95
Recite in the name of your Lord	96
Al-Ḥujurāt (The Private Apartments)	49
Al-Munāfiqūn (The Hypocrites)	63
Al-Jumu'ah (The Congregation)	62
Al-Nabī, for whom be peace ⁴¹	66
Al-Fajr (The Dawn)	89
Al-Mulk (The Sovereignty)	67
The night when it enshrouds	92
When the heavens are cleft	82
And the sun with its morning light	91
And the heavens with the stars	85
Al-Ṭāriq (The Night Comer)	86
Glorify the name of your Lord the Most High	87
Al-Ghāshiyah (The Overshadowing)	88

⁴¹ The words "for whom be peace" are not in the authorized version.

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
'Abas[a] (He Frowned) ⁴²	74?
He was not the first of those who disbelieved	98?
Al-Şaff (The Ranks)	61
Al-Ḍuḥā (The Morning Light)	93
Have we not expanded your	94
Al-Qāri'ah (The Calamity)	101
Al-Takāthur (Rivalry for Wealth)	102
Al-Khal' (Divorce), three verses ⁴⁴	65?
Al-Jid (The Neck), six verses ⁴⁵	
Oh, Allāh, Thee do we worship—the last of which is—with the unbelievers. It is appended to "Al-Lumazah." ⁴⁶	104
When it quakes	99
Al-'Ādiyāt (The Runners)	100
Aşḥāb al-Fil (Owners of the Elephant)	105
Al-Tin (The Fig) ⁴⁷	?
Al-Kawthar (Abundance)	108
Al-Qadr (The Power)	97
Al-Kāfirūn (The Unbelievers)	109
Al-Naşr (Help)	110
Abi Lahab	111
Quraysh	106
Al-Şamad (The Eternal)	112
Al-Falaq (The Dawn)	113
Al-Nās (Mankind)	114

This is one hundred and sixteen sūrahs.⁴⁸

⁴² 'Abas[a] has already been mentioned as Sūrah 80. As the word also appears in Sūrah 74, v. 22, this may refer to that sūrah, which is not mentioned elsewhere in this list.

⁴³ This is probably a variation for Sūrah 98, v. 1.

⁴⁴ This sūrah is probably meant as Sūrah 65, which deals with the subject of divorce. On the other hand, Sūrah 65 has many verses, so that "Al-Khal'" may be a garbled title for Sūrah 103, which has three verses.

⁴⁵ Al-jid ("neck") is mentioned at the end of Sūrah 111, but this sūrah is included as "Abi Lahab." Perhaps the word is meant to be *al-ḥamd*, the opening word of Sūrah 34, not mentioned elsewhere in this list.

⁴⁶ "Al-Lumazah" almost certainly refers to Sūrah 104, but the words appended are not in the authorized version.

⁴⁷ This is a mistake, as the sūrah has already been mentioned and the name does not resemble titles of sūrahs not elsewhere mentioned.

⁴⁸ The list as given does not include such a large number, moreover, about a dozen of the sūrahs of the authorized version are omitted.

He [Al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān] said:

So far I have followed the Qur'ānic copy of Ubayy ibn Ka'b. According to the statement of Ubayy ibn Ka'b the total number of the verses of the Qur'ān is six thousand, two hundred and ten. The total number of the sūrahs of the Qur'ān according to the statement of 'Aṭā' ibn Yasār is one hundred and fourteen, its verses are six thousand, one hundred and seventy, its words seventy-seven thousand, four hundred and thirty-nine, and its letters three hundred and twenty-three thousand and fifteen.

According to the statement of 'Āṣim al-Jahḍarī, there are one hundred and thirteen sūrahs. The total number of verses of the Qur'ān as stated by Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥārith al-Dhamārī is six thousand, two hundred and twenty-six, while its letters are three hundred and twenty-one thousand, five hundred and thirty.

The Collectors of the Qur'ān at the Time of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace

'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, may the favor of Allāh be with him; Sa'd ibn 'Ubayd ibn Nu'mān ibn 'Amr ibn Zayd, may Allāh be pleased with him;⁴⁹ Abū al-Dardā' 'Uwaymar ibn Zayd, may Allāh be pleased with him; Mu'adh ibn Jabal ibn Aws, may Allāh be pleased with him; Abū Zayd Thābit ibn Zayd Ibn al-Nu'mān;⁵⁰ Ubayy ibn Ka'b ibn Qays ibn Mālik ibn Imru' al-Qays; 'Ubayd ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Zayd ibn Thābit ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk.

Arrangement of the Sūrahs of the Qur'ān according to the Manuscript of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, May Allāh Honor His Countenance

Ibn al-Munādī said:

Al-Ḥasan ibn al-'Abbās said to me, "I received the information through 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥammād from al-Ḥakam ibn Zuhayr al-Sadūsī from 'Abd Khayr from 'Alī, for whom be peace, that he ['Alī] perceived an augury connected with the people⁵¹ at the time of the death of the

⁴⁹ This name is sometimes written Sa'id, but both *Al-Fihrist* and Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, spell it without the third letter.

⁵⁰ Abū Zayd had many names; see Biog. Index. As "Ibn al-Nu'mān" is not mentioned in connection with his lineage, it may be that this is a separate name, perhaps intended for the Prophet's intimate Companion, Qatādah ibn al-Nu'mān.

⁵¹ For the phrase translated as "with the people" the Flügel text has *min al-nās*, but p. 28 n. 1 of the Flügel text suggests an alternative. *Al-nās* is sometimes used for angels as well as for people. The word might also be *al-nāsh* ("lamentation").

Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace. So he swore that he would not take his cloak from his back until he had compiled the Qur'ān. He stayed, therefore, in his house for three days until he compiled the Qur'ān. This was the first manuscript in which the Qur'ān was compiled from memory. The manuscript was with the people of *Ja'far*.⁵²

In our own time I myself saw at the home of Abū Ya'lā Ḥamzah al-Ḥasanī, may Allāh be merciful to him, a manuscript from which some pages had dropped out, written in the handwriting of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. The Banū Ḥasan hold it as an inheritance, as time passes by, and this is the arrangement of the sūrahs in that manuscript.⁵³

Accounts of the Seven Readers with the Names of Those Who Quoted from Them and Read Like Them⁵⁴

Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā,' whose name was Zabbān ibn al-'Alā' ibn 'Ammār ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Julhum ibn Khuzā'i ibn Māzin ibn Mālik ibn 'Amr al-Mazīnī, was one of the most learned authorities of the Qur'ān. Yūnus and other shaykhs of al-Baṣrah belonging to the fourth generation [of Islām] learned from him.

Naming of Those Who Followed the Reading of Abū 'Amr

The Reading of Abū 'Amr, a composition of Aḥmad ibn Zayd al-Ḥalwānī; The Reading of Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā', from Abū Dhuhl, quoted by 'Ismah ibn Abī 'Ismah; The Reading of Abū 'Amr, which was quoted by al-Yazīdī.⁵⁵

Account of Nāfi' ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Nu'aym al-Madanī

He was also called Abbān and Abū al-Ḥasan. Al-Aṣma'i quoted Nāfi', who told him, "My origin was at Iṣbahān."

⁵² This may refer to *Ja'far* ibn Abī Ṭālib, but it is more likely that it is meant to be the sixth Shī'i imam, *Ja'far* al-Ṣādiq, who died A.D. 765.

⁵³ The Banū Ḥasan were descendants of the eldest son of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. The arrangement of sūrahs is missing.

⁵⁴ See Glossary for "reading" and "readers."

⁵⁵ Probably an eighth-century reader (see al-Hāshim *Yazīdī*), although this man was known for using a system other than that of Abū 'Amr. In this account of the readers, the word "quoted" is evidently used in connection with pupils and disciples who used the method of the master, also quoting from his books and lectures.

Naming of Those Who Quoted *Nāfi*⁵⁴

'*Isā* ibn *Mīnā* Qālūn; Muḥammad ibn *Ishāq al-Musayyabī*; *al-Aṣma'i*; *Ismā'il* ibn *Ja'far* ibn *Abī Kathīr al-Anṣārī*; *Ya'qūb* ibn *Ibrāhīm*; ——— ibn *Sa'id al-Zuhdī*.

Account of *Ibn Kathīr*

His name was 'Abd Allāh ibn Kathīr and his surname Abū Sa'id, or some say Abū Bakr. He was a Qur'ānic reader of Makkah in the second generation [of Islām] and a protégé of 'Amr ibn 'Alqamah *al-Kinānī*. He was called *al-Dārānī* because he was a perfume seller and in *al-Hijāz* a perfumer is called a *dārānī*; [he was called] also *al-Dārī al-Lakhmī* because he was a descendant of the tribe of *al-Dār* ibn *Hānī* ibn *Lakhm*, to which *Tamīm al-Dārī* belonged.⁵⁶

He was said to be a descendant of the Persians whom Chosroes sent by ship to *al-Yaman* in order to drive out the Abyssinians.⁵⁷ 'Abd Allāh *al-Kathīr* died during the year one hundred and twenty [A.D. 738] at Makkah, where he was buried. He was regarded as preeminent.

Naming of Those Who Quoted *Ibn Kathīr*

Ismā'il ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn *Qusṭanṭīn*, a protégé of *Maysarah*, who was a protégé of *al-'Āṣ* ibn *Hishām*.

Account of 'Aṣim ibn Bahdalāh

He was *Ibn Abī al-Najūd*, surnamed Abū Bakr, a protégé of the tribe of *Jadhīmah* ibn *Mālik* ibn *Naṣr* ibn *Qu'ayn*. He belonged to the third generation of the scholars of *al-Kūfah*, following *Yahyā* ibn *Waththāb*. 'Aṣim died in the year one hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 745/46]. The reading used by 'Aṣim was according to Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān *al-Sulamī* and *Zirr* ibn *Hubaysh*.

⁵⁴ For these tribes, see Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 2542, 2545; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 226.

⁵⁷ Chosroes *Anūshirwān* sent this expedition A.D. 576, defeating the Abyssinians in *al-Yaman*.

Naming of Those Who Quoted 'Āṣim

Abū Bakr ibn Ayyāsh quoted him. His name was Muḥammad, also said to be Sha'bah ibn Sālim al-Asadī. As there was a difference of opinion about his name, his surname was said to be his real name, by which alone he was known. He was a protégé of Waṣīl ibn Ḥayyan al-Aḥḍab, and died at al-Kūfah during the year one hundred and ninety-three [A.D. 808], during the month in which al-Rashīd also passed away. He was quoted by Ḥafṣ ibn Sulaymān Abū 'Amr al-Bazzāz.

The reading learned from 'Āṣim dated back to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, for whom he peace, according to the tradition of Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī. Ḥafṣ died before the plague, the plague being in the year one hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 748].⁵⁸

Account of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir al-Yaḥṣubī

He was one of the Seven [Readers], surnamed Abū 'Amrān. It is said that he learned the Qur'ān⁵⁹ from 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, reading in accordance with him. He belonged to the first generation of followers [of the Prophet] at Damascus, where he died in the year one hundred and eighteen [A.D. 736].

Ibn 'Āmir quoted a number of the Companions, among whom there were Wāthilah ibn al-Asqa', Faḍalah ibn 'Ubayd, and Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān.

Naming of Those Who Quoted Ibn 'Āmir

Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥārith al-Dhamārī, surnamed Abū 'Umar, named for Dhamār, which is a district of the districts of al-Yaman.⁶⁰ He died in the year one hundred and forty-five [A.D. 762].

Ismā'il ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Muhājir and 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Āmir, his brother.⁶¹ Sa'id ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, Hishām ibn al-Ghāz,⁶² and Thawr ibn Yazīd.

⁵⁸ Tabarī, *Annales*, II, 2016 l. 3, says the plague started at al-Baṣrah the year before.

⁵⁹ At this point the Beatty MS is intact again, after a loss of pages extending from Chap. I, sect. 1, near n. 59.

⁶⁰ For *makhāliṣ* ("districts"), see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 434; for Dhamār, II, 721.

⁶¹ The text indicates that he was the brother of Ismā'il, but it seems to be more reasonable to regard him as the brother of Ibn 'Āmir.

⁶² The Flügel text has 'Ammār, which seems to be an error.

Yahyā ibn al-Ḥārith [al-*Dhamārī*] was quoted by a group of men, among whom there were *Ayyūb* ibn Tamīm, *Suwayd* ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Ṣadaqah* ibn Yahyā, *Muḥammad* ibn Sa'īd ibn Shābūr, 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid, *Ghazzāl* ibn Khālīd,⁶³ *Yahyā* ibn Ḥamzah, and others besides them.

Ḥamzah ibn Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt

He was one of the Seven [Readers], about whom it was said that he had a son, 'Umārah, and so was called Abū 'Umārah.⁶⁴ He was a protégé of Āl 'Akramah ibn Rib'ī al-Taymī and used to transport oil from al-Kūfah to Ḥulwān, bringing back cheese and walnuts from Ḥulwān to al-Kūfah.

He belonged to the fourth generation of scholars at al-Kūfah, being an authority on the law. He died in the year one hundred and fifty-six [A.D. 772/73], during the caliphate of Abū Ja'far [al-Manṣūr]. Among his books there were:

The Reading of Ḥamzalı; Allotments of Inheritance.

Naming of Those Who Quoted *Ḥamzah*

Khālīd ibn Yazīd, 'Ā'idh ibn Abī 'Ā'idh, al-*Kisā'i*, al-*Ḥasan* ibn 'Aṭīyah, and 'Abd Allāh ibn Mūsā al-'*Abṣī*.

Al-*Kisā'i* the Grammarian

He was 'Alī ibn Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Balūman ibn Fīrūz,⁶⁵ by origin a Persian and one of the Seven Readers. He came from al-Kūfah where he was brought up, but he used to move from one town to another. He died in one of the villages of al-Rayy named Iranbūyah⁶⁶ during the year one hundred and seventy-nine [A.D. 795].

⁶³ The Beatty MS has 'Irrāl, but the word must be meant as Ghazzāl.

⁶⁴ The full name of the son was 'Umārah ibn Ḥamzah ibn Mālik ibn Yazīd (see Biog. Index). In the sentences which follow, Āl 'Akramah was a tribal clan. Ḥulwān was a trading post on the Persian-Irāqī frontier.

⁶⁵ Yāqūt, *Irshād*, Part V, p. 183, and Khallikān, II, 237, give Fīrūz, though the Beatty MS gives Mazūn, which is almost certainly an error.

⁶⁶ Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 223 has Iranbūyah, whereas the Beatty MS gives Raubūyah. Yāqūt is probably correct.

He read according to 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā and Ḥamzah ibn Ḥabīb. Any disagreement between al-Kisā'i and Ḥamzah was connected with the method of reciting of Ibn Abī Laylā. Ibn Abī Laylā recited in the manner of 'Alī, for whom be peace.

Al-Kisā'i was one of the [Qur'ānic] readers of the City of Peace [Baghdād]. At first he recited to the people with the reading of Ḥamzah, but later he chose his own reading with which he read to the people during the caliphate of Hārūn [al-Rashid]. We shall give a more complete account about him in what follows, if Allāh so wills.

Naming of Those Who Quoted al-Kisā'i

Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī, Abū al-Ḥārith al-Layth ibn Khālid, Abū 'Umar Ja'far ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, and Hāshim al-Yazīdī.

The persons who learned from him but disagreed with him about certain letters were: Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām; Nuṣayr ibn Yūsuf; Aḥmad ibn Jubayr, the mosque reader of Damascus; Abū Tawbah Maymūn ibn Ḥafṣ; 'Alī ibn al-Mubārak al-Liḥyānī; Hishām al-Ḍarīr, the grammarian; and Abū Dhuhl Aḥmad ibn Abī Dhuhl. Ṣālīḥ ibn 'Āsim al-Nāqīṭ gained a certain amount of knowledge from him, but did not use his reading. Yaḥyā ibn Ādam drew upon his reading to a certain extent, but only in a limited way.⁶⁷

Naming of the Books Which the Scholars Composed about His Reading

The Things about Which al-Kisā'i Disagreed with Ḥamzah, by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Mughīrah; about his reading according to al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'ayb al-Tamīmī; about his reading according to Abū Muslim 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Wāqid al-Wāqidī; The Letters of al-Kisā'i, according to Sawrah ibn al-Mubārak.⁶⁸

There was also his book, *The Meaning of the Qur'ān*.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ The translation follows the Beatty MS, which seems to be more accurate than the Flügel edition.

⁶⁸ In this passage the words translated as "according to" are either 'an or 'alā. "Letters" probably refers to the way al-Kisā'i interpreted the letters of the Qur'ān, his method of reading. Flügel gives Sawrah ibn al-Mubarrad, which seems to be wrong.

⁶⁹ This title is omitted in the Beatty MS.

The Names of the Readers with Odd Systems and the Relationships of the Readers⁷⁰

The People of al-Madīnah

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ayyāsh ibn Abī Rabī'ah al-Makhzūmī belonged to the first generation of the followers [of the Prophet's time] at al-Madīnah and had his own reading. Abū Sa'īd Abū ibn 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān also belonged to the first generation of followers, with his reading. Muslim ibn Ḥabīb al-Nalīdī was one of the followers, who also had his reading.

Shaybah ibn Niḍāḥ ibn Surjūs ibn Ya'qūb belonged to the second generation [of Islām] at al-Madīnah. He was a protégé of Umm Salāmah, but the only person we know of who quoted Niḍāḥ was his son, because he was ahead of his time in his reading, using his own reading.

There was also Abū Ja'far al-Madani, whose name was Yazīd ibn Qa'qā', a protégé of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ayyāsh ibn Abī Rabī'ah al-Ataqah, who quoted from Abū Hurayrah, Ibn 'Umar ['Abd Allāh] and other authorities, but had his own reading. He died during the caliphate of Hārūn [al-Rashīd].

The People of Makkah

Ibn Abī 'Umārah was quoted by Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā' and had his own reading; Muḥays, who had his own reading;⁷¹ Dirbās, also with his reading; Humayd ibn Qays al-A'raj, who had his system.

The People of al-Baṣrah

'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Ishāq al-Ḥaḍramī had his reading; 'Āsim al-Jahdarī with his reading; 'Isā ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī also had his reading; Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī also had his reading; Abū al-Mundhir Sallām had his reading.

The People of al-Kūfah⁷²

Ṭalḥah ibn Muṣarrif al-Ayyāmī of Hamadhān was surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh and was one of the inhabitants of al-Kūfah. When

⁷⁰ See Glossary for "reader" and "reading."

⁷¹ Flügel gives Ibn Muḥays, a leading Qur'ānic reader of Makkah. The name in the Beatty MS is garbled.

⁷² This paragraph is omitted in the Flügel edition. For the tribes mentioned, see Durayd, *Ishṭiqāq*, p. 179; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 110.

he saw the people coming to him in large numbers, he walked over to al-A'mash to study with him. Then the people [students] transferred to al-A'mash, leaving Ṭalhah, who died in the year one hundred and twelve [A.D. 730/31].⁷³ He had his reading.

Yahyā ibn Waththāb of al-Kūfah from the [tribe of] Banū Asad ibn Khuzaymah was a protégé of the Banū Kāhil Tribe. He died at al-Kūfah during the year one hundred and three [A.D. 721/22]. He had his own reading.

ʿIsā ibn ʿUmar al-Hamadhānī, not the grammarian,⁷⁴ had his reading. Al-A'mash also had his reading. Later on we shall give detailed information about them. Ibn Abī Laylā had his reading, but mention of him is also postponed until later.

The People of al-Shām⁷⁵

Abū al-Barhusam, whose name was ʿImrān ibn ʿUthmān al-Zubaydī, had his reading. Yazīd al-Barbarī had his reading. Khālīd ibn Maʿdān also had his reading.

The People of al-Yaman

Muḥammad ibn al-Sunayfi' originated in al-Yaman, but lived at al-Baṣṣāli during the later years of his life. He had his own reading.

Baghdād

Khalaf ibn Hishām ibn Tha'lab al-Bazzār⁷⁶ was one of the people of Fam al-Šilḥ, but he went to the City of Peace [Baghdād], becoming one of its citizens. He attended the lectures of Sharīk, Abū ʿAwānah, and Ḥammād ibn Zayd, also studying with Sulaym, the friend of Ḥamzah [ibn Ḥabīb], but he differed with Ḥamzah about certain points. He died during the year two hundred and twenty-nine [A.D. 843]. Among his books there was *The Readings*.⁷⁷

⁷³ Flügel gives the year as A.H. 103.

⁷⁴ The grammarian was ʿIsā ibn ʿUmar al-Thaqafī.

⁷⁵ The names in this paragraph are given as in the Beatty MS, which differs from the Flügel edition.

⁷⁶ The Beatty MS has Bazzār, which seems to be an error.

⁷⁷ The title is lacking in the Flügel edition.

Ibn *Mujāhid*

The last person whose priority was acknowledged in the City of Peace [Baghdād] during his generation was Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn al-‘Abbās ibn *Mujāhid*, who was unique in his time without competition. With his kindness, wisdom, piety, and knowledge of the Qur’ānic readings and sciences he was a man of noble virtue, refinement of character, wealth of humor, penetrating understanding, and excellence.

He was born in the year two hundred and forty-five [A.D. 859] and he died on Wednesday, the last night of Sha‘bān [the eighth Muslim month] in the year three hundred and twenty-four [A.D. 935]. He was buried the day after his death in the burial place of the women’s quarters in his house in Sūq al-‘Aṭash. Among his books there were:

Large book of readings; small book of readings; The Yā’āt (The Y’s); The Hā’āt (The H’s); The Reading of Abū ‘*Amr*; The Reading of Ibn *Kathīr*; The Reading of ‘*Āsim*; The Reading of *Nāfi*; The Reading of *Ḥamzah*; The Reading of al-*Kisā’i*; The Reading of ‘*Āmir*; The Reading of the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace.

Ibn *Shanabūdh*

His name was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb ibn Shanabūdh. He was hostile to Abū Bakr [Ibn *Mujāhid*], not consorting with him. He was religious, nonaggressive, but foolish.⁷⁸ Shaykh Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥasan al-*Sirāfi* told me that Allāh strengthened him with his father’s skill in modulation, though he had little science. He quoted many readings and wrote various books about them.

He died in the year three hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 939] in his prison at the sultan’s palace. Abū ‘Alī [Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī] ibn Muqlah flogged him with lashes and when he prayed [to Allāh] that his [Ibn Muqlah’s] hand should be cut off, [Allāh] granted that the hand [of Ibn Muqlah] should be amputated; a rare answer to prayer.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ For the word translated as “nonaggressive,” the Beatty MS is not clear, but Flügel gives *salāmah* (“peace”).

⁷⁹ For the life of Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad ibn Muqlah and the amputation of his hand, see Khallikān, III, 266–70.

Mention of Some of the Readings of Ibn Shanabūdh⁸⁰

"When the call to prayer is made on the day of congregation, *pass on* to the remembrance of Allāh." [Qur'ān 62: 9, gives *hasten* instead of *pass on*.]

He also read, "And there was *in front* of them a king, taking every *good* ship by force." [Qur'ān 18: 79, gives, "And there was *behind* them a king, taking every ship by force."]

He read, "Like *al-ṣūf* al-manfūsh (carded wool)." [Qur'ān 101: 5, has, "Like *al-ihn* al-manfūsh."]

He read, "The hands of Abū Lahab will perish and *they* have *perished*. There shall not profit . . ." [Qur'ān 111: 1, 2, give, "The hands of Abū Lahab will perish and *he* will *perish*. There shall not profit . . ."]

He read, "*Today* we deliver you by *making you strong*, that you may be a sign to whoever comes after you." [Qur'ān 10: 92, gives, "*And today* we deliver you with your body that you may be a sign to whoever comes after you."]

He read, "And when it fell, the *people* (*al-ins*) perceived that the jinn, if they had known the unseen, would not have remained *in a state* (*ḥawl*) of *painful* (*alim*) torment." [Qur'ān 34: 14, gives, "And when it fell the jinn perceived that if they had known the unseen, they would not have remained *in abject* (*mahīn*) torment."]

He read, "By the night when it enshrouds and the day when it is bright, *and the male and the female*." [Qur'ān 92: 1, gives, "By the night when it enshrouds and the day when it is bright, and *what created the male and the female*."]

He read, "*The unbelievers* have lied and there will be punishment." [Qur'ān 25: 77, gives, "*You have lied* and there will be punishment."]

He read, "Unless you do so, there will be confusion on the earth and *widespread* (*arīḍ*) corruption." [Qur'ān 8: 73, gives *great* (*kabīr*) instead of *widespread*.]

⁸⁰ The Beatty MS has certain additions and variations which make the difference between this heretical version of Qur'ānic verses and the orthodox one greater than it appears in the Flügel edition. In this passage, the words in italics are the ones which differ from the authorized version of the Qur'ān, while the explanations in brackets are notes not contained in *Al-Fihrist*. It should be realized that the verse numbers cited for the Qur'ān may not correspond with the numbers of some versions, as the numbering is not always identical.

He read, "And let there be a people among you who invite what is good, commanding what is right, *refraining* (*nāhūn*) from what is wrong, and who seek the aid of Allāh in what befalls them, for these are they who are fortunate,"⁸¹ [Qur'ān 3:104, gives a different form of the same verb for *refraining* and omits *and who seek the aid of Allāh in what befalls them*.]

It is said that he [Ibn Shanabūdh] confessed all of this [variation]. Then he was moved to repentance and used his handwriting in contrition, so that he wrote:

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb [Ibn Shanabūdh]: I used to read expressions differing from the version of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, which was confirmed by consensus, its recital being agreed upon by the Companions of the Apostle of Allāh. Then it became clear to me that this was wrong, so that I am contrite because of it and from it torn away. Now before Allāh, may His name be glorified for from Him is acquittal, behold the version of 'Uthmān is the correct one, with which it is not proper to differ and other than which there is no way of reading.

Among his books there was *How Ibn Kathīr Differed from Abū 'Amr*.

Ibn Kāmil Abū Bakr

He was one of the scholars famous for a knowledge of the sciences of the Qur'ān. He was [named] Aḥmad ibn Kāmil ibn Khalaf ibn Shajarah,⁸² was born at Sāmarrā, and was an authority for many sciences. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Strange in the Qur'ān; The [Qur'ānic] Readings; Nearness, about unveiling of the obscure; An Abridgment of Interpretation, concerning the Miracle of Revelation; Postures [for Prayer]; History; Abridgment of the Law; the large book, [Legal] Conditions; the small book [Legal] Conditions.

Abū Tāhir

His name was 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Hāshim al-Bazzāz. He was an inhabitant of Baghdād, and

⁸¹ The Flügel edition inserts here, "And it is Allāh who extracted you from your mothers' wombs."

⁸² This name is not clear in the Beatty MS.

studied under Abū Bakr ibn *Mujāhid*, Abū al-‘Abbās *Aḥmad* ibn Sahl al-Ushnānī, and Abū ‘Uthmān Sa‘īd ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-*Ḍarīr*, the reader to whom he was attached. He excelled in connection with elocution and reading,⁸³ knowing also something useful about grammar. He died on Thursday, eight days before the end of Shawwāl [the tenth Muslim month], during the year three hundred and forty-nine [A.D. 960]. Among his books there were;

Exceptions of the Seven; The Bā‘āt (The B’s); The Hā‘āt (The H’s);⁸⁴ The Reading of al-*A‘mash*; The Reading of *Ḥamzah*, the Great; The Reading of al-*Kisā’ī*, the Great;⁸⁵ Epistle about Raising the Voice for ‘In the Name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate’; The Distinction between Abū ‘*Amr* and al-*Kisā’ī*; The Disagreement between Abū ‘*Amr* and al-*Kisā’ī*; The Triumph of *Ḥamzah*; The Reading of *Ḥafṣ*, His Work; The Disagreement between the Adherents of ‘*Āṣim* and *Ḥafṣ* ibn Sulaymān.⁸⁶

Al-*Naqqār*

Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Dā‘ūd, known as al-*Naqqār*, belonged to the Quraysh Tribe, the Banū Umayyah, and the people of al-Kūfah. He learned from⁸⁷ Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim, known as al-*Khayyāt*; al-*Khayyāt* learned from al-*Shamūlī*; al-*Shamūlī* learned from al-*A‘shā*; al-*A‘shā* learned from Abū Bakr;⁸⁸ Abū Bakr learned from ‘*Āṣim*; ‘*Āṣim* learned from Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-*Sulamī*; al-*Sulamī* learned from ‘*Alī*, for whom be peace; and ‘*Alī* learned from the Prophet, for whom be peace.⁸⁹ Al-*Naqqār* died at al-Kūfah. Among his books there were:

The Reading of al-*A‘shā*; Language, Derivation of Words, and the Sources of Grammar.

⁸³ The text is not clear enough here to be sure the translation “elocution and reading” is correct.

⁸⁴ For the first title in this list, the Flügel text has *The Yā‘āt* (“The Y’s”). The Beatty MS omits the third title, *Al-Hā‘āt*, in the text, but gives it in the margin.

⁸⁵ “Great” may refer to the man, but more likely to the size of the book.

⁸⁶ Flügel has “*Ḥafṣ and Sulaymān*.” The translation follows the Beatty MS in giving *ibn*.

⁸⁷ *Qara’ alā* usually implies a teacher-student relationship. Here it might mean “read according to” but more likely means “learned from.”

⁸⁸ Probably Abū Bakr Ibn *Mujāhid*.

⁸⁹ Flügel gives different forms, but the meaning is the same.

Ibn Miqṣam

He was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Miqṣam ibn Ya'qūb, one of the readers in the City of Peace [Baghdād], close to our time. He was a man learned in language and poetry, who heard *Tha'lab* lecture and quoted him. He died in the year three hundred and thirty-two [A.D. 944].⁹⁰ Among his books there were:

Lights on the Science (Knowledge) of the Qur'ān; An Introduction to a Knowledge of Poetry; Proofs of Readings; the great book about grammar; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; Stopping and Starting; The Numbers of Completeness; [Qur'ānic] Manuscripts; Knowledge of Himself;⁹¹ the large book, The Seven [Readers] with their Defects; the medium-size book about the Seven [Readers]; another medium-size book; the smallest book, known as Healing of Breasts; about his unique points; The Sessions of *Tha'lab*.

Al-Naqqāsh Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Anṣārī

He was one of the people of al-Mawṣil, where he was born. He was a [Qur'ānic] reader in the City of Peace [Baghdād], to which he moved and in which he did his reading. Among his books there were:

Explanation of the Strange in the Qur'ān; Elucidation of the Qur'ān and Its Meaning; Reason (The Mind);⁹² Contrary to Reason; Rites [especially of pilgrimage];⁹³ Understanding of the Rites; Accounts of the Storytellers;⁹⁴ The Evil of Envy; Indications of the Prophecy [of Muḥammad]; Sections (Doors) of the Qur'ān; Iram dhāt al-'Imād;⁹⁵ The Medium-Size Compendium; The Smaller Compendium; The Larger Compendium, with the names of the readers and their readings; Explanation of the Strange in the Qur'ān; the large book, The Seven [Readers] and Their Defects; the medium-size book, The Seven; the small book, The Seven; The Great Commentary, with nearly twelve thousand leaves.

⁹⁰ Flügel's text and Khallikān, III, 47 n., give different dates.

⁹¹ This title is garbled in the Flügel text. It could be *Choice of Himself*, but more likely is similar to the Greek "know thyself." The six titles following this one are not in the Beatty MS.

⁹² Not included in the Flügel text, but in the Beatty MS.

⁹³ This could also refer to ascetic practices.

⁹⁴ For *al-quṣṣās* ("storytellers"), see Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, p. 344.

⁹⁵ See Qur'ān 89:7.

Al-Naqqāsh died at Baghdād in the year three hundred and fifty-one [A.D. 962]. Ibn *Mujāhid* heard him give something of the Ḥadīth and this was rare.⁹⁶

Naming of the Books Composed about Commentary of the Qur'an

The book of al-*Bāqir* Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, for whom be peace, ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, for whom be peace, who was quoted by Abū al-Jārūd Ziyād ibn al-Mundhir, chief of the Jārūdiyyah [faction] of the Zaydiyyah, about whom we shall make further mention in its proper place.

The book of Ibn 'Abbās,⁹⁷ who was quoted by *Mujāhid* and through *Mujāhid* by *Ḥumayd* ibn Qays as well as by *Waraqā'*, through Abū *Najīh* from *Mujāhid*, and also by 'Isā ibn Maymūn through Abū *Najīh* from *Mujāhid*.

The commentary of Ibn Tha'lab; the commentary of Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī, whose name was *Thābit*. Ibn Dīnār, the surname of Dīnār being Abū Ṣafīyah—Abū Ḥamzah was a companion of 'Alī, for whom be peace, one of those who were noble and trustworthy, and also a friend of Abū Ja'far;⁹⁸ the commentary of *Muḥammad* ibn 'Alī ibn Jānī in part;⁹⁹ the commentary according to *Zayd* ibn Aslam in the handwriting of al-*Sukkari*; the commentary of *Mālik* ibn Anas; the commentary of al-*Suddī*, which we shall mention in what follows; the commentary of *Ismā'il* ibn Abī Ziyād; the commentary of *Dā'ūd* ibn Abī Hind; the commentary of Abū *Rawq*; the commentary of Sa'id ibn Dā'ūd.¹⁰⁰

The commentary of *Sufyān* ibn 'Uyaynah; the commentary of *Nahshal*, according to al-*Ḍaḥḥāk* ibn Muzāḥim; the commentary of *'Ikramah*, according to Ibn 'Abbās; the commentary of al-*Ḥasan* ibn Abī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; the commentary of Abū Bakr al-*Aṣamm*, one of the theologians; the commentary of Abū Karīmah *Yahyā* ibn al-Muḥallab; the commentary of *Sīnān* ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān the grammarian; the commentary of Sa'id ibn Bashīr, according to Qatādah; the commentary of *Muḥammad* ibn Thawr, according to *Ma'mar* following *Qatādah*; the commentary of al-*Kalbī*, [called] Muḥammad ibn Sā'ib; the commentary of *Muqātil*

⁹⁶ This probably means that in his lectures al-Naqqāsh quoted traditions from the Ḥadīth which were not generally known.

⁹⁷ Probably the Prophet's cousin 'Abd Allāh, surnamed Ibn 'Abbās.

⁹⁸ This was probably the fifth Shī'ī imām, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-*Bāqir*.

⁹⁹ This title is included in the Flügel text, but not the Beatty MS.

¹⁰⁰ Flügel gives Rashīd ibn Dād. The Beatty MS gives a garbled word, either Sa'id or Sanad, or something similar, and Dā'ūd. Cf. Biog. Index, Sa'id ibn Dā'ūd.

ibn Sulaymān; the commentary of Ya'qūb al-Dawraqī; the commentary of al-Ḥasan ibn Wāqid, who also wrote the book, *The Abrogating and Abrogated*.¹⁰¹

The commentary of Muqātil ibn Ḥabbān; the commentary of Sa'īd ibn Jubayr; the commentary of Wakī' ibn al-Jarrāḥ; the commentary of Abū Rajā' Muḥammad ibn Sayf; the commentary of Yūsuf al-Qaṭṭān; the commentary of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Muqaddimī; the commentary of Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah; the commentary of Hushaym ibn Bashīr; the commentary of Abū Nu'aym al-Faḍl ibn Dukayn; the commentary of Abū Sa'īd al-Ashajj; the commentary on the verses 'illadhī nazzala fī aqwām bi-A'yānihum'¹⁰² by Hishām al-Kalbī; the commentary of Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī; the commentary of Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-Sijistānī; the commentary of Abū Bakr ibn Abī al-Thalj.

Book of Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Jubbā'ī; book of Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī; book of Abū Muslim Muḥammad ibn Baḥr al-Iṣbahānī; book of Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ikhshīd, an abridgment of the book of Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī;¹⁰³ An Introduction to Commentary of the Qur'ān, by Ibn al-Imām al-Miṣrī; the commentary of Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm.¹⁰⁴

The Books Composed about Meaning of the Qur'ān and Its Ambiguity and Metaphor¹⁰⁵

Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-Kisā'ī; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-Akhfash Sa'īd ibn Masa'adah; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-Ru'āsī; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb, the small and large [editions]; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-Mubarrad;¹⁰⁶ Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Quṭrub the grammarian; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-Farrā', composed for 'Umar ibn Bukayr; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Abū 'Ubaydah; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Abū Fayd Mu'arraj al-Sadūsī.

A Refutation of Whoever Denies the Metaphorical in the Qur'ān, by al-Ḥasan ibn Ja'far al-Rahī;¹⁰⁷ Answers of the Qur'ān, by Ibn 'Uyaynah;

¹⁰¹ This additional title is not included in the Beatty MS.

¹⁰² This evidently refers to words of the Qur'ān, but they cannot be identified by means of the concordance.

¹⁰³ This evidently refers to the *Tafsīr* ("Commentary") of al-Ṭabarī, mentioned above, one of the most important commentaries ever compiled.

¹⁰⁴ This title has already been cited and is therefore omitted in the Beatty MS at this point.

¹⁰⁵ For "meaning," see Glossary.

¹⁰⁶ This book is not mentioned in the Beatty MS.

¹⁰⁷ This book and the one following are not in the Beatty MS.

Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī;¹⁰⁸ Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salamah; The Light of Souls in Ma'ānī of the Qur'ān and What Is Obscure and Ambiguous in It, by al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salamah; The Beautiful Book on Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-Akhfash; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Ibn Kaysān, [his book] known as The Tens;¹⁰⁹ Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Ibn al-Anbārī; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-Zajjāj; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Khalaf the grammarian; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Tha'lab.

The great book, Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Abū Mu'adh al-Faḍl ibn Khālīd the grammarian; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Abū al-Minhāl 'Uyaynah ibn al-Minhāl, which he composed for Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ṭahīrī; The Middle Ground between Tha'lab and al-Akhfash, about the meaning, by Ibn Durustūyah;¹¹⁰ The Discipline of Tongues for Qur'ānic Grammar and Meaning, by Abū Bakr ibn Ashtah al-Iṣbahānī; Meaning of the Qur'ān, Its Interpretation and Ambiguity, by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Isā ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ, the vizier—Abū Bakr ibn Mujāhid and Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Khazzāz aided him with his work.

The Books Composed about the Strange in the Qur'ān¹¹¹

The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Abū 'Ubaydah; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Mu'arraj al-Sadūsī; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Ibn Qutaybah; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Yazīdī; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Abū Ja'far ibn Rustum al-Ṭabarī; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Muḥammad ibn 'Azīz al-Sijistānī; The Strange in the [Qur'ānic] Manuscripts, by Abū Bakr ibn al-Warrāq;¹¹² The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Abū al-Ḥasan al-'Arūdī; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Muḥammad ibn Dīnār al-Aḥwal; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Abū Zayd al-Balkhī; Grammatical Analysis of Thirty Sūrah's of the Qur'ān, by Khālawayh.

¹⁰⁸ For al-Yazīdī, the Flügel edition gives al-Sadūsī, which is evidently an error. For al-Mufaḍḍal the Beatty MS gives al-Faḍl, which must also be wrong.

¹⁰⁹ The Beatty MS gives al-'Usrāt ("Difficulties"), but Flügel is probably correct in giving al-'Aṣharāt ("Tens"), referring to tens of verses.

¹¹⁰ For spellings of Durustūyah, see Biog. Index.

¹¹¹ "Strange" (*gharīb*) refers to tribal forms and ambiguous passages in the Qur'ān.

¹¹² This title is mentioned twice in the Flügel edition, but omitted in the Beatty MS.

The Books Composed about the Expressions of the Qur'ān¹¹³

Expressions of the Qur'ān, by al-*Farrā'*; Expressions of the Qur'ān, by Abū Zayd;¹¹⁴ Expressions of the Qur'ān, by al-*Aṣma'i*; Expressions of the Qur'ān, by al-*Haytham* ibn 'Adī; Expressions of the Qur'ān, by Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-*Qaṭi'i*; Expressions of the Qur'ān, by Ibn *Durayd*, which was not completed.

The Books Composed about [Qur'ānic] Readings¹¹⁵

The Readings, by *Khalaf* ibn Hishām al-Bazzār; The Readings, by Ibn *Sa'dān*; The Readings, by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim; The Readings, by Abū Ḥātim al-*Sijistānī*; The Readings, by *Tha'lab*; The Strange in the Readings, by *Tha'lab*; The Readings, by Ibn *Qutaybah*; The Readings, by Ibn *Mujāhid*, the large version; The Readings, by Ibn *Mujāhid*, the small version; The Readings, by *Hushaym* ibn Bashīr; The Readings, by Abū al-*Ṭayyib* ibn Ashnās; The Readings, by 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-*Dāraquṭnī*; The Readings, by *Yaḥyā* ibn Ādam; The Readings, by al-*Wāqidi*; The Readings, by *Naṣr* ibn 'Alī; The Readings, by Ibn *Kāmil*, which he did not finish; The Readings, by al-Faḍl ibn *Shādhān*; The Readings, by Abū *Ṭāhir*; The Readings, by Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā;¹¹⁶ The Readings, by *Hārūn* ibn Ḥātim of al-Kūfah; The Readings, by al-'*Abbās* ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṣārī; Proofs for Reading, by Ibn *Durustūyah*.¹¹⁷

The Books Composed about the Consonant Points and Vowel Signs of the Qur'ān¹¹⁸

Book of al-*Khalīl*, about consonant points; book of *Muḥammad* ibn 'Isā, about consonant points; book of al-*Yazīdī*, about consonant points; book of Ibn al-*Anbārī*, about consonant points and vowel signs; book of Abū Ḥātim al-*Sijistānī*, about consonant points and vowel signs; book of

¹¹³ The Arabic word translated "expressions" is *luḡāt*, which can mean "languages," "colloquialisms," "phrases," "idioms," or "expressions."

¹¹⁴ As Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 141 ff., does not include this book in a long list of the works of Abū Zayd al-*Balkhī*, the author may be Abū Zayd Sa'īd ibn Aws al-Anṣārī.

¹¹⁵ See Glossary for "reading."

¹¹⁶ The Beatty MS omits this book.

¹¹⁷ For spellings of *Durustūyah*, see Biog. Index.

¹¹⁸ In Arabic, many consonants are written in exactly the same form except for identifying diacritical marks above or below the line (consonant points). Vowels are designated by small signs instead of letters.

al-*Dīnawarī*, [surnamed] Abū Hanīfa, about consonant points and vowel signs with lists and categories (circles).¹¹⁹

The Books Composed about the *Lāmāt* (the L's) of the Qur'ān¹²⁰

The *Lāmāt* (The L's) by *Dā'ūd* ibn Abī Ṭibah; The *Lāmāt* (The L's), by *Muḥammad* ibn Sa'īd; The *Lāmāt* (The L's), by Ibn al-*Anbārī*; The *Lāmāt* (The L's), by al-*Akhfash* Sa'īd.

The Books Composed about Stopping and Starting in the Qur'ān

Stopping and Starting, according to *Ḥamzah*; Stopping and Starting, according to al-*Farrā'*; Stopping and Starting, by *Khalaf*; Stopping and Starting, by Ibn Sa'dān; Stopping and Starting, by *Ḍirār* ibn Ṣurad; Stopping and Starting, by Abū 'Umar al-*Dūrī*; Stopping and Starting, by *Hishām* ibn 'Abd Allāh; Stopping and Starting, by Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-*Yazīdī*; Stopping and Starting, by Ibn al-*Anbārī*; Stopping and Starting, by Ibn *Kaysān*; book by al-*Ja'd* about stopping and starting; Stopping and Starting, by Sulaymān ibn Yaḥyā al-*Ḍabbī*, [surnamed] Abū Ayyūb,

Books Composed about Discrepancies of the [Qur'ānic] Manuscripts

The Discrepancies between the Manuscripts of the People of al-Madīnah, al-Kūfah, and al-Baṣrah, according to al-*Kisā'ī*; book of *Khalaf*, Discrepancies of the Manuscripts; Discrepancies of the People of al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, and Syria concerning the Manuscripts, by al-*Farrā'*; Discrepancies between the Manuscripts, by Abū Dā'ūd al-*Sijistānī*; book of al-*Madā'inī* about the discrepancies between the manuscripts and the compiling of the Qur'ān; Discrepancies between the Manuscripts of Syria, al-Ḥijāz, and al-'Irāq, by Ibn 'Amīr al-Yaḥṣubī; book of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-*Iṣbahānī* about discrepancy of the manuscripts.

The Books Composed about the Full Stop

Book of Aḥmad ibn 'Isā al-*Lū'lū'ī*; book of al-*Akhfash* Sa'īd; book of *Nuṣayr*,¹²¹ book of Ya'qūb al-*Ḥaḍramī*; book of *Nāfi'* ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān; book of *Rawḥ* ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min.

¹¹⁹ The Flügel text confuses the last two titles.

¹²⁰ The Qur'ān was so holy that every detail was important. For that reason scholars wrote about the usage, forms, numbers, and so on, about points even as specialized as the significance of one letter of the alphabet. The last title in this paragraph is omitted in the Beatty MS.

¹²¹ Flügel has Naṣr, but the Beatty MS gives Nuṣayr, evidently Ibn Yūsuf.

The Books Composed about the Points of Agreement in the Expressions and Meaning of the Qur'ān

Book of Abū al-'Abbās al-Mubarrad; book of Abū 'Umar al-Dūrī.¹²²

The Books Composed about *Mutashābihah* of the Qur'ān

Book of Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥasan; book of Khalaf ibn Hishām; book of al-Qaṭrī; book of Nāfi'; book of Ḥamzah;¹²³ book of 'Alī ibn al-Qāsim al-Rashīdī; book of Ja'far ibn Ḥarb al-Mu'tazilī; book of Muqātil ibn Sulaymān; book of Abū 'Alī al-Jubhā'ī; book of Abū al-Hudhayl al-'Allāf.

The Books Composed about the Spelling in the [Qur'ānic] Manuscripts

Book of Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥārith; book of Ibn Shabīb; book of Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Warrāq; book of Ya'qūb ibn Abī Shaybah.

The Books Composed about the Disconnected and the Joined in the Qur'ān¹²⁴

Book of al-Kisā'ī; book of al-Sarī; book of Ḥamzah ibn Ḥabīb; book of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amir al-Yaḥṣubī.

The Books Composed about the Sections of the Qur'ān

Book of Abū 'Umar al-Dūrī; book of Ḥumayd ibn Qāys al-Hilālī; book of Ḥamzah, The Sevenths of the Qur'ān; book of al-Kisā'ī; book of Sulaymān ibn 'Isā; Book of the Thirty Sections, according to Abū Bakr ibn 'Ayyāsh.

The Books Composed about the Virtues of the Qur'ān

Book of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām; book of Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Abī Shaybah; book of Aḥmad ibn al-Mu'adhdhal; book of

¹²² The Beatty MS included another book after this, but the text has been effaced at this point.

¹²³ This was probably Ibn Ḥabīb.

¹²⁴ Books composed about the "disconnected and joined" are concerned with a technical study of the letters, especially the *hamzah*. The following paragraph in the text refers to the division of the Qur'ān into 30 sections, which are different from the *sūrah*s and have no connection with the subject matter. They are used for convenience in pious reading and recital.

Hishām ibn ‘Ammār; book of Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-*Dūrī*; book of Abū *Shubayl*; book of *Ubayy* ibn Ka‘b al-Anṣārī; book of al-*Haddād*; book of ‘Umar ibn al-Haytham al-Kūfī; book of ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Faddāl of the Shī‘ah; book of ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim, about the rare forms of the Qur’ān; book of Abū al-Nadr al-*Ayyāshī* of the Shī‘ah.

The Books Composed about the Number of Verses in the Qur’ān

The People of al-Madīnah:¹²⁶

The first book by *Nāfi’* about the number of the verses of al-Madīnah; the second book of numbers according to *Nāfi’*; The Numbers, by al-*Absī*; the first book of Ibn ‘*Ayyāsh* about the numbers of al-Madīnah; the last book of *Ismā‘īl* ibn Abī Kathīr about the [numbers of] al-Madīnah; book of *Nāfi’* about the tenths of the Qur’ān;¹²⁶ The Numbers, by al-*Khuzā‘ī*; The Numbers, by ‘*Aṭā’* ibn Yasār; The Letters of the Qur’ān, according to *Khalaf* al-Bazzār.

The People of al-Kūfah:

The Numbers, by *Hamzah* al-Zayyāt; The Numbers, by *Khalaf*; The Numbers, by *Muḥammad* ibn ‘Isā; The Numbers, by al-*Kisā‘ī*.

The People of al-Baṣrah:

The Numbers, by Abū al-*Mu‘āfā’*; The Numbers, according to ‘*Aṣim* al-Jahdārī; book of al-*Ḥasan* [al-Baṣrī] ibn Abī al-Ḥasan about the numbers.

The People of Syria:

Book of *Yaḥyā* ibn al-Ḥārith al-*Dhamārī*; book of *Khālīd* ibn Ma’dān; book of *Wakī’* about the disagreement between the school of thought of Syria and other schools, in connection with the numbers [of Qur’ānic verses].

The Books Composed about the Abrogating and Abrogated in the Qur’ān¹²⁷

Book of *Ḥajjāj* al-*A‘war*; book of ‘*Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd; book of Abū *Ishāq* Ibrāhīm al-*Mu‘addab*; book of *Ibrāhīm* al-*Ḥarbī*; book of

¹²⁵ The Arabic for “people” is *ahl*. The “verses of al-Madīnah” are the verses of the Qur’ān revealed to the Prophet when he was in the city of al-Madīnah.

¹²⁶ This refers to the signs marking ten verses, an aid for reading aloud or reciting the Qur’ān. The last title in this list is not given in the Beatty MS.

¹²⁷ See Glossary for “the abrogating and the abrogated.”

Abū Sa'īd the Grammarian [al-Naḥwī]; book of al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān; book of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām; book of Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-Sijistānī; book of Muqātil ibn Sulaymān; book of Ja'far ibn Mubashshir; book of Ismā'īl al-Yazīdī; book of Ismā'īl ibn Abī Ziyād; book of Abū Muslim al-Kajjī; book of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal; book of al-Zubayr ibn Aḥmad; book of Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥallāj; book of Ibn al-Kalbī; book of Hishām ibn 'Alī ibn Hishām.

The Books Composed about the [Form] *Hā* and Its Referring Back¹²⁸

Book of Abū 'Umar al-Dūrī.

The Books Composed about the Revelation of the Qur'ān

Book of al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] ibn Abī al-Ḥasan; book of 'Ikramah according to Ibn 'Abbās.

The Books Composed about the Judgments of the Qur'ān¹²⁹

Judgments of the Qur'ān, by Ismā'īl ibn Ishāq, the judge; Judgments of the Qur'ān, according to the code of Mālik; Judgments of the Qur'ān, according to Aḥmad ibn al-Mu'adhḥal; Judgments of the Qur'ān, by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī according to the code of the people of al-'Irāq; Judgments of the Qur'ān, by the Imam Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'i; Uniqueness of the Judgments of the Qur'ān, by Yahyā ibn Ādam; Judgments of the Qur'ān, by al-Kalbī, quoting Ibn al-'Abbās; An Affirmation of Holding to the Judgments of the Qur'ān, by Yahyā ibn Aktham; Judgments of the Qur'ān, by Abū Thawr Ibrāhīm ibn Khālid; Judgments of the Qur'ān, by Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī. An Exposition according to the Judgments of the Qur'ān—the author is unknown and being inquired about.

The Books Composed about the Meaning of Miscellaneous Matters in the Qur'ān

Book of Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Mihrajānī, the reader, entitled Answers of the

¹²⁸ *Hā* is a feminine pronoun which often refers back to a feminine noun appearing earlier in the sentence. This paragraph is omitted in the Flügel edition.

¹²⁹ This paragraph is omitted by the Beatty MS. "Judgments" may imply decrees or ordinances forming a divine basis for the law; see "Ḥukm," *Enc. Islām*, II, 332; Qur'ān 13:41. For the code of Mālik see Chap. VI, sect. 1.

Qur'an; Leaving the Contradictions in the Qur'an, according to al-Fīr'yābī; Metaphor, by Abū 'Ubaydah; Arrangement of the Qur'an, by al-Jāhīz; book of *Qutrub* about which of the verses of the Qur'an are questioned by the heretics; Questions in the Qur'an, by al-Jāhīz; The Created, by Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'i; The Letters, a composition of 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī Hammād al-Kūfī; book of *Bishr* ibn al-Mu'tamir on allegory of the Qur'an; Sublimity of the Qur'an, about its arrangement and composition, by Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Wāsiṭī, the Mu'tazilī.

Questions Scattered through the Qur'an, according to Abū *Shuqayr*; ¹³⁰ Arrangement of the Qur'an, by Ibn al-Ikshīd; Creation of the Qur'an, by Ibn al-Rāwandī; The Lights (Al-Anwār), by Abū Muqsim; ¹³¹ An Exposition about Some of the Poetry and the Eloquence of the Qur'an, by al-Ḥasan ibn Ja'far al-Barjalī; Book of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī about the Sūrah of Praise [Sūrah 1] as a substitute for the rest of the Qur'an; The Abrogating and the Abrogated, by al-Ja'dī; ¹³² Judgments of the Qur'an, by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī; The Phrases of the Qur'an, by a group of scholars; The Arrangement of the Qur'an, by Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Naṣr; Similitudes (Proverbs) by Ibn al-Junayd.

This is the end of what we have composed of the first chapter of the book Al-Fihrist, up to the time of the appearance of the new moon on Saturday of Sha'bān [the eighth Muslim month] during the year three hundred and seventy-seven. We pray Allāh for continuance of health, safety, and plenty for him for whom we have written it, as well as for ourselves. By His grace He will grant this, inspiring us by His favor and by His bounty He will assign us to His obedience. For Allāh has taken account of us and excellent is this guardian; may Allāh bless the chosen of His creation, Muḥammad and his family. ¹³³

¹³⁰ This book is not mentioned in the Beatty MS.

¹³¹ This book and the following book are not mentioned in the Beatty MS. As the authors of these books and the one in the preceding note evidently lived in the tenth century, the titles may have been inserted after the Beatty MS was transcribed. *Al-Anwār* probably refers to the numerous mentions of light in the Qur'an, although it may have a more figurative meaning. Flügel gives Abū Muqsim, but this may be a mistake; see Ibn Muqsim in the Biog. Index.

¹³² This book and the four which follow are not in the Beatty MS.

¹³³ The Muslim year 377 started on May 3, A.D. 987. The last sentence of this passage is in the Beatty MS, but not in the Flügel edition. It is possible that the phrase "for whom we have written it" should be translated, "for what we have written for him." The pronoun "him" may refer to some patron or to Allāh. On the margin of the Beatty MS there is the following: "We found in the original manuscript (*al-dustūr*) what this states."

The Names and Mention of a Group of Recent Readers¹³⁴

Ibn al-Munādī

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Dā'ūd, one of the inhabitants of Baghdād, who lived in the Ruṣāfah [Quarter]. He used to Arabicize the titles of his books, competing in eloquence of composition, which brought him forth as an authority.¹³⁵ He was learned in [Qur'ānic] readings and other things, the author of more than one hundred and twenty books about different sciences, most of them sciences of the Qur'ān. He died in the year three hundred and thirty-four [A.D. 945/46], and among his books there were:

Disagreement of the Numbers [referring to verses of the Qur'ān]; Types of Prayers Seeking Protection from Plagues and Pests.

Al-Naqqāsh, Another¹³⁶

He was 'Alī ibn Murrah, surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan, one of the people of Baghdād, who lived in Jihār on Sūq al-Farsh.¹³⁷ When he died he left among his books:

Al-Kisā'i; *Ḥamzah*; The Eight Readers in Addition to the Seven, quoting *Khalaf* ibn Hishām al-Bazzār.¹³⁸

Bakkār

Bakkār ibn Aḥmad ibn Bakkār, surnamed Abū 'Isā, was a [Qur'ānic] reader in the City of Peace [Baghdād], who died in the year three hundred and fifty-two [A.D. 963]. Among his books there were:

The Reading of al-Kisā'i; The Reading of *Ḥamzah*,

¹³⁴ This passage was probably added to the original composition after Chapter I had been completed.

¹³⁵ In the Beatty MS the word given as "authority" is *al-istagāl*, difficult to translate in this passage.

¹³⁶ The word "another" evidently points out that this man is not the well-known Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Naqqāsh.

¹³⁷ The Beatty MS differs from the Flügel text, Jihār is a locality in Baghdād (see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 167) and the *sūq* or market street must be either that of *al-Fars* or *al-Farsh*, probably the latter, meaning "furnishings."

¹³⁸ The Beatty MS and Flügel texts for this last book differ, but this rendering seems to be correct.

Ibn al-*Wāthiq*

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn al-Wāthiq studied with al-*Dabbī* the reading of *Ḥamzah*. He lived in the city of Abū Ja‘far al-*Manṣūr*¹³⁹ and when he died, among his books there were:

The Reading of *Ḥamzah*; The Ordinances; The Commentary.

Abū al-*Faraj*¹⁴⁰

A friend of Ibn *Shanabūdh*.

¹³⁹ The original palace city of Baghdād.

¹⁴⁰ This author is lacking in the Beatty MS.

The Second Part

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars among the ancients and moderns who composed books, with the names of the books which they composed. The composition of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, Ishāq being known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq.¹ In it is the second chapter.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate, in whom I confide and to whom I pray for aid

The Second Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, in three sections, with accounts of the grammarians and scholars of language, with the titles of their books.

The First Section

with opening words about grammar, accounts of the grammarians and language scholars of al-Baṣrah, and also of the Arabian masters of literary style, with the titles of their books.

¹ In the title, it may be more correct to say "the ancient and recent scholars." In the Beatty MS a special page is devoted to the title. Written under the name Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq is the phrase, "Transcribed from his model and his handwriting." Below, to the left, is written, "An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His [Allāh's] servant, Muḥammad ibn Ishāq." For the significance of this inscription, see the account of the Beatty MS in the Introduction. The title page for this chapter in the Beatty MS is similar to titles in MS 1934. In this title and in the last three titles of MS 1934 an unusual form for the author's name appears: "Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, Ishāq being known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq." See account of the author in the Introduction. The title in the Flügel edition is different and evidently copied from an imperfect manuscript. In order to understand many of the technical terms in this chapter, consult the Glossary.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-*Nadīm*]: Most of the scholars think that grammar was derived from Abū al-Aswad al-Du'ālī and that Abū al-Aswad learned it from the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, for whom may there be the blessing of Allāh. Others say that Naṣr ibn 'Āṣim al-Du'ālī, also called al-Laythī, developed grammar.²

I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Muqlah, that *Tha'lab* said: "Ibn *Lahīy'ah* quoted Abū al-Naḍr, saying, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Hurmuz was the first person to establish grammatical Arabic. He was a [Qur'ānic] reader who knew more about the genealogies and historical traditions of the Quraysh than anybody else.' " The Shaykh Abū Sa'id al-Sirāfi, with whom may Allāh be well pleased, confirmed this and also said to me, "Naṣr ibn 'Āṣim al-Laythī was one of the [Qur'ānic] readers and masters of literary style from whom Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā and the people learned."

Abū Ja'far [Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad]³ ibn Rustum al-Ṭabarī said: "Naḥw (grammar) is called *naḥw* because when Abū al-Aswad al-Du'ālī spoke to 'Alī, for whom may there be peace, he ['Alī] mentioned something about the roots of grammar. Then Abū al-Aswad said, 'I asked his leave to do *naḥw* (similarly) to something he had done,' so he called it *naḥw*."

People have disagreed about the reason which caused Abū al-Aswad to develop grammar as he did. Abū 'Ubaydah said:

Abū al-Aswad derived grammar from 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, for whom may there be peace, but he did not disclose to anyone what he had learned from 'Alī, whose countenance may Allāh honor,⁴ until *Ziyād* appointed him for the composition of something to serve as a guide for the people, so that they could understand the book of Allāh. Abū al-Aswad asked to be excused from this task, until one time when he heard a reader recite,

² *Naḥw* has the meaning "similar" but came to be used for "grammar." In modern times it is used in a special way for "syntax." This section deals in particular with scholars of the school of al-Baṣrah; see Flügel in *ZDMG*, XIII (1859), 577. See also Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*; Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), III, 320.

³ The Flügel edition omits the two names in brackets, while the Beatty MS leaves a blank, but the names have been inserted in the translation to make the reference complete.

⁴ This phrase is omitted in the Beatty MS.

"Allāh is quit of the idolaters and of His Apostle."⁵ Then he said, "I never supposed that the condition of the people would come to this!" So he returned to Ziyād and said, "I will do what the emir has ordered. Let there be sought for me a scribe who is intelligent and obedient to what I say." They brought, therefore, a scribe from the 'Abd al-Kays Tribe, but he [Abū al-Aswad] was not satisfied with him. Then they came with another one, about whom Abū al-'Abbās al-Mubarrad said, "I regard him to be one of those [who are intelligent]." So Abū al-Aswad said [to the new scribe], "If you see that I open my mouth in pronouncing a letter, place a mark above, on top of it. If I close my mouth [making a " sound], place a mark in front of the letter, and if I split [my lips] double the mark."⁶ So this was the marking system of Abū al-Aswad.

Abū Sa'id, with whom may Allāh be well pleased, said:

It is also related that the reason for this [grammar] was the encounter of Sa'id with Abū al-Aswad. He [Sa'id] was a Persian from Nūbandajān⁷ who went to al-Baṣrah with a group of his people. When they went to Qudāmah ibn Maẓ'un, announcing that they had accepted Islām under his auspices, they became his protégés. While he was leading his horse this Sa'id passed by Abū al-Aswad, who said, "What's the matter with you, oh, Sa'id, why don't you ride?" He replied, "My horse is strong (*ḍalī*)."⁸ He meant "lame" (*ẓālī*). As he spoke some people who were there laughed at him. Then Abū al-Aswad said, "These protégés have sought Islām and embraced it, becoming our brothers, but we have not taught them speech." So he composed a chapter on the subject and object.

A Point Indicating that the First Person to Make a Statement about Grammar Was Abū al-Aswad al-Du'ālī

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]:⁸ In the city of al-Ḥadīthah⁹ there was a man named Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn, known as Ibn Abī Ba'rah, a collector of books. I have never seen anyone else with a library as extensive as the one which he had. It

⁵ Qur'ān 9:3 has "Allāh is quit of the idolaters and so is His Apostle." The reader put the word "Apostle" in the accusative instead of the nominative.

⁶ The Beatty MS has "make it two marks." Flügel gives "under the letter."

⁷ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 817. Flügel gives this name incorrectly.

⁸ For this passage, compare Khallikān, I, 666 n. 7.

⁹ Mas'ūdī, V, 230, speaks of al-Ḥadīthah near al-Mawṣil, while Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 280, mentions a town of this name on the Euphrates. See also Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 222 ff.

certainly contained Arabic books about grammar, philology, and literature, as well as ancient works. I met this man a number of times and, although he was friendly with me, he was wary and tight with his possessions, fearing the Banū Ḥamdān.¹⁰ He took out for me a large case containing about three hundred *raṭl*¹¹ of double parchments, deeds, pages of paper from Egypt, Chinese paper, the paper of Tihāmah, *adam* skins, and the paper of Khurāsān.¹²

Among these there were *ta'liqāt*¹³ from the Arabs, individual poems from their poetry, something of grammar, anecdotes, historical traditions, names, genealogies, and other things connected with the sciences of the Arabs and other peoples. He [Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn] mentioned that a man from al-Kūfah, whose name I have forgotten, was keen about collecting ancient writings. When his death drew near, he assigned these to Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn because of mutual friendship and courtesies shown to him, and also because of their common sect, for he was a Shī'ī.

When I looked over these manuscripts, opening them, I beheld something wonderful, even though time had worn them, tending to efface and alter them. In each section, leaf, or roll, there were notes in the handwritings of the scholars, one following another, telling to whom each penmanship belonged. Under every statement there was another note, with five or six testimonials of the scholars, grouped together in their various handwritings. Among them I saw a [Qur'ānic] manuscript written with the penmanship of Khālīd ibn Abī Hayyāj, the friend of 'Alī, for whom may there be peace. Then [I read], "This manuscript fell into the hands of Abū Abd Allāh ibn Ḥānī, may Allāh have mercy for him."

I saw there the handwritings of the two imams, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, for whom may there be peace. I also found trusts and contracts in the handwriting of the Commander of the Faithful,

¹⁰ The feudal chiefs who established a dynasty at Aleppo under Sayf al-Dawlah, A.D. 944 to 967, liable to appropriate the library.

¹¹ In Richardson, *Dictionary*, a *raṭl* is given as a weight of 12 ounces; in modern Lebanon it is over 5 pounds, and in Egypt even more.

¹² The Tihāmah is the coastal plain of al-Hijāz in western Arabia. *Adam* is the plural of *adīm*, a type of parchment. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 169.

¹³ This can mean "financial accounts," "supplements," or "marginal notes."

'Alī,¹⁴ for whom may there be peace, as well as with the penmanships of others who were scribes of the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace.

There were notes about grammar and language written in the handwritings of scholars like Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā', Abū 'Anūr al-Shaybānī, al-Aṣma'ī, Ibn al-A'rābī, Sībawayh, al-Farrā', and al-Kisā'ī, as well as with the penmanships of authorities of the Ḥadīth, such as Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah, Sufyān [ibn Sa'īd] al-Thawri, al-Awzā'ī, and others besides them.

In one of his writings I saw something which showed that grammar came from Abū al-Aswad. It was on four leaves, which I judged were China paper. This was the indication on it: "*Remarks about the Subject and Object*, by Abū al-Aswad, may the mercy of Allāh rest upon him." It was written in the handwriting of Yahyā ibn Ya'mar. Under these notes there was written in an ancient form of penmanship, "This is the handwriting of 'Allān the Grammarian," under which there was, "This is the handwriting of al-Naḍr ibn Shumayl."

Then when this man [Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn] died, we lost the case and its contents, hearing no news about it and seeing nothing more of its contents, except for this manuscript, in spite of my many inquiries about the matter.¹⁵

Naming of Those Who Learned Grammar from Abū al-Aswad al-Du'ālī

A group of scholars learned from Abū al-Aswad, among whom there were Yahyā ibn Ya'mar; 'Anbasah ibn Ma'dān, who was 'Anbasah al-Fīl ('Anbasah of the Elephant); and Maymūn ibn al-Aqrān. Some of the scholars say that Naṣr ibn 'Āṣim also studied with Abū al-Aswad.

Yahyā ibn Ya'mar was a member of the 'Adwān ibn Qays ibn 'Aylān ibn Muḍar, and was said to be attached to the Banū Layth ibn

¹⁴ The name 'Alī is omitted in the Beatty MS.

¹⁵ Because this happened, this probably means that the author of *Al-Fihrist* only had time to study one of the manuscripts in the old case carefully, hoping to study the others at some later time.

Kinānah.¹⁶ He was trustworthy as well as learned, and because he had met Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn 'Umar, and others, he was quoted in connection with the Ḥadīth. Thus Qatādah quoted him.

'Anbasah ibn Ma'dān al-Fahri was one of the people of Maysān, but he went to live at al-Baṣrah. He was named after the elephant (*al-fil*), because his father, Ma'dān, received the elephant of Ziyād with maintenance for it, being named after it.¹⁷

After 'Anbasah there was 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Ishāq al-Ḥaḍramī, a protégé of Ḥaḍramawt whom al-Farazdaq satirized, saying:

Although 'Abd Allāh (the Slave of God) is the *mawlā* of his satire,
Nevertheless, 'Abd Allāh is *mawlā mawālīyā*.¹⁸

'Isā ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafi was an outstanding man in his generation. Abū Sa'īd,¹⁹ to whom may Allāh be merciful, told me that Abū Muzāhim said that Ibn Abī Sa'd recounted that Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī stated that al-Aṣma'i passed on from 'Isā ibn 'Umar [al-Thaqafi] who said:

While we were walking with al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣri], 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Ishāq [al-Ḥaḍramī] being with us, al-Ḥasan said, "Catch these ideas²⁰ for they are rising." So 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Ishāq brought out his tablets and wrote on them saying, "We have received benefits from you, oh, Abū Sa'īd [al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri], with eagerness."

Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā' was also [one of those who learned grammar from Abū al-Aswad al-Du'ālī].

¹⁶ For these tribes, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 105, 162, 163.

¹⁷ Ziyād ibn Abīh, the governor of al-'Irāq, gave the elephant to Ma'dān. For Maysān, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 714.

¹⁸ Khallikān, IV, 288, 289, throws much light on this passage. The words of al-Farazdaq are there translated as:

If 'Abd Allāh was a [simple] *mawlā*, I should satirize him,
But 'Abd Allāh is a *mawlā* of a family which are *mawālās*.

Mawlā may mean "lord," "protégé," or "slave," though here it probably means protégé; see Glossary.

¹⁹ This was the author's friend and almost certainly his teacher, the shaykh Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan al-Sirāfi.

²⁰ Literally translated, this phrase says, "Attract these spirits," but the passage evidently indicates that some ideas rose in al-Ḥasan's mind which he wished to have taken down in writing.

An Account of 'Isā ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī

He belonged to the generation of Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā' and was 'Isā ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī and not 'Isā ibn 'Umar al-Hanadhānī, who was one of the people of al-Kūfah. He was quoted by the [Qur'ānic] readers, being a man of al-Baṣrah and one of the leading grammarians of al-Baṣrah. He learned from 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Ishāq [al-Ḥaḍramī] and other persons. Al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad [in turn] studied under 'Isā ibn 'Umar [al-Thaqafī].

He, I mean 'Isā, was blind, but was one of those at al-Baṣrah who recited the Qur'ān. He died during the year one hundred and forty-nine [A.D. 766/67]. Among his books there were:

The Compilation; The Perfected (Completed).

The judge, Abū Sa'īd [al-Ḥasan al-Sirāfī], may Allāh be merciful to him, recited to us [a verse] by al-Khalīl, commemorating 'Isā ibn 'Umar and his two books:

Grammar would not have been entire and complete,
If it had not been for what 'Isā ibn 'Umar initiated,
That is, completion, and this compilation,
The two of them a sun and a moon for the people.

People lost these two books long ago. They have not fallen into the hands of anyone I know of and nobody has reported seeing them.

There is also Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā', about whom I have already given an account in the passage about [Qur'ānic] readers in the first chapter.

Account of Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb

I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Khazzāz, who said, "I think that Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb Abū al-Raḥmān was a protégé of the Banū Layth ibn Bakr ibn 'Abd Manāh ibn Kinānah Tribe." He went on to say, "I am not sure about this, but he used to be with those people. I am also uncertain as to whether or not he was a protégé." Abū Sa'īd [al-Sirāfī], to whom may Allāh be merciful, mentioned that he was surnamed Abū Muḥammad and that he was a protégé of the Ḍabbah Tribe.²¹

²¹ For the tribes, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 105, 117.

The author of *Mafākhir al-'Ajam* said that his origin was Persian, among the inhabitants of al-Jabbul,²² and that he boasted about this. He knew more than anybody else about grammatical inflections and it is related about him that he said, "I do not heed (attend the lectures of) 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Ishāq [al-Ḥadramī] but I once asked him, 'Is anyone known to pronounce [the word as] *al-ṣawīq* instead of *al-sawīq* (pounded grain)?' He replied, 'It is the vernacular of the 'Amr ibn Tamīm Tribe.'"

Yūnus was a companion of Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā', his circle (class) being at al-Baṣrah. He was concerned with seekers after learning, men of letters, masters of literary style, and representatives of the Bedouins.

I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Muqlah, that Abū al-Abbās *Tha'lab* said that Yūnus lived for over a hundred years, being free from senility and dying in the year one hundred and eighty-three [A.D. 799/800].

In the handwriting of Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī [it is written]: "Yūnus lived eighty-eight years; he did not marry or take a concubine, nor did he have any passion except for the seeking of learning and discourse with men." Among his books there were:

Meaning of the Qur'ān; Languages (Vernaculars); the large book about rare forms [in the Qur'ān]; Similes (Proverbs); the small book of rare forms.

Account of al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad

He was Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad. [Aḥmad ibn Zuhayr] ibn Abī Khaythamah said that Aḥmad, the father of al-Khalīl, was the first person in Islām to be named Aḥmad. His origin was from the Azd Clan of the Farāhid Tribe, so that Yūnus [ibn Ḥabīb] used to call him Farhūdī, like the form of Ardūsī.²³ He excelled in deriving points of grammar and verifying the rules. He was the first person who evolved prosody by which he strengthened Arab poetry. He was indifferent to the world, consecrated to

²² *Mafākhir al-'Ajam* means *Illustrious Deeds of the Persians*; it has not been possible to identify the author. For al-Jabbul, a town between al-'Irāq and Persia, see Khallikān, IV, 586; Ziriklī, Part 9, p. 344; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 23.

²³ For the tribes, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 292 bottom, 293 n.

learning, and an indigent poet. Al-Khalīl died at al-Baṣrah during the year one hundred and seventy [A.D. 786], when seventy-four years old, and one of the books which he composed was the book *Al-‘Ayn*.²⁴

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Faṭḥ ibn al-Naḥwī, the associate of the Banū al-Furāt Tribe,²⁵ who was truthful, discerning, and analytical:

Abū Bakr ibn *Durayd* happened to see the *Kitāb al-‘Ayn* at al-Baṣrah during the year two hundred and forty-eight [A.D. 862/63]. A *warrāq* from Khurāsān brought it and it was in forty-eight sections. He sold it for fifty gold coins (s., *dīnār*).²⁶ This book was reported to have been in Khurāsān in the library of al-Ṭāhirīyah,²⁷ until the *warrāq* took it. It is also said that al-Khalīl wrote *Kitāb al-‘Ayn* and then went on the pilgrimage, leaving the book in Khurāsān. Then he transferred it to al-‘Irāq from the library of al-Ṭāhirīyah.

No one has quoted this book [directly] from al-Khalīl, nor has anything been quoted from the traditions definitely [asserting] that he wrote it. It is said that al-Layth, a descendant of Naṣr ibn Sayyār, was for a short time a friend of al-Khalīl and that al-Khalīl composed it [the book] for him, so that he learned the system [of al-Khalīl]. Then when death suddenly came to al-Khalīl, al-Layth completed it.

Its letters are those which come from the throat and palate. They start with the ‘*ayn*, then *hā’*, *hā’*, *khā’*, *ghayn*, *qāf*, *kāf*, *jīm*, *shīn*, *sād*, *dād*, *sīn*, *rā’*, *ṭā’*, *dāl*, *tā’*, *zā’*, *dhāl*, *thā’*, *zā’*, *lām*, *nūn*, *fā’*, *mīm*, ———, *alif*, *yā’*, *wāw*.²⁸

Another Account of *Kitāb al-‘Ayn*

Abū Muḥammad ibn *Durustūyah*²⁹ recalls that he heard about

²⁴ *Kitāb al-‘Ayn*, the first Arabic dictionary.

²⁵ See *Durayd*, *Geneal.*, p. 208 bottom.

²⁶ On the margin of the Beatty MS there is a note saying, “Recorded from ‘Āṣim al-Aḥwal and others.” ‘Āṣim was a scholar at al-Baṣrah who became judge of al-Madā’in. He died A.D. 760.

²⁷ Al-Ṭāhirīyah was probably an official residence or institution named for Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 494.

²⁸ The dictionary starts with the letter ‘*ayn*, which is pronounced with the mouth wide open, and evidently bases the sequence of letters on the mouth formations used to speak them. A note in the margin of the Beatty MS explains that *bā’* should fill the blank space before *alif*.

²⁹ See the Biog. Index for spelling of this name.

Kitāb al-‘Ayn through the following sequence: Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Mahdī al-Kasrawī said:

Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr, known as al-Zāj al-Muḥaddath, related to me, saying that al-Layth ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn Naṣr ibn Sayyār said, "I used to be with al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad, to whom may Allāh be merciful, and one day he told me, 'If a man wants to, he can write the letters *alif*, *bā*, *tā*, *thā*, and others like them, so as to include all of the Arabic words and to form a source (book) which has nothing lacking.'" He [al-Layth] went on to say, "I asked him, 'How can that be?' He replied, 'It [Arabic word formation] is composed of words of two, three, four, or five [consonants], with no known words any longer than that.'"

Then al-Layth said, "I began to understand him as the matter was explained to me. But instead of being satisfied with what had been described, I returned to [be with] him in connection with this matter for a few days, until he fell ill and I went on the pilgrimage. I continued to be solicitous about him, fearing lest with his illness he might die, so that what he had explained to me might be lost. But when I returned from the pilgrimage, going to him, behold he had composed [the dictionary descriptions] for all of the letters in the first part of the book. Then he dictated to me the things in it which were to be preserved and the points which were doubtful. He would say to me, 'Ask about this' and, if the point was correct, he would confirm it. Thus I compiled the book."

‘Alī ibn Mahdī [al-Kasrawī] said, "From Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr I obtained a copy of this book, that is, the *Kitāb al-‘Ayn*. Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr copied it from al-Layth ibn al-Muẓaffar."

This al-Layth was a legal expert and ascetic, whom al-Ma'mūn tried to appoint as a judge, but he did not succeed in doing this. He was quoted by Abū al-Haydhām Kilāb ibn Ḥamzah al-‘Uqaylī.³⁰

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: The manuscript in the possession of *Da‘laj* was [originally] the manuscript of Ibn al-‘Alā’ al-Sijistānī. Ibn *Durustūyah* recalls that Ibn al-‘Alā’ was one of the persons who together used to listen to [the reading of] this book.

³⁰ This short paragraph is not in the Beatty MS. In the Flügel edition, the name Haydhām is spelled incorrectly.

A group of scholars corrected the errors and mistakes in the *Kitāb al-‘Ayn* of al-Khalīl, as [for instance] when something mentioned as obsolete was really in use, or a thing mentioned as extant was obsolete. Among these there were Abū Ṭālib al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salamah, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Karmānī, Abū Bakr ibn Durayd, and al-Hunā’i al-Dawsī.⁸¹ Thus a group of scholars were helpful to him, showing the errors one to another. If Allāh so wills, we shall deal with this matter in its proper connection, when we speak of these men in their place in the book.

Al-Khalīl also wrote some other books:

Chanting; Prosody; Witnesses; Points and Signs [consonant points and vowel signs]; Death of the ‘Ayn;⁸² Harmony,

The Names of Famous Arabs Who Taught the Scholars, with Some Information about Them and Their Genealogies⁸³

Thus saith Muḥammad [al-Nadīm]: It is necessary to mention them in this place, along with the diversities of their localities and the divergencies of their periods, although mention of the scholars who learned from them⁸⁴ comes in a different order,

Affār ibn Laqīṭ

It is said that he used to sit on a high dung hill, while his companions (pupils) gathered around him, learning from him. It was asked, “What is this dust-colored thing?” And some said, “Perhaps you are the biggest part of it!”⁸⁵

Abū al-Baydā’ al-Rabāḥī

He married the mother of Abū Mālīk ‘Amr ibn Kīrkīrah. The name of Abū al-Baydā’ was As‘ad ibn ‘Ismah. He was an Arabian

⁸¹ The Flügel edition omits al-Dawsī, but includes al-Jahḍamī and al-Sadūsī, which are omitted in the Beatty MS. Al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad died A.D. 786, whereas the members of the group mentioned in the Beatty MS died during the late ninth or early tenth century.

⁸² This title and the one following are omitted by the Beatty MS. “Death” is probably an error. It should probably be “pronouncing” or “omitting.”

⁸³ Here the word “Arabs” signifies men of the Arabian tribes. Most of these names are not found in the other medieval books.

⁸⁴ The idiom is, literally, “the scholars heard from them.”

⁸⁵ The Beatty MS differs from the Flügel text. In the former, the word for “biggest part” is not clearly written, but seems to be *thabaj*.

who lived at al-Baṣrah, teaching throughout his life, the boys who learned from him paying tuition. He was a poet, and from his poetry we have:

The eloquent spoke of her (it) as spoke the hesitant,
Each rhetorical in describing her.
In the same way the enemy was not hostile,
But nicely spoke as speaks a friend.

Abū Mālik 'Amr ibn Kīrīrah

He was an Arabian who taught among the Bedouins and worked as a *warrāq* in the settled communities. He was a protégé of the Banū Sa'd Tribe, who quoted Abū al-Baydā', his mother being subservient to Abū al-Baydā' [al-Rabāḥī].³⁶ It is said that Abū Mālik kept in his memory [all of the words of] the entire language. He belonged to the school of al-Baṣrah, and al-Jāḥiẓ said that he was one of the Ṭayyār,³⁷ who suppose that the rich are more honored by Allāh, Mighty and Powerful, than the poor. They also say that Pharaoh was more honored by Allāh than Moses and that a person who swallows a sharp forbidden thing is not harmed by it.³⁸ Among his books there were:

The Disposition of Man; Horses.

Abū 'Irār

He was an Arabian from the Banū 'Ijl Tribe and a master of literary style, who it is said was almost as cognizant as Abū Mālik in his knowledge of language. He was also a poet,

It is related that when Jannād and Ishāq ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ came to Abū 'Irār, Jannād said to him, "Hear something which I have rendered and do it justice."³⁹ Upon his replying, "Speak," Jannād recited:

³⁶ *Warrāq* often refers to a man who kept a book and paper shop, but as this man spent most of his time among the tribes, the word probably means he was a scribe. His mother was the wife of Abū al-Baydā' al-Rabāḥī.

³⁷ This word is in the Beatty MS. The sect is not included by Shahrastānī and Baghdādī.

³⁸ The text of the Beatty MS differs from Flügel and is not entirely clear.

³⁹ In the Beatty MS the name Jannād is not carefully written, but comparison with the account of Jannād in Chap. III, sect. 1, near n. 18, makes it clear that this is correct. "Do it justice" is perhaps meant to be "I will cut it short."

If thou dost not comprehend what death is,
Behold the Convent of Hīnd, how its graveyard is outlined.⁴⁰

Then Ishāq said:

Thou seest the wonder of things ordained by Allāh,
Among them pledges of death, constrained by His omnipotence.

Abū 'Irār continued:

Houses thou seest, their locks above their dwellers,
With a group of visitors, but the visitor is not spoken to.

He did not compose any books.

Abū Ziyād al-Kilābī

His name was Yazīd ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr and he was an Arabian nomad. *Di'bil* said, "He went to Baghdād during the days of al-Mahdī, when famine afflicted the people. He settled on the estate of al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad, where he resided for forty years, also dying there. He was a poet from the Banū 'Āmir ibn Kilāb Tribe, among whose books there were:

Rare Forms [in the Qur'ān]; Differentiation; Camels; The Disposition of Man.⁴¹

Abū Sawwār al-Ghanawī

He was a master of literary style, with whom Abū 'Ubaydah and less distinguished persons studied. Once while he was meeting with Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb and Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī, Abū 'Uthmān said, "When I was a lad, I recited to my father, 'Thou seest the rain come forth from its clefts (*khilālihi*).'" Then Abū Sawwār retorted, "If it were good literary style it would be 'come forth from *khala-lihi*.'" Then he added, "My father said 'from *khala-lihi*' when reading."⁴²

Abū Sawwār also said, "Have you heard the saying of the poet:

⁴⁰ For the Convent of Hind at al-Ḥirah see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 707, 709.

⁴¹ This last title inserted in the Beatty MS with a marginal note.

⁴² Qur'ān 24:43 and 30:48 have *khilālihi* ("clefts"), so that the father's form of reading was heterodox.

A sign is made⁴³ and a wink comes forth from her,

As the coming of the rain from the rifts (*khalali*) of the clouds."

Then Abū 'Uthmān remarked, "*Khalal* and *khilāl* are two nouns which are identical."

Abū al-Jāmūs Thawr ibn Yazīd, the Arabian Tribesman

He came to al-Baṣrah as an envoy to the family of *Sulaymān* ibn 'Alī and from him Ibn al-Muqaffa' learned his eloquence of style. There were no books of his.

Abū al-Shamkh

He was an Arabian who lived at al-Hīrah. Among his books, according to what Shaykh Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī Sa'īd remembered to have seen written with an upright handwriting, there was the book, *Camels*.

Shubayl ibn 'Azrah al-Dubā'i

He was one of the preachers and scholars of the Khawārij and the author of the poem, "The Strange." He started by being a Rāfiḍī for seventy years, after which he joined the Shurāt.⁴⁴ He said, "Then I got clear of the Rawāfiḍ for the sake of the true religion, the court of assembly, and peace of mind (salvation)." He died at al-Baṣrah, where there are some of his descendants.

Abū 'Adnān

He was Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd al-A'lā, known as Ward ibn Ḥākīm. He quoted Abū al-Baydā' al-Rabāḥī at al-Baṣrah, being a poet and a scholar of language. Among his books there were:

The Grammarians;⁴⁵ The Bow (Weapon); The Strange in the Ḥadīth—his interpretation grew out of the Ḥadīth of the Prophet, for whom be peace, which were *ma'thūr*,⁴⁶ explained in the way that the early scholars commented on the subject.

⁴³ Flügel gives *yushūr bi-ghamzah*, translated as "a sign is made." The Beatty MS has what appears to be *thafīn bi-'umrah*, which does not make sense and must be wrong.

⁴⁴ Instead of Shurāt, the Beatty MS has Shurāyah.

⁴⁵ This title is not in the Beatty MS. The next one is omitted from the Flügel text and the third title is confused in the Flügel text.

⁴⁶ *Al-tafsīr al-ma'thūr* was a term for a statement by the Prophet coming directly from himself, or through one of his wives or Companions known to be reliable.

Abū Thawābah al-Asadī

He was an Arabian tribesman who was quoted by al-Umawī. This al-Umawī related, "We went in to Abū Thawābah, who said, 'I have no sliced (*mushannaq*) food and no pleasing (*mu'niq*) traditions.'"⁴⁷

Abū Ḥabrah

His name was Nahshal ibn Zayd, an Arabian of the Banū 'Adī Tribe, who came to the settled regions and among whose books there was *The Creatures*.

Abū Shunbul al-'Uqaylī

He was a poet whose name was al-Khulanj, an Arabian tribesman and a master of literary style. He went on a deputation to [Hārūn] al-Rashīd and became attached to the Barāmakah. Among his books there was *Rare Forms*, written in an ancient script, corrected by Abū 'Amr ['Umar] al-Zāhid, about three hundred leaves.

Dahmaj ibn Muḥarrar al-Naṣrī

He was Naṣr ibn Qu'ayn of the Banū Asad ibn Khuzaymah Tribe, among whose books there was *Rare Forms*, which was quoted by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥajjāj ibn Nuṣayr al-Anbārī; I saw it and it had about one hundred and fifty leaves, with corrections made by Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid.

Abū Muḥallim al-Shaybānī

His name was Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, but he was also called Muḥammad ibn Hishām ibn 'Awf al-Sa'dī. He was spoken of both as Muḥammad and Aḥmad and was an Arabian tribesman. He knew more than anybody else about poetry and language. Moreover, he used to roughen his manner, so as to make his words sonorous and his speech like that of a Bedouin. I read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Sikkīt saying that Abū Muḥallim was of Persian origin, being born in Persia, although he traced his lineage to the Banū Sa'd Tribe.

⁴⁷ There is also a form *mu'anniq* which may have been used to make the play on words more perfect, although the meaning is not so well adapted to the passage. The Arabic is not clear enough here to tell which word is meant.

It was related by al-Mubarrad, "I heard him say 'fifteen mortars.'" He went on, "One day he said to me, 'I never saw a mortar among the nomads, so that when I did come across one, I was disdainful of it.'" ⁴⁸

He was a poet, and used to satirize Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm, al-Kātib, ⁴⁹ although the poetry of Abū Muḥallim was inferior to that of Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm. He said, "Mu'arraj had a better memory than other people. He caught a passage from me and remembered it all night, repeating it the next day, although it was about fifty leaves in length."

Abū Muḥallim said, "I was born during the year in which [the Caliph] al-Manṣūr went on the pilgrimage." He died during the year two hundred and forty-eight [A.D. 862/63]. Among his books there were:

Al-Anwā'; Horses; The Disposition of Man.

Abū Maḥdīyah

He was an Arabian tribesman who was an authority for the obscure. He was quoted by the scholars of al-Baṣrah, and because of him there was agitation for a long time every year. He did not write any books. ⁵⁰

Abū Miṣhal

He was an Arabian surnamed Abū Muḥammad, whose name was 'Abd al-Waḥhāb ibn Ḥarish. While on a deputation to al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl he settled at Baghdād, where he had arguments with al-Aṣma'i about declension. Among his books there were:

Rare Forms; The Uncultured Obscure. ⁵¹

⁴⁸ The mortar was probably a brass vessel, too expensive for the nomads to buy, but used in settled regions for pounding salt and other things, or else a larger stone vessel used for pounding grain, which was too heavy for the nomads to carry on their camels and of little use for them, as they regard wheat as a luxury.

⁴⁹ The word *al-kātib* usually means a simple scribe, but here refers to a government secretary.

⁵⁰ In the Flügel text the name of al-Mubarrad is mentioned in this paragraph, but the Beatty MS gives a different and probably more correct version.

⁵¹ The Flügel text gives the word *al-waḥshī* ("the uncultured") as the name of Abū Tharwān, but the Beatty MS gives it as part of the title of this book. It evidently refers to primitive colloquialisms.

Abū Tharwān al-'Uklī

He was an Arabian of the Banū 'Ukal Tribe,⁵² a master of literary style, who taught among the nomads. This is what Ya'qūb ibn Sikkīt has recalled. Among his books there were:

The Disposition of the Horse; The Meaning of Poetry.

Ibn Ḍamḍam al-Kilāhī

He was Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ḍamḍam, an envoy to al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl. He wrote some excellent poems, among which was a *qaṣīdah* (poem) the final words of which cannot be surpassed:

May the rain water a quarter in al-Liwā,
Where I used to know them;
From a long time ago
This was their covenant (custom).⁵³

Al-Bahdālī

His name was 'Amr ibn 'Āmir and he was surnamed Abū al-Khaṭṭāb. He composed *rajaz* (metric poetry) and was a master of literary style, as well as one who quoted.⁵⁴ Al-*Aṣma'ī* learned from him, relied upon him as an authority and quoted his poems. From his poetry there is:

He offered as provender a sheep,
Which for long had been with him, strung up,
To the point that it was almost putrid.
He presented it, with the intestines wrapped.

Jahm ibn Khalaf al-Māzinī

He was one who quoted [poetry and legends], and a scholar of obscure [words and expressions], as well as of poetry. He was contemporary with *Khalaf* and al-*Aṣma'ī*. They had similarity, resembling one another in their study of poetry and the unusual.

⁵² For the Banū 'Ukal Tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 113.

⁵³ The final words for the second and fourth lines of this couplet form the kind of play on words which the poets enjoyed. For al-Liwā, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 336-67.

⁵⁴ A scholar of this type would probably quote tribal poetry and legends, rather than the Ḥadīth.

He wrote a poem about creeping things and birds of attack. He belonged to the family of Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā' and it was for Ibn *Munādhir* to praise Jahm:

You were named [with the surname of] the family of al-'Alā',
Because you are [of] the people of al-'alā' (nobility) and a mine
of learning.

The family of al-'Alā' has built for Māzin a dwelling,
Causing him (it) to abide with the stars.

From [Passages Written in] the Handwritings of the Scholars⁵⁶

Abū al-*Haytham* al-A'rābī; Abū al-*Mujīb* al-Rib'ī, whose name was Mazīd ibn Yaḥyā; Abū al-*Jarrāḥ* al-'Uqaylī; Abū Sa'id al-Kilābī; al-'*Adabbas* al-Kinānī; Abū Zakarīyā' al-*Aḥmar*; Abū *Adham* al-Kilābī; Abū al-*Saqr* al-'Adawī; *Ghanīyah* Umm al-*Ḥumārīs*;⁵⁶ Abū *Qurrah* al-Kilābī; Abū al-*Ḥidrijān*: taken from [what is written in] the handwriting of al-*Sukkari*. Abū *Tammām* al-*Ḥarār*; Abū al-*Ḥaṣīn* al-*Hujaymī*; *Mukawwazah*; Abū al-'*Umar*, whose name was al-'Alā' ibn Bakr ibn 'Abd Rabb ibn Miṣḥal ibn al-Muḥallaq ibn Jushm ibn Shaddad ibn Rabī'ah ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr: from [what is written in] the handwriting of Ya'qūb.⁵⁷ Abū *Ziyād* al-*Ṣamuwī* al-Kilābī;⁵⁸ al-*Ṣaqīl* al-'Uqaylī, surnamed Abū al-Kumayt; Abū *Faq'as* Lazā'iz;⁵⁹ Abū al-*Duqaysḥ* al-Qanānī al-Ghanawī; Abū al-*Saqr* al-Kilābī; *Haddāb* al-*Hujaymī*; *Ghaythah* Umm al-*Haytham*; *Ridād* al-Kilābī; *Qaribah* Umm al-Buhlūl al-*Asadiyah*; a book was written by Umm al-Buhlūl [entitled] *Rare*

⁵⁶ Al-Nadīm apparently copied these names from old manuscripts. The names are evidently those of men acquainted with tribal legends and colloquialisms. Many of the names seem to be more accurate in the Beatty MS than in the Flügel edition. The spelling of the names is according to those in Durayd, *Geneal.*, and based on words in standard dictionaries. The Arabic text does not make clear which names were taken from al-Sukkari and which from other scholars.

⁵⁷ *Umm* means "mother." This list shows that some of the tribal women were scholars. Over several names in this first group the Beatty MS has inserted al-Sukkari, suggesting that the name was obtained from this scholar.

⁵⁸ Probably Ya'qūb ibn al-*Stekit*.

⁵⁹ On the margin of the Beatty MS there is a note probably referring to this man, saying: "called al-A'war ibn Barā' al-Kilābī."

⁶⁰ Another note in the Beatty MS may go with this name, saying: "Abū al-Qamāqim al-Faq' ashī, who was quoted by al-Kinānī."

Forms and Sources (Verbal Nouns): from [what is written in] the handwriting of al-Sukkari. Abū Dithar al-Faq'asī—there is a section of his [book] *Al-Ḥurqīyah*;⁶⁰ Abū al-Kabas al-Bāhili; Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ṭā'i; Abū al-Kils (Killis) al-Namrī (Namarī); Abū al-Samḥ al-Ṭā'i, who was one of the persons summoned at the time of al-Mu'tazz, so that he could learn from him;⁶¹ Abū al-Yad al-Kilābī; Abū 'Alī al-Yamāmī; al-Ruḥmī of the period of Qāsim [Abū Muḥammad] al-Anbārī, who quoted Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim; 'Urm ibn al-Aṣḥab al-Salamī; Abū Ḥajjār 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Maṣṣūr al-Kilābī: from [what was written in] the handwriting of Ibn Abī Sa'd. Ḥarīm ibn Zayd al-Kulaybī; Abū Zayd al-Māzinī, who was quoted by Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb; Abū al-Nu'mān, an Arabian who was quoted by Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb; Abū al-Musallim al-Ghādī, who was quoted by Abū 'Amr al-Shaybanī in his [book] *Rare Forms*.

Among the Arabian tribesmen, who were masters of literary style, there was Abū Mus·hir the Arabian, who was quoted by Abū 'Uṭbah Jazw ibn Qaṭan al-Nabī. Among their masters of literary style there was also Abū al-Maḍraḥī, author of the book *Rare Forms*, which I saw written in the handwriting of Ibn Abī Sa'd.

Persons Other than Members of This Group⁶²

Abū Di'āmah al-'Absī, a scholar who quoted [tribal poems and traditions] and whose origin was among the nomads. He dwelt for a long time with the townspeople, becoming attached to the Barāmakah. I read from [what was written in] the handwriting of al-Yūsufī, saying that his name was 'Alī ibn Burayd, [spelled] with a *rā'* (r). Among his books there was *Poetry and the Poets*.

Mu'arraḥ al-Sadūsī

He was Mu'arraḥ ibn 'Amr al-Sadūsī al-Ijlī, surnamed Abū Fayd.

⁶⁰ This title is evidently given incorrectly by Flügel and is very likely given erroneously in the Beatty MS too.

⁶¹ Evidently the Caliph called upon this tribal authority to help his scholars understand tribal forms and vernaculars.

⁶² Not only the names but also the arrangement follows the Beatty MS instead of Flügel. Two sentences below, the Barāmakah were members of the Barinak family; see Glossary.

Written in the handwriting of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz I found, "Mu'arraj ibn 'Amr was descended from the children (clan) of al-Mu'arraj. His name was Marthid ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Thaw ibn Ḥarmalah ibn 'Alqamah ibn 'Amr ibn Sadiūs." He said, "*Al-fayd* is saffron." It is also said to be the odor of saffron, while the verb [forms] *fād*, *yufid*, *fayd(an)*, are used if someone dies.

Abū Fayd was a friend of al-Khalīl. He died during the year one hundred and ninety-five [A.D. 810/11] on the same day on which there died Abū Nuwās. Among his books there were:

Al-Anwā'; The Rare Forms in the Qur'ān; Communities of the Tribes; Meaning.

Al-Liḥyānī, [called] Ghulām al-Kisā'i

His name was 'Alī ibn al-Mubārak, also said to be Khāzim,⁶³ and he was surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. He met with the scholars, the masters of style among the Arabians acquiring information from him.⁶⁴ 'Ubayd [Abū] al-Qāsim ibn Sallām [also] learned from him. Among his written books there was *Rare Forms*.

Al-Umawī

His name was 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'īd. He was not one of the Arabian literary men,⁶⁵ but he met with the scholars and entered among the tribes, deriving knowledge from the masters of style among the Arabians. Among his books there were:

Rare Forms; Migrating with the Tent.

Abū al-Manḥāl

He was 'Uyaynah ibn al-Manḥāl, one of those who quoted [poems and traditions]. Among his books there were:

Drinks; Current Proverbs.⁶⁶

⁶³ Before this name, the Beatty MS has what looks like *bal*, probably implying "on the contrary," or else it is a mistake meant to be *ibn*.

⁶⁴ The Beatty MS is not clear. It may be more correct to say that "he learned from the Arabian language experts."

⁶⁵ *Fuṣṣḥā* is usually rendered in this translation as "masters of literary style," but in speaking of the tribesmen, it may be more correct to say "literary men" or "experts for pure tribal vernaculars."

⁶⁶ The Beatty MS omits *Drinks*. The Flügel text adds, after *Current Proverbs*, "In another place I found *Current Verses*,"

Al-Ḥirmāzī Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī

This was how *Muḥammad* ibn Dā'ūd quoted his name from *Ibrāhīm* ibn Sa'īd. He was an Arabian tribesman and quoter [of traditions and poems], who went to al-Baṣrah to live. He was connected with the Ḥirmāz ibn Mālik ibn 'Amr' ibn Tanīmīn Tribe,⁶⁷ it being said that because he lived among the Banū Ḥirmāz he was given their name. He was a poet and quoter [of traditions and poems].

Al-Ḥirmāzī once said, "When a city woman was asked, 'By what do you recognize the dawn?' she said, 'By the coldness of the jewelry on my body.' When a village woman was asked, 'By what do you recognize the dawn?' she said, 'By the bursting forth of the flowers in the gardens.' When a barbarous type of woman was spoken to, she said, 'It loosens my bowels.'" ⁶⁸ Among his books there was *The Disposition of Man*.

Abū al-'Amaythal

He was an Arabian tribesman whose name was 'Abd Allāh ibn Khulayd, a protégé of *Jā'far* ibn Sulaymān. "Al-'Amaythal" is the name of a horse, one that has a long stringy tail and struts as he walks. He was the tutor of the sons of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir in Kurāsān. Although his origin was said to be from al-Rayy, he spoke in a heavy way, giving a Bedouin articulation to his speech.

He used to say, "I am a protégé of the Banū Hāshim."⁶⁹ Sa'īd was the name of his grandfather, who was a protégé of al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He served Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn and his son, 'Abd Allāh.

One day when he [Abū al-'Amaythal] went to him ['Abd Allāh] and kissed his hand, 'Abd Allāh jokingly said, "You've scratched my hand with the sharpness of your moustache." Then Abū al-'Amaythal replied quickly, "A hedgehog's quill doesn't hurt a lion's

⁶⁷ See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 124.

⁶⁸ The Arabic word for city is *madīnah* and for village, *dihqān*, but these are also place names (for Dihqān, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 634). "City woman" might be "woman of al-Madīnah." "Village woman" could be "woman of Dihqān," or also, "wife of a village headman." But as *al-'iljah* ("barbarous") is not mentioned as a place name by Yāqūt, the others are probably not meant as proper names either.

⁶⁹ The Banū Hāshim was the clan of the Prophet's tribe.

paw." The *bon mot* astonished him ['Abd Allāh] so much that he ordered a rich reward for him.

One day when he [Abū al-'Amaythal] came to him ['Abd Allāh] and he was refused admittance, he said:

I shall leave this door while admittance to it
Remains as I now see it, until it grows somewhat easier;
Even if I did not find a day to gain permission for access,
I found a way of avoiding a meeting.⁷⁰

When this reached 'Abd Allāh it displeased him, so that he ordered that he [Abū al-'Amaythal] should be brought no matter in what way.

Abū al-'Amaythal died during the year two hundred and forty [A.D. 853/54]. Among his books there were:

What Agrees in Pronunciation but Differs in Its Meaning;⁷¹ Resemblance; Current Verses (Texts for Migrating); The Meaning of Poetry.

'Abbād ibn Kusayb

He belonged to the Banū 'Amr ibn Jundab branch of the Banū al-'Anbar Tribe.⁷² Nicknamed Abū al-Khausā', he was a quoter of the poetry of the Arabs and acquainted with their historical traditions.

Al-Faq'asī

He was Muḥannad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Asadī, who quoted [tribal traditions] about the Banū Asad Tribe, being learned in their great deeds and traditions. He was a poet, living as late as the time of al-Manṣūr and his successor. The scholars learned from him about the heroic deeds of the Banū Asad. In one of the verses of his poetry he praised al-Faḍl ibn al-Rubay':⁷³

People are varied in their circumstances,
But Ibn al-Rubay' is on a course which is one.

Among his written works there was *The Heroic Deeds and Poems of the Banū Asad*.

⁷⁰ Both the Beatty MS and Khallikān, II, 56, make the meaning of this passage clear.

⁷¹ This title is not in the Flügel text and is squeezed into the Beatty MS, so that it is not entirely clear.

⁷² Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 129.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

Ibn Abī Ṣubḥ

He was 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn Abī Ṣubḥ al-Māzinī, an Arabian tribesman, who lived and died at Baghdād. He was a poet and master of literary style from whom the scholars derived knowledge, for like al-Faq'asī he had fresh information.

Di'bil said, "Al-Faq'asī went to a house where there was a feast, which was also attended by Ibn Abī Ṣubḥ, the Arabian. As they were crowded at the entrance, Ibn Abī Ṣubḥ got ahead, entering in front of Muḥammad al-Faq'asī and saying:

Oh, would that thou, mother of 'Amr,
Might see how I stand so as to excuse me,
With my shoving al-Asadī's shoulder away from me
Quickly, in the Zabūn Quarter.
As though he were a lion in the house,
He hurled at me with his eyebrows and eyes,
So that if I had regarded the adversary's right,
The adversary would have prevented them from receiving me.⁷⁴

Rabī'ah al-Baṣrī

He was a nomad who became a townsman and was both a poet and quoter of traditions. Among his books there were:

What Is Mentioned in the Selection of Poetry and Rajaz;⁷⁵ Yearning of the Camel for the Homeland.

Account of Khalaf al-Aḥmar

He was Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān surnamed Abū Muḥriz, a protégé of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī. It is also said that he was a protégé of the Banū Umayyah and, furthermore, that his origin was in Khurāsān, from the descendants of *Qutaybah* ibn Muṣlim. He was one of the keenest of the collectors of poetic verse and a poet who wrote his

⁷⁴ The Beatty MS has variations, different from the Flügel text. The "mother of 'Amr" might have been the poet's grandmother, as his father was 'Amr. There is a play on words. "Zabūn" was a quarter of the city, but also "a struggle, with crowding." Al-Faq'asī belonged to the Asad Tribe, and *asad* means "lion."

⁷⁵ The translation follows the Beatty MS, which gives what seems to be *al-khiyār* ("selection"), but might be *al-jināz* ("funeral"). Flügel gives *al-hayāt* ("lives"). There are also other minor variations in this passage, but the translation follows the Beatty MS.

poetry in the vernacular of the nomads, plagiarizing them verse for verse.

I read what was written in the handwriting of Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm [al-*Mawṣilī*], who said, "I heard *Kaysān* the grammarian when he asked, 'Oh, Abū *Muḥriz*, was 'Alqamah ibn 'Abadah Pre-Islāmic or one of the Banū *Ḍabbah* Tribe?'" Among his books there was, *Biographies of the Arabs and What Is Said about Them in Poetry*.⁷⁶

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-*Nadīm*]: Mention of the rest of the men who quoted and were Arabian tribesmen will be with the accounts of the grammarians and language scholars of al-Kūfah, if Allāh so wills.

An Account of the Yazīdīs according to Their Sequence

The judge Abū *Sa'id*, may Allāh be merciful to him, brought out for me part [of a manuscript written] in the handwriting of Abū Bakr ibn al-*Sarrāj*, which recorded:

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās al-*Yazīdī* said, "Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā ibn al-Mubārak al-'Adawī, known as al-*Yazīdī*, was called 'al-*Yazīdī*' because of his friendship with *Yazīd* ibn Maṣṣūr, the maternal uncle of [the Caliph] al-*Mahdī*. Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā' attached him [al-*Yazīdī*] to himself [as a protégé] while *Yazīd* ibn Maṣṣūr attached him to al-*Mahdī*. His sons were: Muḥammad ibn Abī Muḥammad, the most famous among them, as he was the grandfather of Abū 'Abd Allāh and the family's greatest poet; also Ibrāhīm; Ismā'il; 'Abd Allāh; Ya'qūb; and Ishāq; mentioned here in accordance with the sequence of their ages. Ya'qūb and Ishāq were ascetics, learned in the Ḥadīth of the Prophet. Four of them were preeminent because of their knowledge of language and Arabian colloquialisms. The members of the family who were boon companions of [the Caliph] al-*Ma'mūn* were Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Muḥammad was their foremost member and the one who went abroad with [the Caliph] al-*Mu'taṣim* when he journeyed to [engage in combat with] the Mubayyadah⁷⁷ in Egypt. It was there where he died, whereas the others died in Baghdād.

⁷⁶ The Beatty MS gives *Ḥayāt al-'Arab* ("Lives or Biographies of the Arabs"), whereas Flügel omits *ḥayāt*, making the first words *The Arabs*, with an ungrammatical ending to the title. The original was probably as translated.

⁷⁷ A heterodox religious order, engaged in fighting against the caliph; see Mas'ūdī, VIII, 33, 140; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 1504, 1561, 1563, 1564, 1589, 1639.

"Muḥammad had twelve sons, the most important of whom were Aḥmad; then 'Abd Allāh, called as a rule by his nickname 'Abdūs; and al-'Abbās, the father of Muḥammad Abū 'Abd Allāh.⁷⁸ These three were their father's executors. There were also Ja'far, 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, the twins al-Faḍl and al-Ḥusayn, 'Isā, Sulaymān, 'Ubayd Allāh, and Yūsuf. The most distinguished among these were Aḥmad, al-'Abbās, Ja'far, al-Ḥasan, al-Faḍl, Sulaymān, and 'Ubayd Allāh.⁷⁹

"Aḥmad died before the year two hundred and sixty [A.D. 873/74]. Al-'Abbās died during the year two hundred and forty-one [A.D. 855/56], and 'Abdūs somewhat earlier. He ['Abdūs] was so addicted to amusement and pleasure that his zeal culminated in his learning to play the lute and in teaching his two sons to play also. They were blessed with riches. Al-Faḍl died in the year two hundred and seventy-eight [A.D. 891/92], and 'Ubayd Allāh during the year eighty-four [A.H. 284: A.D. 897/98]. Al-Ḥasan died in Egypt, because he accompanied Abū Ayyūb, who was the vizier's nephew [sister's son] and the governor of Egypt. Ja'far died at al-Baṣrah later than the year two hundred and thirty [A.D. 844/45] and Sulaymān died in the year forty-five [A.H. 245: A.D. 859/60].

"It is not recorded that any of them quoted scholarly information, except for Abū 'Abd Allāh [Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās al-Yazīdī] and two of the sons of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. One of these was Mūsā ibn Aḥmad, surnamed Abū 'Isā, and the other was 'Isā, surnamed Abū Mūsā. They quoted from their father and Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Muḥammad what the two of them heard spoken by Abū Zayd and al-Aṣma'ī."⁸⁰

The books which Abū Muḥammad [al-Yazīdī] wrote were:

Rare Forms, composed for Ja'far ibn Yahyā; The Shortened and the Lengthened; An Abridgment of Grammar, composed for some of the sons of al-Ma'mūn; Points and Signs [consonant points and vowel signs].

The compositions of Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Yazīdī:

What Agrees in Pronunciation but Differs in Its Meaning; Building of the Ka'bah; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Noun Forms in the Qur'ān—he reached as far as "Al-Ḥadīd" [Sūrah 57].

⁷⁸ The Beatty MS gives Ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh, which seems to be a mistake.

⁷⁹ For the names of the members of this family, see Biog. Index, Yazīdī.

⁸⁰ The Beatty MS is evidently more accurate than the Flügel text in giving this passage.

The compositions of 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Muḥammad, surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. [al-Yazīdī]:

The Strange in the Qur'ān; An Abridgment of Grammar; Raising of the Tongue in Speech; Stopping and Starting.

The composition of Ismā'īl ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Yazīdī: *Generations of Poets*. The compositions of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Yazīdī:

Abridgment of Grammar; Horses; Virtues of the Banū al-'Abbās; Account of the Yazīdī Family.

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Yazīdī died in the year three hundred and ten [A.D. 922/23]. At the end of his life he was summoned to teach the sons of al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh, whom he served for a time. I have been told that one of his friends met him after he had become associated with the ruler, asking him to read something quoted, whereupon he said, "I've persisted in giving it special attention, but I'm too busy for it."⁸¹

Account of *Sibawayh*, One of the Disciples of al-Khalīl

Our shaykh Abū Sa'īd, to whom may Allāh show mercy, said that the name of *Sibawayh* was 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qanbar. He was a protégé of the Banū al-Hārith ibn Ka'b ibn 'Amr ibn 'Ulah ibn Khālīd ibn Mālīk ibn Udad.⁸² He was surnamed Abū Bishr, some however saying that his surname was Abū al-Ḥasan. *Sibūyah* (Per., *sibawayh*) in Persian is the odor of the apple.

He learned grammar from al-Khalīl, who was his teacher, as well as from 'Isā ibn 'Umar [al-*Thaqafī*], Yūnus, and others. He learned the dialects (languages) from Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Akhfash al-Kabīr (the Elder) and others, too.

He composed his book, unequalled before his time and unrivaled afterwards. I have read what was written in the handwriting of

⁸¹ This was probably a commentary on the work of a well-known author, perhaps a commentary on one of Abū 'Abd Allāh's own compositions. Cf. Khallikān, III, 51. The translation is based on the Beatty MS, which again differs from Flügel. The meaning seems to be that although he tried to finish something he was writing, he was too busy instructing the sons of the caliph to complete his work.

⁸² For al-Hārith and 'Ulah, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 155, 237.

Abū al-‘Abbās *Tha‘lab*, that forty-two persons cooperated in composing the *Book* of Sībawayh. Although Sībawayh was one of them, the principles and subjects were based on those of al-*Khalīl*.

Sībawayh came to al-‘Irāq in the days of al-*Rashīd* when he was thirty-two years old and he died in Persia when he was somewhat over forty. Others say that [the purpose of] his coming to al-‘Irāq was to seek *Yaḥyā* ibn Khālīd, who put him in touch with al-*Kisā‘ī* and al-*Akhfash*, who had discussions with him, checking [his answers] in connection with the questions which they addressed to him.⁸³ They summoned him [to be tested] in the presence of some linguistic authorities, who had come as a deputation to the sultan. These were Abū *Faq‘as*, Abū *Dithār*, Abū al-*Jarrāḥ*, and Abū *Tharwān*. Verification was for al-*Kisā‘ī*.

Al-*Kisā‘ī* spoke with *Yaḥyā* ibn Khālīd, who granted him [Sībawayh] ten thousand silver coins (s., *dirham*), after receiving which he journeyed to al-*Baṣrah* and from there to Persia, where he died during the year one hundred and seventy-seven [A.D. 793/94].

In a source different from what was written in the handwriting of *Tha‘lab* it is recorded that if anybody desired to read the *Book* of Sībawayh with al-*Mubarrad*, he used to say, "Have you ridden through grammar, appreciating its vastness and meeting with the difficulties of its contents?" Al-*Māzinī*, moreover, used to say, "If anybody wishes to compose a great book about grammar in addition to the *Book* of Sībawayh, he ought to be ashamed of himself."

Account of al-*Naḍr* ibn Shumayl

He was al-*Naḍr* ibn Shumayl ibn Kharashah ibn Yazīd ibn Kulthūm ibn ‘Antarah ibn Zuhayr ibn ‘Umar ibn Julhumah ibn Ḥujr ibn Khuzā‘ī ibn Māzin ibn Mālik ibn ‘Amr ibn Tamīm. Although his origin was at al-*Baṣrah*, he lived at Marw al-Rūdh in the region of Māzin.⁸⁴ He learned from al-*Khalīl* and Arabians who were linguistic authorities. He died in the year two hundred

⁸³ Al-*Rashīd* was the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. *Yaḥyā* ibn Khālīd was the vizier, and the others mentioned were linguistic experts.

⁸⁴ A five-day journey from Marw (Merv) in Khurāsān; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 506.

and three or four [A.D. 818/19 or 819/20]. Among his books there was *Al-Şifāt* (Descriptions), a large work comprising a number of chapters, from which Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām drew material for his book *The Strange in Compositions*.

I have read something written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Kūfī, which confirmed what I myself remembered about the book *Al-Şifāt*, so that I am not relying only upon what I myself saw in it. Ibn al-Kūfī said:

The first section deals with the character of man, liberality, generosity, and the qualities of women. The second section deals with tents, houses, descriptions of mountains and chasms, and utensils. The third section is entirely devoted to the camel. The fourth section deals with flying clouds, the sun and the moon, night and day, milks, mushrooms, wells, cisterns, well ropes, buckets, and a description of wine. The fifth section deals with planting, vines, grapes, the names of herbs, trees, winds, clouds, and rain.

There were also some books of his which did not form a part of this volume.⁸⁵

Weapons; The Disposition of the Horse; *Al-Anwā'*; Meaning; The Strange in the Ḥadīth; *Al-Muşāfanah*;⁸⁶ Introduction to "*Kitāb al-'Ayn*"; The Jim (The J);⁸⁷ The Sun and the Moon.

Account of al-Akhfash al-Mujāshī'

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Sa'īd ibn Masa'dah, a protégé of the Banū Mujāshī' ibn Dārim Tribe and one of the most famous of the grammarians of al-Baṣrah.⁸⁸ He learned from *Sibawayh*, being one of his disciples, although al-Akhfash was the elder of the two. Thus he came into contact with the scholars with whom *Sibawayh* associated.

⁸⁵ In the Beatty MS *Weapons* and *The Disposition of the Horse* are squeezed in with the fifth section of the large volume *Al-Şifāt*, but Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 218, gives them as written here.

⁸⁶ This is the measuring of the water that covers a pebble, to give as a share to a member of a desert band.

⁸⁷ This title and the one following are in Flügel and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 218, but are omitted in the Beatty MS.

⁸⁸ For the Banū Mujāshī' Tribe, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 36 l. 19, 37 l. 17.

The way to the *Book* of Sibawayh was through al-Akhfash. Nobody is known to have studied the *Book* with Sibawayh and Sibawayh himself did not expound it. When, however, he died, the *Book* was studied with al-Akhfash. Among those who studied it with him there were Abū 'Umar al-Jarmī, Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī, and others besides them.

Al-Akhfash died during the year two hundred and twenty-one [A.D. 836], later than the death of al-Farrā'. In his book, *The Virtues of Khurāsān*, al-Balkhī said that his [al-Akhfash's] origin was in Khwārizm. It is also stated that he died during the year two hundred and fifteen [A.D. 830/31]. Al-Akhfash quoted Hammād ibn al-Zibriqān. He lived at al-Baṣrah and among his books there were:

Al-Awsaṭ (Middle Size), about grammar; Commentary on the Meaning of the Qur'ān; Measurings in Grammar; Prosody; The Four;⁸⁹ Expositions; the large book, "Questions; the small book, Questions; Al-Qawāfi; Kings;⁹⁰ The Meaning of Poetry; The Full Stop; Voices; Description of Sheep, Their Colors, Remedies, and Ages.

Account of Quṭrub

He was Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn al-Mustanīr, also spoken of as Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, but the first rendering is the more accurate. He learned from Sibawayh and a group of the scholars of al-Baṣrah, being reliable in his statements.

The *quṭrub* is a small creature, crawling without resting. It is said that Sibawayh gave him [Quṭrub] that nickname because of his way of greeting him in the early morning, for he said to him one day, "What are you but a *quṭrub* of the night?"

Quṭrub taught the sons of Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim ibn 'Isā, and then his [own] son, al-Ḥasan ibn Quṭrub, taught them after Quṭrub died during the year two hundred and six [A.D. 821/22]. Among his written books there were:

Meaning of the Qur'ān; Derivations; Al-Qawāfi; Rare Forms; Periods; Triple;⁹¹ Distinguishing; Voices; Descriptions (Adjectives,

⁸⁹ "Four" may refer to cases in grammar, words of four consonants, the four seasons, or perhaps to certain periods of the spring and autumn.

⁹⁰ The title *Kings* in the Beatty MS looks more like *malūl* than *malūk*, so that it may mean "melancholy" or "fatigue."

⁹¹ Three consonants, three dots, or some other meaning connected with linguistics.

Attributes); The Weak Letters in Grammar; Opposites [words of opposite meaning]; The Disposition of the Horse; The Disposition of Man; The Strange in the Ḥadīth; Refutation of the Heretics, about the metaphorical in the Qur'ān; The Hamzah; Fa'ala wa-Af'ala; Inflection (Declension) of the Qur'ān.⁹²

Account of Abū 'Ubaydah

The shaykh Abū Sa'id, may Allāh be merciful to him, said, "Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā al-Taymī was from the Taym of the Quraysh rather than Taym of the Ribāb,⁹³ for he was a protégé of theirs." It is also said that he was a protégé of the Banū 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ma'mar al-Taymī.

We have been told that Abū Bakr ibn Mujāhid related, saying:

Al-Kudaymī recounted to me and Abū al-'Aynā', saying, "A man once said to Abū 'Ubaydah, 'Oh, Abū 'Ubaydah, you have made records of people, penetrating into their genealogies, but by Allāh you haven't informed me who your own father was and what was his origin!' Then he said, 'My father told me that his father was a Jew from Bājarwān.'"⁹⁴

I myself have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Muqlah, that Abū al-'Abbās Tha'lab said:

Abū 'Ubaydah agreed with the doctrines of the Khawārij, so that when he read the Qur'ān he read it with reflection. He knew about the strange forms in the Qur'ān, as well as the metaphorical in the Qur'ān, but in spite of his learning, if he composed a verse of poetry he did not pay attention to its grammatical accuracy.⁹⁵

When he died no one attended his funeral, for he never used to greet a sharīf or anybody else. He wrote the book *Al-Mathālib* (Faults), in which he spoke of the faults of some of the things connected with the Prophet,⁹⁶ may Allāh bless him and give him peace.

Abū al-'Abbās [Tha'lab] said:

⁹² This title is omitted in the Beatty MS.

⁹³ For the tribal groups, see *Enc. Islam*, IV, 622; Mas'ūdī, IV, 223; Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 111, 228.

⁹⁴ For several towns with this name, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 454.

⁹⁵ This sentence has been translated freely, so as to make it readable.

⁹⁶ The Arabic for the phrase "the things connected with the Prophet" is *asbāb al-Nabī*.

Abū 'Ubaydah lived to be nearly a hundred. He was heavy in speech, but possessed a knowledge of Islām and the Pre-Islāmic period, and in his house there was a record of the Arabs. When he spoke with his friends, such as al-Aṣma'ī, Abū Zayd, and some others, he was curt⁹⁷ while he was with them. Then, moreover, he was foul, unsound in religion and genealogy.

I read what was written in the handwriting of 'Allān al-Shu'ūbī, that Abū 'Ubaydah was nicknamed *Sakht* (Rigid or Overbearing). His origin was Persian. Abū 'Ubaydah was born in the year one hundred and fourteen [A.D. 732/33] and died during the year two hundred and ten [A.D. 825/26], or some say eleven. Abū Sa'id has said the year eight and some say nine. Among his books there were: The Metaphor of the Qur'ān; The Strange in the Qur'ān; The Meaning of the Qur'ān; The Strange in the Ḥadīth; Embellishment (Al-Dibāj); Al-Bāj (Tribute, Tax, Revenue); Animals; Imperfections (Al-Naqā'is); Abnā' (Sons of) Wayl;⁹⁸ Restrictive Ordinances (Penalties); Grave of Eternity (Ḥufrat Khuld);⁹⁹ *Mas'ūd*;¹⁰⁰ Al-Baṣrah; The Blessing (Information) of the Quoter [of Traditions]; Khurāsān; Strifes of Qays and al-Yaman; Account of 'Abd al-Qays; Account of Abnā' (Sons of) Baghid;¹⁰¹ The Khawārij of al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamāmah;¹⁰² Protégés; Stupidity; Owls (Al-Ḍi'ān); Al-Ṭarūqah [girl (female) ready for mating]; The Field of Rāhit;¹⁰³ The Contestants; The Combat; Account of al-Barāṣ (the Sandy Desert) (or Account of al-Barrād [the standard of Ibn Qays]).

Fugitives (Al-Farrārīn) (or Al-'Izāzīn [Noble], or Al-Ghīrārīn [Careless about Prayer]);¹⁰⁴ The Falcon; Pigeons (Doves); Snakes; The Eagle (Al-'Uqāb) (or Punishment [Al-'Iqāb]); Al-Nawākiḥ;¹⁰⁵ Al-Nawāshiz;

⁹⁷ The Beatty MS has *nataf*, which means "picked out hair," but when applied to scholarship has the connotation of being brief or curt.

⁹⁸ For this tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 165.

⁹⁹ Flügel differs.

¹⁰⁰ The fourth title of the last paragraph of the list is *Mas'ūd ibn 'Amr and His Murder*. Here, *mas'ūd* may refer to the same *Mas'ūd*, or it may mean "prosperous."

¹⁰¹ For the tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 157, 167.

¹⁰² Rebellious tribes in eastern Arabia and the Island of Baḥrayn.

¹⁰³ A battle near Damascus in which the rebel supporters of Ibn al-Zubayr were beaten by the army of the Caliph Marwān, A.D. 684.

¹⁰⁴ The Beatty MS differs here from Flügel and, as the word lacks consonant signs, it may be one of numerous interpretations.

¹⁰⁵ These are unusual plurals. Perhaps *al-nawākiḥ* refers to marriage and *al-nawāshiz* to persons resurrected.

Al-Jabal;¹⁰⁶ Smooth White Stones [Used for Writing]; Al-I'tān (Severity [especially to a debtor]); Virtues of the Bāhilah Tribe;¹⁰⁷ Heroic Deeds of the Azd; Horses; The Camel; Teeth; Al-Muḥām (Protected [such as a walled-in plot of land]); The Planting; The [Nomadic] Migration; The Bucket; The Well Pulley; The Saddle; The Bridle.

The Bow; The Sword; Faults of the Bāhilah Tribe;¹⁰⁸ Unusual Expressions; Dreams; Increments (Superfluities); Warrior Cavaliers; Completion of the Leader (Tāmmat al-Ra'is); Warriors of the Nobles (Ashraf); Poetry and the Poets; Fa'ala wa-Af'ala; Verbal Nouns; Faults; The Disposition of Man; Al-Gharaf [plant for tanning] (or Drowning [Al-Gharaq]); The Thorn (or Date Scrapings); Makkah and the Sacred Enclosure; [The Battles of] the Camel and Šiffin;¹⁰⁹ Aristocratic Families; Languages (Vernaculars); Raids; Mutual Reproaches; Refuges.¹¹⁰

Al-Aṣḍād (Adjacent Parts) (or Al-Aḍḍād [Words of Opposite Meanings]); Heroic Deeds of the Arabs;¹¹¹ The Two Sandal Thongs; The Undutiful; Heroic Deeds of the Ghatafān;¹¹² Trustworthy [Persons Keeping Their Word]; The Names of Horses; Invited Guests of the Arabs; The Assassination of 'Uthmān [the third caliph]; Judges of al-Baṣrah; The Invasion of Armenia; The Invasion of al-Ahwāz; Robbers of the Arabs; Account of al-Ḥajjāj [the governor of al-'Irāq]; Story of the Ka'bah; The Heroic among the Quraysh; Excellencies of Persia (Excellencies of the Horse); Tithes of Slaughtered Animals (Sheep); Al-Ḥāmālīn al-Khimālāt;¹¹³ How the Populace Errs in Speaking.

Salīm ibn Qutaybah; Rūstuqbādh;¹¹⁴ Al-Sawād and Its Invasion; Mas'ūd ibn 'Amr and His Murder; Who among the Governors

¹⁰⁶ This is different from the word in the Flügel text.

¹⁰⁷ For Bāhilah, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 164, and for Azd, see "al-Azd," *Enc. Islam*, I, 529.

¹⁰⁸ Omitted in the Beatty MS. Perhaps confused with *Virtues of the Bāhilah Tribe*, given in the previous paragraph.

¹⁰⁹ These were two famous battles between 'Alī and his competitors; see Glossary.

¹¹⁰ The Arabic word here is probably an unusual plural (*al-malāwithāt*) indicating either places of refuge, or chiefs offering refuge.

¹¹¹ In the Beatty MS there is probably an error, or this may be *What Influences the Arabs*.

¹¹² For this tribe see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 164.

¹¹³ These forms are clear in the Beatty MS, but they do not fit together. *Al-ḥāmālīn* ("bearing") does not agree with *al-khimālāt* ("secrets"). The Flügel text has *al-ḥāmālīn wa'l-ḥāmālat* ("masculine and feminine forms").

¹¹⁴ A locality east of al-Kūfah, where al-Ḥajjāj made his headquarters for a time while he was ruling al-'Irāq. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 833.

(Workers) Gives Thanks and Gratitude; 'The Strange [Forms] of the Tribes¹¹⁵ of the Arabs; Naming of the Killings (Murderers) of the Banū Asad; The Plural and the Dual; Al-Aws and al-Khazraj Tribes; *Muḥammad* and *Ibrāhīm*, the Two Sons of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan; The Days (Ayyām), which included, from what is written in the handwriting of al-Sukkārī: The Days (Ayyām) of the Banū Yashkur and Information about Them;¹¹⁶ The Days (Ayyām) of the Banū Māzin and Information about Them; Similes (Proverbs);¹¹⁷ Freeborn Women; Inflection (Declension) of the Qur'ān.

Among the Disciples of Abū 'Ubaydah

There was Dammādh Abū Ghassān, whose name was *Rufī* ibn Salamah ibn Muslim ibn Rufī al-'Abdī. He quoted Abū 'Ubaydah and copied his books, learning from him about genealogies, historical traditions, and heroic deeds.

Account of Abū Zayd

His name was Sa'īd ibn Aws al-Anṣārī and he came from Ṣulbiyah al-Khazraj. Abū al-'Abbās al-Mubarrad said, "Abū Zayd knew a great deal about grammar, but not as much as al-Khalīl and Sībawayh. Yūnus [ibn Ḥabīb] ranked with Abū Zayd in language study, and was more learned than Abū Zayd in grammar. As Abū Zayd knew more about grammar than al-Aṣma'ī and Abū 'Ubaydah, he was called Abū Zayd the Grammarian."

Abū Sa'īd said, "I do not know of any of the scholars of grammar and language at al-Baṣrah, who derived information about the Arabs from the people of al-Kūfah, except Abū Zayd, who quoted al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī."

In the beginning of the book *Rare Forms*, Abū Zayd said, "Al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī recited for me [a verse by] Ḍamrah ibn Ḍamrah al-Nahshalī of the Pre-Islāmic period;

¹¹⁵ The word translated as "tribes," *buṭūn*, might also mean "subtribes." For the tribal names which follow, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 258, for Asad; p. 259 bottom for Aws and Khazraj.

¹¹⁶ For the Banū Yashkur, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 38, 47. For the Banū Māzin, in the title which follows, see "Māzin," *Enc. Islam*, III, 433.

¹¹⁷ The order of titles in the list is different in the Beatty MS from the sequence in the Flügel edition. The Beatty MS omits these last three titles.

She awoke after midnight blaming you for generosity,
But my blame and censure is wrong for you."¹¹⁸

I read what was written in the handwriting of Ishāq;¹¹⁹

Abū Zayd said to me, "I came to Baghdād at the time when [the 'Abbāsīd Caliph] al-Mahdī Muḥammad began to reign 775 [A.D.] and the scholars of every land arrived with different branches of learning. I did not see anyone more keen about poetic verse than *Khalaf* [ibn Ḥayyān] or more erudite and devoted to his learning than *Yūnus* [ibn Ḥabīb]."

Abū Zayd died in the year two hundred and fifteen [A.D. 830/31]. Among his books there were:

The Oath of 'Uthmān; Subterfuge and Joking; Confusion and Watering of Camels; Displeasing (Corrupt); The Naked (Al-Mu'arrī) (or The Comforter [Al-Mu'azzī] or The Raid [Al-Maghzā]); The Camel; The Disposition of Man; Tents (Verses of Poetry); Rain; Water; Innate Qualities (Idiosyncrasies); Plants and Trees; Languages (Vernaculars); The Reading of Abū 'Amr [ibn al-'Alā]; Rare Forms; The Plural and the Dual; Diarrhea.

Aristocratic Families; Pronouncing the Hamzah Lightly; Khuba'ah;¹²⁰ Improvised Speech; Wild Beasts; Differentiation; Fa'altu wa-Af'altu; The Strange among Names; Marking with the Hamzah; Verbal Nouns; The Session; Celebrated and Noted; The One (Unique);¹²¹ Dates; Description of Sheep; Description of Oral Ways of Speaking; Speech (Logic).

Account of al-Aṣma'ī

Thus saith Muḥammad [al-Nadīm]: I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Muqlah: "Abū al-'Abbās Tha'lab said that al-Aṣma'ī was 'Abd al-Malik ibn Qurayb ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Alī ibn Aṣma'ī ibn Muḥazzir ibn 'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bāhili." It is quoted that someone said to Abū 'Ubaydah, "Al-Aṣma'ī said to us, 'My father used to travel with *Salm* ibn

¹¹⁸ Cf. translation in Fleischer, in *ZDMG*, XII (1858), 63 top.

¹¹⁹ Probably Ishāq al-Mawṣilī.

¹²⁰ The translation follows the Beatty MS, which varies from the Flügel edition. This word is used in various ways for secluded women. It may mean "concealed" or have a technical use in connection with the *hamzah*.

¹²¹ These last five titles are given by Flügel but omitted by the Beatty MS.

Qutaybah on a horse of his." Abū 'Ubaydah remarked, "Praise be to Allāh and thanks to Allāh, for Allāh is greater [than His creatures]. One boasting of what he does not own is like a person wearing a false robe and, by Allāh, the father of al-Aṣma'ī never owned any animal other than the one inside of his robe."

Our shaykh Abū Sa'īd said, "Abū al-'Abbās al-Mubarrad stated that al-Aṣma'ī was most keen about poetry and rhetoric, as was also Abū 'Ubaydah, who excelled al-Aṣma'ī in his knowledge of genealogy, although al-Aṣma'ī knew more about grammar than he did." He [al-Aṣma'ī] was surnamed Abū Sa'īd, the name of Qurayb [his father] being 'Āṣim, surnamed Abū Bakr.

Abū al-'Aynā' related, saying:

Al-Aṣma'ī died at al-Baṣrah when I was present, during the year two hundred and thirteen [A.D. 828/29]. There invoked Allāh on his behalf al-Faḍl ibn Abi Ishāq, and I heard 'Abd al-Raḥmān, his brother's son, recite at the funeral, "To Allāh we belong and to Him are we returning."¹²² Then I said, "What matter to him if he has been called home, in accordance with what Allāh has made known to him?"

It is also said that al-Aṣma'ī died in the year two hundred and seventeen [A.D. 832/33]. Among his books there were:¹²³

The Disposition of Man; Types (Categories); Al-Anwā'; Marking with the Hamzah; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Differentiation; The Attributes [of God] (Descriptions); Doors;¹²⁴ 'Al-Maysir and al-Qidāh;¹²⁵ The Disposition of the Horse; Horses; The Camel; Sheep; Tents and Houses; Wild Beasts; Fa'ala wa-Af'ala; Similes (Proverbs); Opposite Words [each bearing different meanings]; Pronunciations (Dialects); Weapons; Languages (Vernaculars); Waters of the Arabs.

Rare Forms; Origins of Words; [Grammatical] Change and Substitution; The Arabian Peninsula; The Bucket; Etymology; [Nomadic] Migration; The Meaning of Poetry; Rajaz Poems; The Palm Tree; Plants and Trees; The Land Tax (Al-Kharāj); What Agrees in Pronunciation but Differs in Its Meaning; The Strange in the Ḥadīth—I saw this

¹²² Qur'ān 2:156.

¹²³ Cf. Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 78.

¹²⁴ Probably the gates of Heaven; Qur'ān 38:50.

¹²⁵ *Al-maysir* was the drawing of arrows to obtain part of a slaughtered animal; see Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1542. *Al-qidāh* were arrows without heads used for fortune telling and gambling.

written in the handwriting of al-Sukkārī, about two hundred leaves; The Saddle, Bridle, Halter, and Hobbling Rope;¹²⁶ The Strange in the Ḥadīth—Uncultured Words; Rare Forms of the Arabians (or Rare Forms of Inflection [Declension]); Masculine and Feminine; The Six Poems;¹²⁷ The Seasons; Genealogy; Voices (Sounds); Names of Fermented Drinks; What the Arabs Say, Being Spread by the Peoples' Mouths.

Al-Aṣmaʿī worked over a large number of the poems of the Arabs, but not in a way pleasing to the scholars, because he minimized [the importance of] rare forms and abbreviated quotations.¹²⁸

'The Son of the Brother of al-Aṣmaʿī

In the handwriting of al-Yazīdī his name is written 'Abd al-Rahmān, surnamed Abū Muḥammad, but he was also said to have been surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. He was not bright, but he was relied upon for what he quoted from his uncle and other scholars. Among his books there was *The Meaning of Poetry*.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥātim

He quoted al-Aṣmaʿī and was surnamed Abū Naṣr. He also quoted Abū 'Ubaydah, Abū Zayd, and other [scholars]. He died in the year two hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 845/46], when he was over seventy years old. Among his books there were:

The Camel; Verses of "Al-Ma'ānī";¹²⁹ Horses; The Sown and the Palm; Trees and Plants;¹³⁰ First Milk [after Giving Birth] and [Ordinary] Milk; Derivations of Names; Birds; How the Populace Errs in Speaking; Locusts.

¹²⁶ This title is not correct in the Flügel text and the word translated as "halter" is carelessly written in the Beatty MS. It must be *al-burs*, a kind of wooden camel halter.

¹²⁷ This title and the ones which follow are not included in the Beatty MS.

¹²⁸ The word translated as "minimized" is probably given incorrectly in the Flügel text and is garbled in the Beatty MS, but the meaning, as translated, seems to be fairly clear.

¹²⁹ Probably *Ma'ānī al-Shi'r* of al-Aṣmaʿī, *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr* of Ibn Qutaybah, or some similar book.

¹³⁰ This title and the ones following are not in the Beatty MS.

Account of al-Athram, a Disciple¹³¹ of al-Aṣma'ī and Abū 'Ubaydah

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Mughirah al-Athram, who quoted a group of scholars as well as language authorities among the Arabian tribesmen. He quoted the books of Abū 'Ubaydah and al-Aṣma'ī, from whom he was never separated.

[Abū al-'Abbās] Tha'lab said, "We were with al-Athram, the disciple of al-Aṣma'ī, when he was dictating the poetry of al-Rā'ī." He continued, "When he ended the session, Ya'qūb ibn al-Sikkīt being one of those with him, he put down the manuscript from his hand saying, 'I must ask him [Ibn al-Sikkīt] about a verse of al-Rā'ī.'" Then he [Tha'lab] went on to say, "I said to him [al-Athram], 'Don't do that lest he has no answer and you humiliate him in the presence of the leaders of the session.' But he [al-Athram] said, 'It must be,' as he jumped up exclaiming, 'What do you say about this line of al-Rā'ī?'"

They ruminated the cud after their hunger,
Leaving Dhū al-Abāriq and pasturing at Ḥaḡil."¹³²

He [Tha'lab] said, "The shaykh [Ibn al-Sikkīt] stammered and gulped, not answering at all. Then he [al-Athram] asked, 'What do you have to say about another of his verses?'"

Like the high-rising smoke of a lonely man,
Hungry, causing wet thorn bushes to kindle."¹³³

Then he [Tha'lab] continued, "He [Ibn al-Sikkīt] relapsed into his state [of embarrassment] and we saw in his face disapproval and dissent. But al-Athram said (quoted), 'The loaded [camel] seeks relief with the neck.' Ya'qūb [ibn al-Sikkīt] exclaimed, 'That's wrong, it's with its chin!' Then al-Athram said, 'You're trying to be the leading person in a hurry,' and he went into his house."¹³⁴

¹³¹ He was called *ṣāhib* of al-Aṣma'ī, and as he was much younger, it seems more accurate to translate this word as "disciple" rather than "associate."

¹³² There are some differences with the Flügel text; the verses are taken from the Beatty MS. For a better understanding of this first couplet, see Rā'ī, *Shi'r*, p. 132 (25); Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 72.

¹³³ For a better understanding of this couplet, see Rā'ī, *Shi'r*, p. 140 (59).

¹³⁴ This story casts much light on medieval education. As a disciple or apprentice of the great grammarian al-Aṣma'ī, the younger man al-Athram was ambitious and successful. He was evidently teaching a class in poetry, not in a mosque or house, as was usual, but somewhere near his house, perhaps an open court. He tried to show

Meaning of the Simile

Ya'qūb [ibn al-Sikkī] said that if a camel is loaded and its burden becomes heavy, it will stretch out its neck and seek support with its chin (lean on its chin), but in so doing it will gain no relief. So it is compared with a man who undertakes something or to whom something happens from which he shrinks, and he seeks the aid of one weaker than himself. This is the simile.

Al-Athram died during the year two hundred and thirty [A.D. 844/45]. Among his books there were:

Rare Forms; The Strange in the Ḥadīth.

Account of al-Jarmī

I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Khazzāz: "Abū 'Umar Ṣāliḥ ibn Ishāq al-Bajilī [al-Jarmī] was a protégé of Bajilāh ibn Anmār ibn Irāsh ibn al-Ghawth, brother to al-Azd ibn al-Ghawth."¹³⁵ Abū Sa'īd said that he [al-Jarmī] was a protégé of Jarm ibn Rabbān, Jarm being one of the Arab tribes from al-Yaman.

He learned grammar from al-Akhfash and others, studying the *Book of Sibawayh* with al-Akhfash. Although he met Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb, he did not meet Sibawayh. He learned about language from Abū Zayd, al-Aṣma'ī, and their associates. Abū al-'Abbās al-Mubarrad said, "He was a protégé of Bajilāh ibn Anmār." Al-Jarmī died ————.¹³⁶ Among his books there were:

Joy (Al-Farah) (or Al-Faraj or Al-Farkh); Structures (Al-Abniyah);¹³⁷ Prosody; Abridgment of the Grammar of the Learned; The Strange in Sibawayh;¹³⁸ Al-Qawāfi;¹³⁹ The Dual and the Plural; Structures and Inflection.

off at the expense of the Shaykh Ibn al-Sikkī, the tutor of the caliph's son and a man of dignity. Tha'lab was a younger man, but one of the great scholars of his generation. His efforts to keep al-Athram from being rude failed. Al-Athram tried to show his pupils that he knew more lines of poetry than his senior, and was so conceited that he went into his house when Ibn al-Sikkī accused him of making an erroneous quotation.

¹³⁵ For these tribes see Mas'ūdī, III, 148, 216.

¹³⁶ Al-Jarmī died A.H. 225 (A.D. 840). The date is omitted in the Arabic text.

¹³⁷ Perhaps connected with a book of this name by Sibawayh.

¹³⁸ The Flügel text has *Commentary on the Strange in Sibawayh*.

¹³⁹ This title and the two which follow are not in the Beatty MS.

Account of al-Māzinī

His name was Bakr ibn Muḥammad and he was from the tribe of the Banū Māzin ibn Shaybān ibn Dhuhl ibn Tha'labah ibn 'Ukābah ibn Ṣa'b ibn 'Alī ibn Bakr ibn Wā'il. His father was *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥabīb, a grammarian and reader [of the Qur'ān], mention of whom has already been made in the account of Abū Sawwār al-Ghanawī. Al-Wāthiq brought al-Māzinī from al-Baṣrah because of a poem sung by a slave girl in the following way:

Is not, oh, tyrant, thy evil treatment of a man
Who has greeted thee with a salutation injustice?¹⁴⁰

When he [al-Māzinī] reached Sāmarrā and, entering into the presence of al-Wāthiq, gave the verse its correct grammatical form, it happened to be in accordance with the opinion of al-Wāthiq, who bestowed upon him by the hand of *Aḥmad* ibn Abī Duwād five thousand silver coins (s., *dirham*) and sent him home to al-Baṣrah. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Alif (The A) and the Lām (the L); Declension (Conjugation); Prosody; Embellishment (Al-Dībāj), contradicting the book of Abū 'Ubaydah; How the Populace Errs in Speaking;¹⁴¹ Al-Qawāfī.

Account of al-Tawwazī

Our shaykh Abū Sa'id, may Allāh be merciful unto him, said that his [Tawwazī's] name was 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Hārūn. According to what was written in the handwriting of Ibn Wadā' ibn al-Faḍl al-Asadī of the Quraysh, quoting Abū Sa'id, he was a protégé of the Quraysh surnamed Abū Muḥammad.

He studied (read) with al-Aṣma'i, quoted Abū 'Ubaydah and other authorities, and mastered the *Book* of Sībawayh under Abū 'Umar

¹⁴⁰ For the Banū Māzin ibn Shaybān Tribe, see "Māzin," *Enc. Islam*, III, 433. In the story which follows, al-Wāthiq (caliph A.D. 842-47) was in his palace city at Sāmarrā. His slave girl, who had been trained to recite poetry by the great scholar al-Māzinī, recited the word of a poem in a way which the caliph believed to be correct. When his scholars disagreed with him, he sent for al-Māzinī to come to Sāmarrā from al-Baṣrah. The caliph was pleased when al-Māzinī said that the girl had been correct. Authorities differ about the author of the poem and Flügel gives some errors in his version. For this incident, see Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 92; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 202; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 382; Khallikān, I, 265.

¹⁴¹ This title and the one following it are not in the Beatty MS.

al-Jarmī. Abū 'Alī al-Ṣaffār told us what he claimed to be true, saying:

Muḥammad ibn Yazīd [al-Mubarrad] said to us, "In the presence of 'Umārah ibn 'Aqīl ibn Bilāl ibn Jarīr, I read to Abū Muḥammad al-Tawwazī a selection from Jarīr beginning:

The dove was happy in the trees exciting me;

For a long time may thou tarry in the branches and the forest verdure,
until I came to this line:

But the heart remaineth bound by longing

For Jumānah or Rayyā, the Barren Place (al-'Āqir).

"Then 'Umārah, having Abū 'Ubaydah in mind, said to al-Tawwazī, 'What would your master say?' Al-Tawwazī replied, 'That they are two women [referring to Jumānah and Rayyā].' 'Umārah laughed, saying, 'These two, by Allāh, are two sandy places to the right and left of my house!' Then al-Tawwazī said to me, 'Write down what he said.'"

He [al-Mubarrad] continued, "I refused out of respect for Abū 'Ubaydah, but he [al-Tawwazī] said, 'Write, for if Abū 'Ubaydah were present, he would accept this interpretation, as it is about the man's own house.'"¹⁴²

Al-Tawwazī learned so much from al-Aṣma'ī that he was called [al-Aṣma'ī] after him. He died ———. Among his books there were: Similes (Proverbs); Contraries (Opposites); Horses, Racing Them, Their Ages (Teeth), Their Young, Their Eyes, Exercising Them, and Which One Is Named for Its Mare; Fa'altu wa-Af'altu; Rare Forms.

Account of al-Ziyādi

Abū Sa'id, to whom may Allāh be merciful, said, "He was Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Sufyān ibn Sulaymān ibn Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ziyād ibn Abih. He was a pupil of (read with) al-Aṣma'ī and other scholars and, although he studied the *Book of Sibawayh*, he did not finish it." Among his books there were:

An Exposition of the "Book" of Sibawayh; Similes (Proverbs); Points and Signs [consonant points and vowel signs]; The Writing of Historical Traditions; Names of the Clouds, the Winds, and the Rains.

¹⁴² This passage should be compared with the poet's anthology; see Jarīr, *Sharḥ Dīwān*, pp. 304, 305. 'Umārah knew all about Jumānah and Rayyā al-'Āqir, as he was a great-grandson of the poet Jarīr, probably brought up in the old family home.

Account of al-Riyāshī

He was Abū al-Faḍl al-‘Abbās ibn al-Faraj, a protégé of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn ‘Alī al-Hāshimī. Riyāsh was a member of the Judhām Tribe¹⁴³ and, as the father of al-‘Abbās [al-Riyāshī] was his [Riyāsh’s] slave, the name derived from Riyāsh was attached to him.

He was a scholar of language and poetry who quoted al-Aṣma‘ī copiously, also quoting other authorities. Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far al-Naḥwī (the Grammarian) said that al-Riyāshī studied the first half of the *Book* of Sībawayh as a pupil of al-Māzinī.

Abū Sa‘īd related to us, saying:

Abū Bakr ibn *Durayd* said to us, “When I saw a *warrāq* of al-Baṣrah reading [aloud] the book of logic by Ibn al-Sikkīt, some people of al-Kūfah being present, I asked al-Riyāshī, who was sitting among the *wārraqūn*, ‘What did he [Ibn al-Sikkīt] say?’ [Al-Riyāshī replied,] ‘He said, “We learned about language from *Ḥarashat* al-Ḍibāb and *Aklat* al-Yarābī’, who derived a knowledge of language from the inhabitants of al-Sawād: *akalah al-kuwāmīkh*, *al-shawārīz*, and similar words.” ’ ”¹⁴⁴

With reference to the year during which al-Riyāshī died, Abū Sa‘īd said, “Abū Bakr ibn *Durayd* told us that it was the year two hundred and fifty-seven [A.D. 870/71].” Among his books there were:

Horses; The Camel; How the Names¹⁴⁵ Differ from the Words of the Arabs,

Account of Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī

Abū Sa‘īd said, “His name was Sahl ibn Muḥammad. He quoted copiously from Abū Zayd, Abū ‘Ubaydah, and al-Aṣma‘ī, being himself a scholar of language and poetry.” Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mubarrad related that he heard him say, “I read (studied) the *Book* of Sībawayh twice with [as a pupil of] al-Akhfash.”

He had an excellent knowledge of prosody, was a prolific writer of books about language, or it is said poetry,¹⁴⁶ and was accurate in

¹⁴³ See *Durayd*, *Geneal.*, p. 225.

¹⁴⁴ These words from the dialects of southern ‘Irāq cannot be identified.

¹⁴⁵ In the Arabic of the Beatty MS the *hamzah* is omitted, but the word given evidently means “names” or “nouns.”

¹⁴⁶ Perhaps this phrase should be translated as “with the speech of poetry.” One of the letters is unclear in the Arabic text, making the meaning uncertain.

quoting. Abū Bakr ibn *Durayd* depended upon him in connection with linguistics.¹⁴⁷ It has been told to me that he died during the year fifty-five [A.H. 255: A.D. 868/69] on a day of rain. *Sulaymān* ibn al-Qāsim, the brother of *Ja'far* ibn al-Qāsim, prayed for him when he was buried to the right of the place of prayer of Ḥayyāl al-Mayl. Among his books there were:

How the Populace Errs in Speaking; Birds; Masculine and Feminine; Plants;¹⁴⁸ The Shortened and the Lengthened; Differentiation;¹⁴⁹ [Qur'ānic] Readings; Stopping and Starting; Eloquence of Style; The Palm Tree; Contraries (Opposites); Bows, Arrows, and Archers; Swords and Spears; Planting and Going the Rounds at Night;¹⁵⁰ Wild Beasts; Creeping Things; Spelling; Planting; The Disposition of Man; Incorporation of Letters [to make a double letter]; First Milk after Giving Birth, Curds, and Milk; Generosity; Winter and Summer; Bees and Honey; The Camel; Herbs and Vegetables; Agreement [when one word follows another without altering the sense of the phrase]; Fertility and Drought; Contradictions of the Manuscripts [of the Qur'ān]; Locusts;¹⁵¹ Yearning for the Homeland; Heat and Cold, Sun and Moon, Night and Day; The Difference between the Sons of Adam and All the Animate Creatures.

Account of al-Mubarrad¹⁵²

I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Khazzāz, that:

The name of al-Mubarrad was Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Akbar ibn 'Umayr ibn Ḥasanān ibn Sulaym ibn Sa'd ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Durayd ibn Mālik ibn al-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Bilāl ibn 'Awf ibn

¹⁴⁷ The following sentence is found at this point in the Flügel edition and in the margin of the Beatty MS: "Ibn Durayd said, 'He was accomplished with books, clever and intelligent in explaining obscure passages.'"

¹⁴⁸ The Flügel text has *Trees and Plants*.

¹⁴⁹ This title is written twice in the Beatty MS.

¹⁵⁰ This title is not in the Flügel text. In the Beatty MS it seems to be *Al-Zar' wa-al-Jawasān*, which gives the idea of planting and guarding the crops at night.

¹⁵¹ Omitted from the Beatty MS.

¹⁵² The Beatty MS gives al-Mubarrid, but in most of the translation the usual spelling, al-Mubarrad, is used. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 137, says that al-Māzinī gave this man the nickname "Mubarrid" (meaning "cool-headed in establishing the truth"), but the scholars of al-Kūfah changed it to "Mubarrad" ("chilly"), the name by which the grammarian is known.

Aslam ibn Ahjau ibn Ka'b ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Mālik ibn Naṣr ibn al-Azd, al-Azd said to be the son of al-Ghawth. Our shaykh, Abū Sa'īd, said that:

Our shaykh, Abū Sa'īd, said that:

After the generation of al-Jarmī and al-Māzinī, grammar passed on to Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Azdī al-Thumālī [al-Mubarrad], who was descended from the Thumālāh, a subtribe of al-Azd.¹⁵³ He learned grammar from al-Jarmī, al-Māzinī, and other scholars, developing the work of al-Māzinī.

It is said that he [al-Mubarrad] started studying the *Book of Sibawayh* with al-Jarmī, but completed it with al-Māzinī. In the handwriting of al-Ḥakīmī [there is the following quotation] from the book *Device of the Men of Letters*, which says:

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim said, "Al-Mubarrad was one of the Sūrahūn¹⁵⁴ of al-Baṣrah who sweep the grounds. He was called 'Ḥayyān al-Sūrahī,' but as he traced his lineage to al-Yaman, al-Mubarrad married the daughter of al-Ḥafṣā al-Mughannī, this Ḥafṣā being a noble man (*sharīf*) of the people of al-Yaman."

Abū Sa'īd said:

According to what Abū Bakr ibn al-Sarrāj and Abū 'Alī al-Ṣaffār have told us about him [al-Mubarrad], his birth was during the year two hundred and ten [A.D. 825/26] and he died in the year two hundred and eighty-five [A.D. 898/99], when he was seventy-nine years old.

It is also said that his birth was during the year two hundred and seven [A.D. 822/23]. Al-Ṣūlī [Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yahyā] said, "I heard him say that." He was buried in the cemetery of the Kūfah Gate. Among his books there were:

Al-Kāmil (The Complete);¹⁵⁵ The Garden; Improvisation; Etymology; Al-Anwā' and the Seasons; Al-Qawāfi; Penmanship and Spelling;

¹⁵³ See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 288.

¹⁵⁴ As this sect does not occur in Shahrastānī, Baghdādī, Mas'ūdī, and other reference books, it is probably some local group at al-Baṣrah. The Beatty MS, which has been followed here, gives the idea that it was a band who were sweepers.

¹⁵⁵ Recent Arabic editions of this famous book have been published by Dār al-Kutub and Maktabat Nahḍat Miṣr in Cairo, and there is also the older edition put out by Kreyzing of Leipzig in 1864.

Introduction to *Sibawayh*; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; The Meaning of the Qur'ān, known as *Kitāb al-Tānīm* (Entirety); Proving the Readings [methods of reading the Qur'ān]; Explanation of the Arguments of the "Book" of *Sibawayh*; Necessity of Poetry; The Training of an Examiner;¹⁵⁶ The Letters in the Meaning of the Qur'ān to "Ṭā'(Ṭ) Hā'(H)";¹⁵⁷ The Meaning of the Attributes of Allāh, May His Name Be Glorified; Praiseworthy and Vile; Pleasing Gardens; Names of the Calamities among the Arabs; The Compendium—he did not finish it; Consolation.

Embellishment; Thorough Searching of the "Book" of *Sibawayh*;¹⁵⁸ Thorough Searching of "*Kitāb al-Awsa'*" of al-*Akhfash*;¹⁵⁹ Prosody; An Explanation of the Words of the Arabs, Rescuing Their Pronunciation, Coupling of Their Words, and Relating Their Meaning; How the Pronunciations of the Qur'ān Agree, Though Their Meanings Differ; The Generations of the Grammarians of al-Basrah, with Accounts about Them; The Complete Epistle;¹⁶⁰ Refutation of *Sibawayh*; The Principles of Poetry; Inflection (Declension) of the Qur'ān; Exhortation for Morality and Truth; *Qalṭān* and *'Adnān* [the basic Arab tribes]; The Excess Deleted from *Sibawayh*; Introduction to Grammar; Inflection (Declension); The Speaker (The Rational Being); Superior and Distinguished;¹⁶¹ Explanation of the Names of Allāh the Almighty; The Letters; Declension (Conjugation).

Among the Transcribers of al-*Mubarrad*¹⁶²

Ibn al-*Zajjājī*, whose name was Ismā'il ibn Aḥmad, and al-*Shāshī*, whose name was Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad.

Abū *Sa'id*, may Allāh have mercy for him, said, "In his [al-Mubarrad's] time there appeared a group interested in the *Book* of

¹⁵⁶ This probably refers to a scholar trained to examine old poems and tribal vernaculars.

¹⁵⁷ Ṭā' hā' are the letters which begin Sūrah 20.

¹⁵⁸ The word used in the Beatty MS seems to be *qa'r* ("thorough searching"), followed in the translation, although Flügel gives the word as *ma'na* ("meaning").

¹⁵⁹ For *Kitāb al-Awsa' fi al-Nahw* of al-Akhfash (the Middle), see Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (4), 244.

¹⁶⁰ This title and those following are in the Flügel edition but not in the Beatty MS.

¹⁶¹ This is perhaps a misprint, meant to be instead the grammatical forms *Al-Fā'il wa-al-Maf'ūl*.

¹⁶² The word translated as "transcribers" is an unusual form, but it probably refers to the two men mentioned in the first phrase, who copied al-Mubarrad's manuscripts. The other persons mentioned under this heading were not transcribers.

Sibawayh, but they did not have (produce) a book equal to his, I mean to that of al-Mubarrad.¹⁶³ An example [of those interested in *Sibawayh*] was Abū Dhakwān al-Qāsim ibn Ismā'īl. Abū Dhakwān wrote a book, *The Meaning of Poetry*, which was quoted by Ibn Durustūyah. He happened to go to Sirāf at the time of al-Zanj.¹⁶⁴ He was erudite, an authority on historical tradition, and the member of a group [of scholars]. Al-Tawwazī was the husband of the mother of Abū Dhakwān.

[Another] example was 'Ubayd ibn Dhakwān, surnamed Abū 'Alī, who lived at 'Askar Mukranī¹⁶⁵ and among whose books there were *Contraries*,¹⁶⁶ *Reply of the Silencer*, *Oaths (Divisions) of the Arabians*. [Another] example was Abū Ya'lā ibn Abī Zur'ah, a friend of al-Māzinī, who was eminent, a scholar of grammar and language, and trustworthy in his quoting. One of his written books was *A Compendium of Grammar*, which he did not finish.

Among the Scholars of al-Baṣrah

Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Rustunī ibn Yazdibān al-Ṭabarī, who belonged to the generation of Abū Ya'lā ibn Abī Zur'ah. Among his books there were:

The Strange in the Qur'ān; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; Form of the Hamzah; Declension (Conjugation); Grammar.

An Example [of Those Interested in *Sibawayh*]: Al-Ushnāndānī

He was surnamed Abū 'Uthmān and was quoted by Abū Bakr ibn Durayd, whom he met at al-Baṣrah. Among his books there were:

The Meaning of Poetry; Verses (Tents) of the Arabs.

¹⁶³ This evidently refers to *Al-Kāmil*, the first title in the list of books in the account of al-Mubarrad.

¹⁶⁴ For Sirāf, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 211. For the Zanj Rebellion, see Glossary.

¹⁶⁵ A well-known town of southern Persia; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 676-77.

¹⁶⁶ This title is not included in the Beatty MS. On the margin the following note is inserted: "Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Marwān quoted through Abū Dhakwān the book *Opposites* from al-Tawwazī." This evidently refers to *Kitāb al-Addād* of al-Tawwazī.

An Example: *Al-Mabrimān*

He was Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl, surnamed Abū Bakr, who was one of the people of al-'Askar.¹⁶⁷ He had a dialogue with Abū Hāshim about instruction for explaining *Sibawayh*, which with the desire and help of Allāh we shall mention.¹⁶⁸ Among his books there were:

The Letters 'Ayn (Eyes, Springs); Grammar Compounded according to the Weak Letters; An Explanation of the "Book" of *Sibawayh*, which he did not complete; An Explanation of the Arguments (Proofs) of the "Book" of *Sibawayh*; The Illustrious Book of Streams (Events);¹⁶⁹ Description of Thanks to the Beneficent.

Account of *al-Zajjāj*

He was Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Sārī (Surri) al-Zajjāj, the first pupil (leading disciple) of al-Mubarrad, with whom he studied. Whoever, moreover, wished to become a pupil of al-Mubarrad first of all explained to him [al-Zajjāj] what he wished to study. Later al-Zajjāj rose higher to be with 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Sulaymān [the vizier] and then with [the Caliph] al-Mu'taḍid, whose children he taught.

The reason for his connection with al-Mu'taḍid was that some of the court companions described for al-Mu'taḍid the book *Compendium of Speech*, which Maḥbarah al-Nadīm wrote. The name of Maḥbarah was Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī 'Abbād, surnamed Abū Ja'far. The name of Abū 'Abbād was Jābir ibn Zayd ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ al-'Askarī. He [Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā] was highly cultured and a court companion of al-Mu'taḍid.¹⁷⁰ When he composed his book in the form of tables, al-Mu'taḍid ordered [his vizier] al-Qāsim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh to find out who could explain these tables. So he [al-Qāsim] sent to *Tha'lab*, exposing the matter (problem), but he [Tha'lab] did not undertake the solution of the tables, saying, "I am not acquainted with this problem, but if you wish [me to work

¹⁶⁷ For al-'Askar, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 676-77.

¹⁶⁸ This sentence is omitted in the Beatty MS.

¹⁶⁹ This is probably *al-majāri*, which usually means "streams" or "events," but here may have a more technical meaning. It could be *al-majāzī* ("metaphorical").

¹⁷⁰ It is not perfectly clear to whom the pronouns refer, but it seems logical to interpret the passage as translated.

on] *Kitāb al-'Ayn* [of al-Khalīl], it is available, and there is no quoting (public presentation) of it." Then he [al-Qāsim] wrote to al-Mubarrad, asking him to explain it [the *Compendium of Speech*], but he answered that the book was a long one, involving labor and toil, whereas he had grown old, with resulting weakness. But [he said], "If you will turn it over to my friend Ibrāhīm ibn Sarī [al-Zajjāj] I hope that he can accomplish the task." Al-Qāsim neglected to mention al-Zajjāj to al-Mu'taḍid until al-Mu'taḍid pressed him. Then he informed him of what Tha'lab and al-Mubarrad had said and that the matter should be entrusted to al-Zajjāj. Al-Qāsim did this [referred the commentary to al-Zajjāj]¹⁷¹ and al-Zajjāj said, "Although I do not yet have the manuscript and have not yet seen the tables, I will undertake the work."

When, therefore, he ordered him to work on two parts,¹⁷² al-Zajjāj borrowed books about language from Tha'lab, al-Sukkarī, and others, because he did not know much about language. He interpreted all of two parts, having it written in the handwriting of al-Tirmidhī al-Saghīr Abū al-Ḥasan. After he had bound it and brought it to the vizier, the vizier took it to al-Mu'taḍid, who was delighted with it and ordered that three hundred gold coins (s., *dīnār*) should be bestowed upon him. He also commanded him to write a commentary on the entire book. When al-Zajjāj had finished this, no manuscript was issued to any place other than the library of al-Mu'taḍid.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: This commentary appeared during the misfortunes of the sultan, apart by itself. We saw it and it was on fine paper.¹⁷³ It is said that because of it al-Zajjāj received a high position, there being assigned to him an allowance among the court companions, an allowance among the legal authorities, and an allowance among the scholars—about three hundred gold coins (s., *dīnār*).

¹⁷¹ The Beatty MS clearly implies this insertion.

¹⁷² The Beatty MS, differing from Flügel here, gives *al-thunā'i*. In this spot, the word may mean "two parts" or "half," although it more often means "double," or has some technical signification.

¹⁷³ This manuscript may have been saved from the palace library when Aḥmad ibn Buwayh took Baghdād and blinded the caliph A.D. 945/46, or else when al-Mu'taḍid died, probably due to poisoning.

Al-Zajjāj died on Friday, the eleventh night from the end of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [the eighteenth day of the sixth Muslim month] during the year three hundred and ten [A.D. 922/23]. Among his books there were:

What He Explained in the "Compendium of Speech";¹⁷⁴ Meaning of the Qur'ān; Etymology; Al-Qawāfī; Prosody; Differentiation; The Disposition of Man; The Disposition of the Horse; Abridgment of Grammar; Fa'altu wa-Af'altu; What Is Inflected and What Is Not Inflected; Commentary on the Verses of *Sibawayh*; Rare Forms.

Account of Ibn *Durayd*

Abū al-Ḥusayn al-*Duraydī*, who was one of his young men especially attached to him, said, "Abū Bakr [Ibn *Durayd*], to whom may Allāh show mercy, said to me, 'I was born at al-Baṣrah on Ṣāliḥ Street (Sikkat Ṣāliḥ) during the year two hundred and twenty-three [A.D. 837/38].'"

He was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn *Durayd* ibn 'Atāhiyah ibn Ḥantam ibn Ḥasan, the son of Ḥamāmī, whose name came from that of a village in the region of 'Umān called Ḥamāmā and who was the son of Jarw ibn Wāsi' ibn Wahb ibn Salamah ibn Jusham ibn Ḥādir ibn Jusham ibn Zālīm ibn Ḥādir ibn Asad ibn 'Adī ibn 'Amr ibn Mālik ibn Fahm ibn Ghānīm ibn Daws ibn 'Adnān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Mālik ibn Naṣr ibn Azd ibn al-Ghawth. After living at al-Baṣrah he [Ibn *Durayd*] went to 'Umān, where he dwelt for a while. He moved on to Jazīrat Ibn 'Umārah, where he spent some time, and then went to live in Persia. Finally he came to Baghdād, where he settled down.¹⁷⁵

He was learned in the language and poetry of the Arabs, for he studied with the scholars of al-Baṣrah, learning from men like Abū

¹⁷⁴ This was probably a commentary on the work of Muḥammad ibn Yahyā.

¹⁷⁵ The names of this genealogical series belong to tribes, which are dealt with in Ibn *Durayd*'s own book, *Al-Ishṭiqāq* (see Bibliography). His biography should be compared with the accounts in Khallikān, III, 37, and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, (6), 483. Ibn *Durayd* was born at al-Baṣrah about A.D. 838. When he was about 32 years old the Zanj Rebellion occurred, so he left home and spent some 12 years in 'Umān in southeastern Arabia. When the rebellion ended A.D. 883 and he was about 44 or 45 years old, he returned to al-Baṣrah. Perhaps Jazīrat Ibn 'Umārah was a suburb of al-Baṣrah, where the other biographies say he lived. Finally he went to Persia and then Baghdād.

Hātim [al-Sijistānī], al-Rīyāshī, al-Tawwazī, and al-Ziyādi. Abū Bakr [Ibn Durayd], moreover, quoted the book *Musālamāt al-Ashraf* (Gestures of Friendship of the Nobles), written by his paternal uncle al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad. He died at Baghdād during the year three hundred and twenty-one [A.D. 933/34], and was buried in the cemetery known as al-'Abbāsiyah on the east side to the rear of Sūq al-Silāh (the Weapon Bazaar).¹⁷⁶ Among his books there were:

Al-Jamharah (The Main Part, The Collection), about the science of language, which had diversities in its transcribing, with many additions and deletions, for he dictated some of it in Persia and also dictated some from memory at Baghdād. When the dictation was inconsistent, he added and subtracted. What he dictated to his pupils (young men) in Persia is known to be the beginning of the book, whereas the complete form, which is regarded as reliable, is the last transcription. The last person to make the transcription correct, in his copy, was Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad the grammarian, who wrote it from a number of manuscripts and read it over with him [Ibn Durayd].¹⁷⁷

Saddle and Bridle; Etymology (Al-Ishtiḳāq);¹⁷⁸ Large Book of the Horse; Small Book of the Horse; Al-Anwā'; The Gathered; The Acquired; Errors in Speaking; Arab Pilgrims; What He Is Questioned about in Speech and Is Answered by Him from Memory—'Alī ibn Ismā'il ibn Ḥarb compiled it under his supervision (collected it from him); Languages (Vernaculars); Weapons; The Strange in the Qur'ān, which he did not complete; Training of the Scribe, similar to the book of Ibn Qutaybah—as he did not complete more than a rough draft, nothing resulted that can be relied upon; The Borrower of Passages (The Quoter);¹⁷⁹ The Jeweled Girdle; Fa'altu wa-Af'altu; Description of Clouds and Rain.

Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Duraydī said to me:

I was present when Abū 'Alī ibn Muqlah [Muḥammad ibn 'Alī] and Ibn Ḥafṣ¹⁸⁰ were studying, with Abū Bakr [Ibn Durayd], the book of

¹⁷⁶ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 194.

¹⁷⁷ This book, which resembles a dictionary, was published in Hyderabad, India, 1926-27, with the title *Jamharat al-Lughah*.

¹⁷⁸ See Bibliography.

¹⁷⁹ This title and the ones following it are omitted in the Beatty MS.

¹⁸⁰ Flügel gives Abū Ḥafṣ, the Beatty MS gives Ibn Ḥafṣ. This man was perhaps some scholar of secondary importance, who lived during the last half of the ninth and the early tenth centuries.

al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salamah in which he refutes al-Khalīl. He [Ibn Durayd] was saying, "Abū Ṭālib [al-Mufaḍḍal] told the truth about one thing which he happened upon, but Abū Ṭālib made an erroneous statement about another matter." Then I saw this passage, which Ibn Ḥafṣ collected on about one hundred leaves, his version being mediocre.

Account of Ibn al-Sarrāj

Ibn *Durustūyah*, [surnamed] Abū Muḥammad, said:

He was one of the brightest of the young men of al-Mubarrad, with sharpness of intellect and quickness to comprehend. Al-Mubarrad was fond of him, keeping him near him, explaining things to him, meeting him in private and social gatherings, and enjoying his company.

He went on to say:

One day I saw Ibn al-Sarrāj when he had joined al-Zajjāj, being transferred to him [as a pupil] after the death of al-Mubarrad. As some man asked al-Zajjāj about a certain matter, he said to Ibn al-Sarrāj, "Answer him, oh, Abū Bakr!" He [Abū Bakr ibn al-Sarrāj] replied to him making a mistake. Then al-Zajjāj stopped him saying, "By Allāh, if I were at home I'd beat you, but the people here won't stand for that. We were just comparing you for brightness and quick understanding with al-Ḥasan ibn Rajā' and then you make a mistake over this sort of a question!" So he [Ibn al-Sarrāj] answered, "You've beaten me, oh, Abū Ishāq [al-Zajjāj], and you've trained me, but I've been neglecting what I studied while reading this book"—he meant the *Book of Sibawayh*—"because I've been diverted from it by logic and music, but now I'm going back [to Sibawayh and grammar]." He did return, writing the books which he composed and causing the leadership to fall to him after al-Zajjāj passed away.

He died in the year ————.¹⁸¹ Among his books there were:

The large book, *Roots (Fundamentals)*;¹⁸² Collection of *Roots*; The Small Compendium; *Etyymology*; *Commentary on Sibawayh*; *Proving of Readings* [arguments for ways of reading the Qur'ān]; *Poetry and the Poets*; *Winds, Air, and Fire*; *The Camel*; *Sequences in Historical Traditions and Reports*.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ The date of his death, omitted in the manuscript, was A.D. 929.

¹⁸² This probably refers to the roots or origins of words.

¹⁸³ Here *muwāṣṣalāt*, translated as "sequences," may refer to unbroken sequences in handing down traditions, or else to conjunctions used in relating traditions.

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Isā al-Rummānī said, "When Ibn al-Sarrāj was present, his book which he wrote about roots was mentioned and some speaker said that it was better than the book *Improvisation* (*Al-Muqṭaḍab*).¹⁸⁴ Abū Bakr [Ibn al-Sarrāj] replied, 'Don't say that,' and recited:

But she wept first, and her weeping moved me to weep with her,
And I said, the first one is the best one."¹⁸⁵

Account of Abū Sa'īd al-Sirāfi, May Allāh Show Mercy to Him

The shaykh Abū Muḥammad, may Allāh strengthen him,¹⁸⁶ said to me:

Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Marzubān was of Persian origin. His birth was at Sirāf, where he started his search for learning, but he left before he was twenty years old, going to 'Umān. After engaging in legal work there he returned to Sirāf, later moving to al-Askar, where he dwelt for a time, and fell in with Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Ṣaymarī, the theologian, with whom he associated and whom he liked best among all his friends.

He was an authority for the law according to the codes of the 'Irāqī scholars, and was the successor of the judge Abū Muḥammad ibn Ma'rūf,¹⁸⁷ his grammar teacher, serving as a judge first on the East Side, then for both sides, and again for the East Side. The legal authority al-Karkhī used to meet with him and, being fond of him, formed for him a circle (class) in which he interpreted the law. His birth was before the year seventy [A.H. 270: A.D. 883/84] and he died between the first two nights of Rajab [the seventh Muslim month] during the year three hundred and sixty-eight [A.D. 978/79].¹⁸⁸ Among his books there were:

¹⁸⁴ This was a well-known book of al-Mubarrad.

¹⁸⁵ A more literal translation is "superiority is to the first."

¹⁸⁶ This was probably the shaykh Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī Sa'īd, who was perhaps a son of Abū Sa'īd al-Sirāfi. The word "strengthen" is given in different forms in the Beatty MS and Flügel text.

¹⁸⁷ "His grammar teacher" is only in Flügel.

¹⁸⁸ Abū Sa'īd al-Sirāfi served as judge on different sides of the Tigris at Baghdād. The Flügel version gives his birth as before A.D. 903; the translation follows the Beatty MS, which is probably correct, as Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 221, says he interpreted the law for fifty years.

Commentary on *Sibawayh*; The Alfāt (The A's) at the End of a Line of Poetry and of Stopping; Accounts of the Grammarians of al-Baṣrah; The Origins, about grammar, three hundred leaves; Stopping and Starting;¹⁸⁹ The Art of Poetry and Good Style; Commentary on the "Maqṣūrah"¹⁹⁰ of Ibn Durayd.

Account of Ibn Durustūyah¹⁹¹

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Durustūyah met al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab, from both of whom he received instruction. He was distinguished and learned in many of the sciences of the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah, to whom he adhered with zealous loyalty. He wrote *A Refutation of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salamah* and *Consideration of "Kitāb al-'Ayn."* He died some time after the year three hundred and thirty [A.D. 941/42].¹⁹² Among his books there were:

Directions, about grammar; Guidance, a commentary on al-Jarmī; A Commentary on Eloquent Style; Training of the Writer (Scribe);¹⁹³ Al-Mutamīm; Masculine and Feminine; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Spelling; The Strange in the Hadīth; The Meaning of Poetry; The Living and the Dead; The Mediation between al-Akhfash and Tha'lab in Connection with the Meaning of the Qur'ān, with the Point of View of Abū Muḥammad [Ibn Durustūyah] with Regards to the Matter; Commentary on the "Mufaḍḍaliyyāt," which he did not finish;¹⁹⁴ Commentary on the Seven, which he did not finish; Meaning in the

¹⁸⁹ This title and the one which follows are not in the Beatty MS.

¹⁹⁰ *Al-Fihrist* does not include this title in the list of books written by Ibn Durayd, but Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 489, gives as the title of one of his books *Kitāb al-Maḡṣūr wa-al-Mamdūd* ("The Shortened and the Lengthened").

¹⁹¹ See the Biog. Index for additional spellings of this name.

¹⁹² The Beatty MS omits the date. The translation is taken from Flügel. Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 127, gives A.H. 347 (A.D. 958/59) as the year of the scholar's death.

¹⁹³ As part of this title the Beatty MS gives what must be either *al-mutnam* or *al-mutammin*, which would give the meaning *The Training of a Finished Scribe* (or *The Training of a Scribe Who Completes*). This translation follows Flügel, which gives *Al-Mutammin* as a separate title, in which case it may refer to the poet of that name; see Biog. Index.

¹⁹⁴ This refers to the famous anthology of poetry; see Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 94, and the Bibliography under Mufaḍḍal. The title which follows must refer either to the Seven Readers of the Qur'ān, or else to the Mu'allaqāt (see Glossary).

Qur'ān, which he did not finish; Commentary on al-Shay', which he did not finish;¹⁹⁶ The Secrets of Grammar, which he did not finish; Commentary on "Al-Muqtaḍab," which he did not finish;¹⁹⁶ Criticism of the Book of Ibn al-Rāwandī about the Grammarians; Refutation of Barzakh al-'Arūḍī;¹⁹⁷ The Seasons (Ages), which he did not finish; Refutation of Tha'lab concerning "Disagreement of Grammarians";¹⁹⁸ An Account and Explanation of Quss ibn Sā'idah; An Exposition of Speech and Its Structure,¹⁹⁹ which he did not finish.

Refutation of Ibn Khālawayh concerning the Whole and the Part; Refutation of Ibn Muqsim concerning his "Ikhtiyār";²⁰⁰ Contraries (Opposites); Accounts of the Grammarians; Refutation of al-Farrā' concerning "Meaning";²⁰¹ Collection of Prosody; Argument for the [Qur'ānic] Reader; Explanation of the Poem of Shubayl ibn 'Azrah; his epistle to Najīh al-Ṭulūnī, concerned with exalting Arabic; a statement to Ibn Qutaybah concerning "Mistakes of Scholars";²⁰² Refutation of Abī Zayd al-Balkhī concerning Grammar; A Refutation of Whoever Speaks of Supplementary Letters²⁰³ and Says That There Is an Extra Letter in a Word; The Triumph of Sībawayh over All of the Grammarians—this book comprised a number [of sections] but he did not finish it; A Refutation of Whoever Has Transmitted "Kitāb al-'Ayn" from al-Khalīl; Controversy of Sībawayh with al-Mubarrad.²⁰⁴

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Isā al-Rummānī, May Allāh Show Mercy to Him

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Isā ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh²⁰⁵ the Grammarian traces his origin to Sāmarrā, but was born at Baghdād during the year two hundred and ninety-six [A.D. 908/909]. He is one of

¹⁹⁶ *Al-shay'* probably signifies "the will" (of Allāh).

¹⁹⁶ *Al-Muqtaḍab* was a book written by al-Mubarrad.

¹⁹⁷ The first part of this name may be Nazrah instead of Barzakh.

¹⁹⁸ Title of a book by Tha'lab.

¹⁹⁹ Flügel gives *naqā'* ("purity"), which may be more correct than *banā'* ("structure").

²⁰⁰ This title is not mentioned with Ibn Muqsim. Instead of a book, it may mean "freedom of will," as Ibn Muqsim was heretical in his thinking.

²⁰¹ This refers to the book of al-Farrā' entitled *Meaning of the Qur'ān*.

²⁰² Title of a book by Ibn Qutaybah.

²⁰³ *Al-zawā'id* ("supplementary letters") are ten letters which can be added to the basic forms of Arabic words.

²⁰⁴ This title is omitted by the Beatty MS.

²⁰⁵ The Beatty MS omits "ibn 'Abd Allāh."

the most illustrious of the grammarians of al-Baṣrah and theologians of Baghdād, skilled in many of the studies (sciences) connected with the law, the Qur'ān, grammar, and theology, and prolific, moreover, in authorship and composition.

Most of the works which he composed were taken by dictation from him, being still extant at the time this book is being formed. We shall mention at this point his compositions concerning grammar, language, and poetry, but list his books on theology in their proper place, doing the same with the law.

Commentary on *Sībawayh*; Criticism of *Sībawayh*; Aims of the "Book" of *Sībawayh*;²⁰⁶ Basic (Elemental) Questions in the "Book" of *Sībawayh*; Commentary on the "Introduction" (Al-Madkhal) [about grammar] of al-Mubarrad; Commentary on the Questions of al-Akhfash, the Younger and the Elder;²⁰⁷ Commentary on the "Abridgment" of al-Jarmī;²⁰⁸ Commentary on "The [Small] Compendium" of Ibn al-Sarrāj; Commentary on "The Alif (The A) and the Lām (The L)" by al-Māzinī; Declension (Conjugation); Spelling; Brevity in Grammar; The Subject in Grammar; the large book, Etymology; the small book, Etymology; The Alfāt (The A's) in the Qur'ān; Brevity of the Qur'ān; Commentary on the Book "Roots" by Ibn al-Sarrāj.²⁰⁹

Al-Fārisī, [surnamed] Abū 'Alī, May Allāh Show Mercy to Him

He was al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār, the grammarian, who died before three hundred and seventy [A.D. 980/81].²¹⁰ Among his books there were:

Beneficial (Corrected) Questions, in which he refutes al-Zajjāj—it is known as The Neglected; Argument That the Seven Readers Were the Imams of the Cities, as Designated by Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn al-Abbās ibn Mujāhid, with Whom May Allāh Be Well Pleased; The

²⁰⁶ The word "aims" (*aghṛāḍ*) may be instead "expositions" (*a 'rāḍ*).

²⁰⁷ The Arabic for "younger" and "elder" may indicate instead "small" and "large" commentaries. *Questions* ("Masā'il") is not included with the titles of the books of al-Akhfash, the Elder, the Middle, or the Younger.

²⁰⁸ The full title of this book by al-Jarmī is *Abridgment of the Grammar of the Learned*.

²⁰⁹ The full title of this book is *The Large Book of Roots* ("Kitāb al-Uṣūl al-Kabīr").

²¹⁰ This date is omitted in the Beatty MS.

Recollection (Record); Elucidation in Grammar; Verses (Tents) of the Arabians;²¹¹ Digest of Governing Words in Declension (Conjugation); Baghdādī Questions;²¹² Ḥalabī Questions; Shirāzī Questions.

²¹¹ This title and the one which follows are not in the Beatty MS.

²¹² These three titles are written in small letters under the list of books. Before each title there are the words "and to him." The name "Baghdādī" is not written correctly. "Ḥalabī" refers to Aleppo. These titles were perhaps added by the same scribe who transcribed the Beatty MS, but after he had written down the original passage about al-Fārisī. It is also possible that the book titles were added at a later time by a different scribe.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Second Section of the Second Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist with accounts of the scholars. This section includes accounts of the grammarians and language scholars of al-Kūfah.¹

Thus saith Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: We discussed the scholars of al-Baṣrah first, because [scientific] knowledge of Arabic was derived from them and also because al-Baṣrah was established before al-Kūfah.²

Account of al-Ru'āsī

I read [something written] in the handwriting of Abū al-Ṭayyib, which stated that the name of al-Ru'āsī was Muḥammad ibn Abī Sārah, and that he was surnamed Abū Ja'far but called al-Ru'āsī because of the large size of his head. As he used to dwell at al-Nīl³ he was also called al-Nīlī. He was the first scholar of al-Kūfah to write a book about grammar.

Tha'lab said, "Al-Ru'āsī was the teacher of al-Kisā'i and al-Farrā'," Moreover, al-Farrā' said:

When al-Kisā'i went to Baghdād, al-Ru'āsī said to me, "Al-Kisā'i has gone and you are more steadfast than he is." When I [also] went to Baghdād, I saw al-Kisā'i and asked him some questions connected with

¹ The Beatty MS contains the words, "In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate," but Flügel omits them. The Beatty MS omits the words "the second chapter." For al-Kūfah, see Flügel in ZDMG, XIII (1859), 577.

² Al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah were established as military camps. Al-Baṣrah became a town with buildings about A.D. 638 and al-Kūfah about A.D. 670. The first grammarian at al-Baṣrah lived during the seventh century, whereas al-Ru'āsī lived in the eighth century.

³ A suburb of al-Kūfah near ancient Babylon; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 861.

al-Ru'āsī. When he answered me in disagreement with my point of view, I winked at a group of scholars from al-Kūfah who were with me. Then he said, "What's the matter with you? You haven't agreed [but] perhaps you're one of the people of al-Kūfah." I replied, "Yes." Then he said, "Al-Ru'āsī states thus and thus, but it is not correct. You have heard the Arabs say thus and thus," until he came to my question and I convinced him.

This al-Ru'āsī was a righteous man. Once al-Ru'āsī said, "Al-Khalīl sent to me asking for my book, which I sent to him. He read it and then wrote his own book."⁴ It is [also] said that in the *Book of Sibawayh* there spoke al-Kūfī, meaning al-Ru'āsī.⁵ Ibn Durus-tūyah said, "Tha'lab thought that al-Ru'āsī was the first of the grammarians of al-Kūfah to compose a book about grammar." He died ———. Among his books there were:

Al-Fayṣal (Judgment, Division), which many have quoted; The Diminutive [a form in grammar]; The Meaning of the Qur'ān, which is quoted to this day; the large book, Stopping and Starting; the small book, Stopping and Starting.

Account of Mu'ādh al-Harrā'

From [what is written in] the handwriting of Abū al-Ṭayyib, the brother of al-Shāfi'i:

Mu'ādh al-Harrā' was the paternal uncle of al-Ru'āsī. He was Abū Muslim Mu'ādh al-Harrā', said to be surnamed Abū 'Alī, one of the protégés of Muḥammad ibn Ka'b al-Qaraẓī. His father called him Abū Muslim, but when he had a child, whom he named 'Alī, he was surnamed for him.

Mu'ādh was a friend of al-Kumayt, whom he advised to keep clear of Khālid [ibn 'Abd Allāh] al-Qasrī, saying, "He is strongly prejudiced against the Muḍarīyah." When al-Kumayt did not take his advice and Khālid arrested him, putting him in prison,⁶ Mu'ādh lamented the occurrence, saying:⁶

⁴ *Kitāb al-'Ayn*, the first Arabic dictionary.

⁵ This may mean that in the *Book of Sibawayh*, Sibawayh said "al-Kūfī," meaning "al-Ru'āsī."

⁶ Because a contemporary poet received a large gift for flattering Khālid, the governor of al-'Irāq, al-Kumayt also tried to flatter him. But Mu'ādh warned him that he belonged to the tribe of Muḍar, was a Shī'i and an 'Irāqī, whereas Khālid belonged to a hostile tribe, was a Sunnī and a Syrian; see Khallikān, III, 371, 372.

I advised you, but if counsel goes too far for the advised,
it is rarely accepted;

You repudiated what was guidance for you and there distressed you
a disaster contrary to what you hoped for,

Thus there befell something different from what you desired,
contrary to it, with far-reaching and enduring affliction.

When his [Mu'ādh's] saying reached al-Kumayt he [al-Kumayt]
wrote to him:

I see you as one offering water to the sea,
Bringing to the sand of Yabrīn⁷ sand for trading.

Mu'ādh al-Harrā' lived until the days of the Barāmakah. He was born at the time of Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik and died during the year in which the Barāmakah fell, which was the year one hundred and eighty-seven [A.D. 803]. He had children and grandchildren, all of whom died while he lived on. No books of his are known.

Account of al-Kisā'i

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Uthmān, called Bahman ibn Firūz, said to have been surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was from al-Kūfah and learned from al-Ru'āsī and a group [of other scholars]. He went to Baghdād, where al-Rashīd placed him with his two sons, al-Ma'mūn and al-Amīn.

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ṭayyib, stating that:

Al-Rashīd observed al-Kisā'i without being seen by him. Al-Kisā'i arose to put on his slippers, when he needed them for some purpose, but al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn got hold of them first and put them on for him. Then he kissed their heads and hands, making them promise not to do it again.⁸ When al-Rashīd sat in his audience hall he said, "Who among the people is the most honored by service?" They replied, "The Commander of the Faithful [the caliph], may Allāh exalt him!" He said, "No, but rather al-Kisā'i, for al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn serve him." Then he told them the story.

⁷ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 1005.

⁸ Al-Kisā'i was tutor to the two sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Handling shoes and slippers was regarded as a menial duty for slaves and humble servants.

It is said that when the disease of al-Kisā'ī became serious at al-Rayy, al-Rashīd began to visit him, constantly returning to him. One day he heard him [al-Kisā'ī] recite:

Fate has made you settle in Dhū al-Nujayl,
But it has been shown to me, as I swear by my father,
that you shall not have Dhū al-Nujayl as a residence.
Your abode should be in Dhū Baqar al-Ḥimā,
But how can Dhū Baqar be compared with the
place of pilgrimage (*al-muzdār*)?⁹

Al-Rashīd came out saying, "By Allāh, al-Kisā'ī has died." When they asked him, "How is that, oh, Commander of the Faithful?" he replied, "He told me that a nomad who was staying with him fell ill and, using this verse as an illustration, died while he was with him." It is said that al-Kisā'ī did die on that day.

He was called "al-Kisā'ī" because he used to attend the class of *Mu'ādh* al-Harrā' at which the others wore cloaks, whereas he wore a *kisā'* and mantle.¹⁰ He died at al-Rayy in the year one hundred and ninety-seven [A.D. 812/13], both he and Abū Yūsuf the Judge being buried on the same day. Among his books there were:

The Meaning of the Qur'ān; Abridgment of Grammar; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Numbers; the large book, Rare Forms; the medium-size book, Rare Forms; the small book, Rare Forms; Terminations and Connections in the Qur'ān; Disagreement of Numbers; Spelling; Nouns; Poems of Contention and Their Forms; Forms of Surnames in the Qur'ān; Letters.¹¹

⁹ The Beatty MS; the Flügel edition; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 198; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 141-42; and Tha'lab, *Majālis Tha'lab*, pp. 544-45, give these lines with variations. The couplet mentions two localities. For Dhū al-Nujayl, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 764 l. 20; for Dhū Baqar al-Ḥimā, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 699 ll. 19-21. *Al-muzdār* is a Persian word.

¹⁰ In this sentence "cloaks" (*ḥulal*) very likely refers to costumes composed of shirt, inner robe, and large outer cloak. A *kisā'* was probably a short cloak over the shoulders. "Mantle" (*ridā'*) is in the Flügel version. In the Beatty MS there is instead a word which seems to be *rūmādī*; it cannot be identified and may be a mistake. These names for garments signified different types of cloaks and mantles in different regions. For *kisā'*, see Khallikān, II, 238.

¹¹ This title is omitted in the Beatty MS.

Naṣr ibn Yūsuf

He was a friend of al-*Kisā'ī*, a grammarian and philologist, among whose books there were:

The Camel; The Disposition of Man.¹²

Among the Scholars of al-Kūfah

Abū al-*Ḥasan* al-Aḥmar, not Khalaf,¹³ lived before and after al-*Kisā'ī*. He started ahead of him, studying under al-*Ru'āsī*, but reading [the Qur'ān] according to al-*Kisā'ī*. Among his books there were;

Declension (Conjugation); Sure Knowledge of the Masters of Literary Style.¹⁴

Among Their Scholars Also, and Those among Them Who Quoted

Khālīd ibn Kulthūm al-Kalbī, who according to what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī* handed down [traditions about] the poems and the tribes, being versed in the genealogies, surnames, and times of the people. He also wrote works about the poems and tribes. Among his books there were:

Poets Who Are Remembered; Poems of the Tribes, dealing with a number of tribes.

Account of al-*Farrā'*

Abū Zakariyah ibn Ziyād al-*Farrā'*, a protégé of the Banū Minqar Tribe, was born at al-Kūfah. According to [what is written in] the handwriting of *Salamah*, al-*Farrā'* was called al-*'Absī*. From [what is written in] the handwriting of al-*Yūsufī* [he was called] Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād ibn Qāwī-Bakht¹⁵ ibn Dāwar ibn Kūdanār. According to [what is written in] the handwriting of Abū *'Abd* Allāh ibn Muqlah:

¹² Seco id title not included in the Beatty MS.

¹³ See Biog. Index, *Khalaf* ibn Ḥayyān al-Aḥmar. The Flügel text has Aḥmad, but the Beatty MS gives al-Aḥmar, which is correct.

¹⁴ Second title not included in the Beatty MS.

¹⁵ This name and the ones which follow are Arab transliterations of Persian names and probably inaccurate. Compare with Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 411.

Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab* said that the reason why al-Farrā' dictated his book about meaning [*Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*] was because a friend of his, 'Umar ibn Bukayr, who was attached to al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl,¹⁶ wrote to al-Farrā', "The Emir al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl may ask me one question after another about the Qur'ān, which I shall be unable to answer. Do you think that you can collect some answers for me, or write a book, so that I can refer to what you have done?"

So al-Farrā' said to his associates,¹⁷ "Meet together, so that I can dictate to you a book about the Qur'ān." Then he appointed a day for them and, when they came together, he joined them. There happened to be a man in the mosque who was accustomed to give the call to prayer and to read [the Qur'ān] to the people during worship.¹⁸ So al-Farrā' turned to him, saying, "Recite the Fātiḥah of the Book,¹⁹ so that we can explain it!" Then he went through the entire book, the man reading and al-Farrā' explaining.

Abū al-'Abbās [*Tha'lab*] said, "No one previous to him was his equal and I don't suppose anybody will surpass him." Abū al-'Abbās also said: "The reason why he dictated *Al-Ḥudūd* was because a number of the associates (students) of al-Kisā'i came and asked him to dictate to them some verses about grammar, which he proceeded to do. At their third meeting some of them said to the others, 'If this kind of thing, which is like teaching grammar to small boys, continues, the best thing to do will be to get clear of him,' which they did. Then he became angry, saying, 'You asked me to hold a session (class), but when I took my seat you held back. By Allāh, I'll keep on dictating grammar, even if only two show up!' So he dictated this [book] for sixteen years. Never was there seen a book in his hand except once, when he was dictating the chapter 'Mulāzim' from a manuscript."²⁰

Abū al-'Abbās [*Tha'lab*] also said, "Al-Farrā' held sessions for the people in his mosque next to his house, opposite to where al-*Wāqidi* lived." He also said, "Al-Farrā' used to philosophize in his compositions and literary works, so as to insert philosophical terms in his diction."

He [al-Farrā'] spent most of his time at Baghdād, where throughout his life he collected [fees]. Then, when it was the end of the

¹⁶ The vizier of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn. He died A.D. 851.

¹⁷ These associates were probably his students.

¹⁸ Evidently al-Farrā' taught in a mosque near his house. It was the custom to give lessons in a mosque in medieval times.

¹⁹ This is the opening sūrah of the Qur'ān.

²⁰ This probably refers to the sixth chapter of the book *Al-Ḥudūd*.

year he went to al-Kūfah, where he stayed for forty days among his people, to whom he distributed what he had collected, showing them kindness.

Nothing is quoted from his poetry except these verses which Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī has quoted from al-Ṭuwāl:

Oh, governor over a *jarīb* of land, with nine doorkeepers,²¹
 Seated in the midst of a ruin, in which he is served by a doorkeeper,
 Never before have we heard of the doorkeeper of a ruin;
 Eyes shall not disclose me to you at a door,
 For one like me does not endure the repulse of doorkeepers.

While on his way to Makkah al-Farrā' died, during the year two hundred and seven [A.D. 822/23]. Among his books there were:

Meaning of the Qur'ān, which he composed for 'Umar ibn Bukayr—four parts;²² Splendor, which he wrote for 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir; Languages (Vernaculars); Noun Forms in the Qur'ān; The Plural and Dual in the Qur'ān; Stopping and Starting; The Excellent; Instrument for Writing; Rare Forms, quoted by Salamah and Ibn Qādim; Fa'ala wa-Af'ala;²³ The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine.

Titles of *Al-Ḥudūd*²⁴

I copied them from [what was written in] the handwriting of Salamah ibn 'Āṣim in the following sequence:

The Arabians, about Arabic Roots; Al-Naṣb [form of relation] Derived from the Verb; The Definite and the Indefinite; Min wa-Rubb ('From'

²¹ A *jarīb* is 144 square yards. The word here translated as doorkeepers is *ḥājib* (pl., *ḥujjāb*). The term is often translated as "chamberlain," but here evidently refers to the official who met people at the door and decided whether or not to give them access to the governor. Cf. the free translation in Khallikān, IV, 67.

²² The Beatty MS omits "four parts."

²³ The Beatty MS omits this title and the two which follow. It also gives the sequence of titles somewhat differently from the order in the translation, which follows the Flügel edition.

²⁴ The Beatty MS gives "Titles of *Al-Ḥudūd*" as a subheading under al-Farrā', *Al-Ḥudūd* being a well-known book on grammar by al-Farrā'. *Ḥudūd* may be translated as "definitions"; *ḥadd* is the singular form. Each title is introduced by the word *ḥadd*; this word is omitted in the translation. The first title may be *Declension* (*Conjugation*) ("*Al-I'rāb*").

and 'Perhaps');²⁵ Numbers; Invariable and Variable (*Mulāzamaḥ wa-Ḥall*);²⁶ Al-'Imād [a pronoun between the subject and predicate]; The Transitive Verb; In [a particle] and Its Sister Particle; Kay wa-Kay-la ('In Order that' and 'Lest'); Ḥattā ('Until,' 'So That'); Instigating (*Al-Ighrā*); Al-Du'ā' (Calling, Addressing [as in prayer]); The Two Forms of Nūn (N), Heavy and Light;²⁷ Interrogation; Division; The Answer; Alladhī, Man, wa-Mā ('Who,' 'Who?,' and 'What'); Rubb wa-Kam ('Perhaps' and 'How Many?'); The Oath; Double and Dual;²⁸ The Call (Proclamation).

The Elegy; Al-Tarkhīm [dropping the last letter of a noun]; An ('That') Spelled with Alif (A); Idh, Idhā, and Idhan [forms of 'if']; What Does Not Mention Its Subject; Law ('If,' 'Notwithstanding') in Construction and Separate;²⁹ Narrative; Making the Diminutive; Al-Nisbah [form of relationship];³⁰ Spelling; Referring Back; Verb with Four Consonants; Verb with Three Consonants; A Word Declined from Two Places;³¹ Making a Double Letter (Incorporation Together); Marking with a Hamzah; Structures; The Plural; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; Fa'ala wa-Af'ala; The Interdiction; Stopping and Starting; What [Form] Is Current and What Is Not Current.³²

Mention of Those Who Were Famous among the Associates of al-Farrā'³³

Ibn Qādim

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Qādim was an associate of al-Farrā'. He taught al-Mu'tazz before he [al-Mu'tazz] became the caliph

²⁵ In the Beatty MS this title is not properly written.

²⁶ Flügel gives *mulāzamat rajl*, which is a legal term, and does not seem to belong to grammar. The Beatty MS is not clear, but suggests *mulāzamaḥ wa-ḥall*, which might also be translated as "invariable and free to change."

²⁷ The Beatty MS omits "and light."

²⁸ The word given as "double" is not clearly written in the Beatty MS.

²⁹ This title is in the Beatty MS, where it is not clearly written. Flügel omits it.

³⁰ The Flügel text gives instead *Al-Taḥnīyah* ("Forming the Dual").

³¹ This word translated "declined" may be either *mu'rab* or *mu'arrab*. It might also mean "Arabicized," but here probably means "declined."

³² For the word translated as "current," Flügel gives *yajzā*, implying substitution, whereas the Beatty MS has *yajrā*, giving the idea of being in use.

³³ The word translated as "associates" probably means "pupils." Although the name "Ibn Qādim" is not given as a separate title in the Arabic, as is the case with the two names which follow, these three were probably the pupils.

[A.D. 866]. When he did administer the caliphate he sent a messenger, who coming to him [Ibn Qādim] when he was an aged shaykh in his home, said, "I am a messenger of the Commander of the Faithful." He [Ibn Qādim] replied, "There is no Commander of the Faithful in Baghīdād," meaning that they were seeking to appoint one. Then he [the messenger] said, "To the contrary, al-Mu'tazz has started to rule."

As al-Mu'tazz disliked him [Ibn Qādim] because of his harsh discipline, he feared the impulsiveness [of the caliph]. Accordingly, after saying to his family, "Peace be unto you," he set forth and did not return to them. This was during the year two hundred and fifty-one [A.D. 866]. Among his books there were:

Sufficiency, about grammar;³⁴ The Strange in the Ḥadīth; Abridgment of Grammar.

Salamah ibn 'Āṣim

Salamah ibn 'Āṣim, surnamed Abū Muḥammad, was an associate (pupil) of al-Farrā', being a scholar of al-Kūfah. He was reliable in his quoting and an authority on grammar. He quoted all of the books of al-Farrā', without deviating from him, and died while conversing with him.³⁵ Among his books there were:

The Strange in the Ḥadīth; The Vexed (Al-Malūl), about grammar.³⁶

Al-Ṭuwāl

He was surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh. No book of his is known. Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab* said, "Al-Ṭuwāl was keen in analyzing Arabic, Salāmah had a good memory for quoting books, while Ibn Qādim had a good grasp of causes (defects)."³⁷

³⁴ The Beatty MS leaves a space for this title; it was not filled in.

³⁵ At this point the Beatty MS has, badly written, what seems to be "died while conversing with him," whereas Flügel gives "Salamah died."

³⁶ The Beatty MS has *al-malūl* ("vexed"); Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 260, has *al-maslūk* ("passable"); while Flügel gives *al-ḥulūl*, which has many meanings, but here may either refer to what is necessary or inherent, or else to solving and making open.

³⁷ The word translated freely as "analyzing" is *bi-ḥikm*; it is omitted by Flügel. The last word of the sentence is *'ilal*, which means both "causes" and "defects."

Account of Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī

The name of Abū 'Amr was Ishāq ibn Mirār—with an *i* after the *m*—al-Shaybānī. Abū 'Amr was a protégé and teacher among the families of the Banū Shaybān Tribe and named after them because of their patronage or, as is also said, because of his presence among them and his tutoring of their children.

He quoted with a broad knowledge of language and poetry and was reliable in passing on traditions, having heard many things. Collections of the poems of all the tribes were obtained from him. He also had sons and grandsons who quoted his books. One of his sons was:

'Amr ibn Abī 'Amr

He ['Amr ibn Abī 'Amr] quoted him [Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī] and learned from him, composing books about language. Among the books of 'Amr ibn Abī 'Amr there were:

Horses; Languages (Vernaculars); Rare Forms; The Strange in the Ḥadīth; The Strange in the Compositions.³⁸

It is said that *Aḥmad* ibn Ḥanbal used to persist in attending the session of Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī, taking down from him many of his traditions.³⁹ The judge Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥāshimī said:

'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Qurshī passed down the tradition from al-Ḥazunbal, who said, "'Amr ibn Abī 'Amr told us saying, 'When my father collected the poems of the Arabs, there were over eighty tribes. Everything that a tribe composed and made available for the people he copied in a manuscript, placing it in the mosque at al-Kūfah, until he had written over eighty manuscripts in his own handwriting.'"

Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī reached the age of one hundred and ten. He died during the year two hundred and six [A.D. 821/22]. Ya'qūb ibn al-Sikkīt said:

Abū 'Amr died when he was one hundred and eighteen years old, but he kept on writing with his own hand until he died. Sometimes he used to borrow my book, although at that time I was only a boy who was learning from him and writing what was in his books.

³⁸ Last title is omitted in the Beatty MS.

³⁹ The session was probably a class and the notes were written from dictation.

Ibn Kāmil said, "Abū 'Amr died on the day on which also died Abū al-'Atāhiyah and Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, during the year two hundred and thirteen [A.D. 828/29]." Among his compiled books there were:

The Strange in the Ḥadīth, which was quoted by 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal from his father Aḥmad and in turn from Abū 'Amr; Rare Forms Known by the Jim (the J); the large book, Rare Forms, in three manuscripts; The Palm; The Camel; The Disposition of Man; Letters;⁴⁰ Commentary on the book "Eloquent Style."

Account of al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī

Abū al-'Abbās al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'lā ibn 'Āmir ibn Sālim ibn Abī al-Rizāl⁴¹ was from the Banū Tha'labah ibn al-Sīd ibn Ḍabbah Tribe.⁴² According to what is written in the hand-writing of al-Yūsufī, he was called Ibn Abī Ḍabbī, and, in the hand-writing of Ibn al-Kūfī, he was surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

It is said that he joined the revolt of Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan and that, although [the Caliph] al-Manṣūr defeated him, he pardoned him, so that al-Mahdī took him into his service. For [the Caliph] al-Mahdī he compiled the anthology of poetry entitled *Al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, containing one hundred and twenty-eight poems. These poems have been added to, selected, and rearranged before and behind, according to the ways they have been quoted. The correct version was handed down by Ibn al-A'rābī, the manuscript beginning with [a poem of] Ta'abbaṭa Sharran [Thābit ibn Jābir]:

Oh, habitual time of grief, how great with thee are
passion and sleeplessness
And the knocking [on the memory] of a ghost
of [former] fearfulness.⁴³

⁴⁰ This title and the one which follows are in the Flügel edition, but not the Beatty MS.

⁴¹ The Beatty MS suggests al-Rizāl. Flügel gives Ibn Rammāl, and Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 210, gives a different list of names.

⁴² See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 117; "Tha'laba," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 735.

⁴³ This is a free translation. See Mufaḍḍal, *Die Mufaḍḍaliyāt* (Thorbecke), p. 1 n., and Mufaḍḍal, *Al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt* (Lyall), p. 25.

Al-Mufaḍḍal died during the year ———. Among his books there were:

Al-Ikhtiyārāt, which we have mentioned;⁴⁴ Similes (Proverbs); Prosody; The Meaning of Poetry; Expressions.⁴⁵

Account of Ibn al-A'rābī

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ziyād al-A'rābī. I have read [what was written] in the handwriting of Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Muqlah, that Abū al-'Abbās Tha'lab said, "I watched the class (session) of Ibn al-A'rābī, which about a hundred people were attending. When he was asked questions and they studied (read) with him, he gave answers without using a manuscript (book)." He went on to say, "I was present with him for about ten years and never saw a book in his hand." He died at Surra Man Ra'a (Sāmarrā) when he was over eighty years of age.

Abū al-'Abbās [Tha'lab] also said, "He dictated to the people what was deserving.⁴⁶ Never was anyone seen with a more abundant knowledge of poetry than he had." Abū al-'Abbās [Tha'lab] said, "He was the most accomplished of men. He learned from al-Qāsim ibn Ma'n and heard (attended the lectures of) al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Muḥammad [al-Ḍabbī]." It was related that he was the stepson of al-Mufaḍḍal, to whom his mother was subject.

I read what was written in the handwriting of al-Kūfi as follows:

Tha'lab said, "I heard Ibn al-A'rābī say during the year two hundred and twenty-five [A.D. 839/40], 'I was born during the night when Abū Ḥanīfah died.' He [Ibn al-A'rābī] died in the year thirty-one [A.H. 231: A.D. 846] when he was eighty years, four months, and three days old."

Information about al-Qāsim ibn Ma'n: I mention him of necessity in this place because Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn al-A'rābī learned from him. He was al-Qāsim ibn Ma'n ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd, whom [the Caliph] al-Mahdī appointed as a judge. Wakī' said:

⁴⁴ The anthology entitled *Al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt*.

⁴⁵ Not found in the Beatty MS.

⁴⁶ There is a variation in the texts.

Al-Qāsim was one of the most intelligent of men in all realms of culture. He had a fine vigor, discussing the Ḥadīth with its scholars/ doctrine with its scholars, poetry with its scholars, history with its scholars, theology with its scholars, and genealogy with its scholars.⁴⁷ As he met with Abū Ḥanīfah someone said to him, "Do you like to be one of the young men attached to Abū Ḥanīfah?" He replied, "People can't meet with anyone in a way more profitable than meeting with Abū Ḥanīfah."

Ibn al-A'rabī died during the year two hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 845/46]. Among his books there were:

Rare Forms, which was quoted by a group [of scholars] among whom were al-Ṭūsī, *Tha'lab*, and others—some say there were twelve and some say nine quotations (transcriptions); Al-Anwā'; Description of the Palm; Horses; Praise of the Tribes; The Meaning of Poetry; Explanation of Similes (Proverbs); Plants; Pronunciations (Dialects); Genealogy of Horses; Rare Forms of the Inhabitants of Dabīr; Rare Forms of the Banū Faq'as;⁴⁸ Flies, which I saw copied in the handwriting of al-Sukkarī; Plants and Herbs.⁴⁹

Ibn al-A'rabī quoted some linguistic authorities among the Arabians, including al-Ṣamūti, al-Kalbī, and Abū al-Muḥabbib al-Rabā'i.

Thābit ibn. Abī Thābit

He was Abū Muḥammad Thābit ibn Abī Thābit. The name of Abū Thābit was Sa'īd or, according to what is written in the handwriting of al-Sukkarī, the name of Abū Thābit was Muḥammad. He was a philologist who met with the Arabian scholars of language, learning from them. He was one of the important scholars of al-Kūfah, who died ———. Among his books there were:

The Disposition of Man; Differentiation; Interdicting and Calling;⁵⁰ Disposition of the Horse; Prosody;⁵¹ Wild Animals; Digest of Arabic.

⁴⁷ The Beatty MS and the Flügel text differ on this sentence.

⁴⁸ Dabīr is a Persian village. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 547. The name is clearly written in the Beatty MS, but Flügel gives al-Zubayriyīn. For the Banū Faq'as Tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 111.

⁴⁹ Lacking in the Beatty MS.

⁵⁰ This may refer to augury and prayer, but more likely to calling down blessings.

⁵¹ Omitted in the Flügel text.

Ibn Sa'dān

He was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Sa'dān al-Ḍarīr, a teacher of the common people and a [Qur'ānic] reader according to the method of *Ḥanzah*, later choosing his own system. His origin and stock were confused, but he was born at Baghdād and belonged to the school [of language study] of al-Kūfah. He died during the year two hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 845/46], on the Day of 'Arafah [ninth day of Dhū al-Ḥajjah, the last Muslim month]. Among his books there were: [Qur'ānic] *Readings*; *Digest of Grammar*. He also wrote some definitions similar to *Al-Ḥudūd* of al-Farrā', but the people did not care for them.

Hishām al-Ḍarīr

He was Hishām ibn Mu'āwiyah al-Ḍarīr, surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh, a friend of al-Kisā'ī.⁵² He wrote some definitions (*ḥudūd*), a number of which I have seen copied in the handwritings of Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī and other scholars, but they were not popular. Among his books there were:

The Abridgment; Analogy (Al-Qiyās).

Al-Khaṭṭābī

He was surnamed Abū Muḥammad, his [real] name being 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb al-Khaṭṭāb (the Marriage Maker). He was one of the grammarians of al-Kūfah, known as al-Khaṭṭābī. Among his books there were:

The large book of grammar; the small book of grammar; The Weak Letters in Grammar; The Bases and Categories of Grammar.

Al-Sarkhasī

His name was 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad, surnamed Abū Ṭālib. I have read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī, saying that he was a neighbor of *Hishām al-Ḍarīr* and that he used to sit (teach) in the mosque of al-Tarjumāniyah. Among his books there was the large book about grammar, which is no longer to be found.

⁵² He was almost certainly a pupil of al-Kisā'ī.

Ibn *Mardān* al-Kūfi

He was Abū Mūsā 'Iṣā ibn *Mardān*. I have read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfi telling that he learned and quoted from Abū Ṭālib.⁵³ Among his books there was *Comparison of the Origins of Grammar (Analogy According to the Principles of Grammar)*.

Al-Karnabā'i al-Anṣārī

His name was Hishām ibn Ibrāhīm al-Karnabā'i.⁵⁴ He was from Karnabā and learned from al-Aṣma'i and others who were from among the scholars of al-Kūfah. He was surnamed Abū 'Alī and among his books there were:

Reptiles; Wild Animals; The Disposition of Horses; Plants.⁵⁵

Account of Ibn *Kumāsah*

He was Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā, whose birth was during the year one hundred and twenty-three [A.D. 740/41]. I have read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfi, saying that he was Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-A'lā al-Asadī, one of the inhabitants of al-Kūfah. Although he went to live at Baghdād, he derived his knowledge from the leaders of al-Kūfah. He also met some persons who quoted the poets and language scholars of the Banū Asad Tribe, among whom there were *Jazī*,⁵⁶ Abū al-Mawṣūl, and Abū Ṣadaqaḥ, all belonging to the Banū Asad. From these he learned the poetry of al-Kumayt.

Ibn Kumāsah was the son of the sister of Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, the ascetic. He died at al-Kūfah the third night of Shawwāl [the tenth Muslim month] during the year two hundred and seven [A.D. 822/23]. He was a poet, among whose books there were:

Al-Anwā'; The Meaning of Poetry; Plagiarisms of al-Kumayt from the Qur'ān⁵⁷ and Other Sources.

⁵³ Probably al-Sarkhasī, or perhaps al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salamah al-Ḍabbī.

⁵⁴ The Flügel text gives al-Kirmānī, but the Beatty MS has al-Karnabā'i, which is evidently correct. For Karnabā near al-Ahwāz, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 268.

⁵⁵ Last title not in the Beatty MS.

⁵⁶ The Beatty MS has a name that looks like Hurwā, whereas Flügel gives Jazī, who was an authority on tribal poetry.

⁵⁷ The word in the Beatty MS is not clearly written, but seems to be something other than "Qur'ān."

Sa'dān ibn al-Mubārik

He was Abū 'Uthmān Sa'dān ibn al-Mubārik al-Makfīf, a protégé of 'Ātikah, who was a protégé of [the Caliph] al-Mahdī and the wife of al-Mu'allā ibn Ayyūb ibn Ṭarīf. Al-Mubārik was a captive from Tukhārīstān and one of the scholars of al-Kūfah. He quoted them and also quoted Abū 'Ubaydah of al-Baṣrah. He died ———. Among his books there were:

'The Disposition of Man; Wild Beasts; Similes (Proverbs); Contradictions, quoted from Abū 'Ubaydah; The Two Lands, Water, Mountains, and Seas—I saw a portion of it written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī.

Al-Ṭūsī

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sinān al-Taymī, who was learned in the traditions of the tribes and the poems of preeminent men. He met with the shaykhs of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah, most of his classes and study being with Ibn al-A'rābī. He had a son named ———, who followed in his footsteps in learning and memorizing. Al-Ṭūsī was hostile to Ibn al-Sikkīt because they both learned from Naṣrān al-Khurasānī and, after his death, disagreed about his writings. He left no written works.

Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām

He was Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, said to be the son of Sallām ibn Miskīn ibn Zayd, Zayd being a porter. Abū 'Ubayd used to dye his head and beard with red henna, showing dignity and a fine appearance. After serving as tutor to the sons of al-Ḥarāthamah, he became the judge of Ṭarsūs at the time of Thābit ibn Naṣr ibn Mālik, remaining with him and his son until he went to the district of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir.

He was good and pious, modest and sound in judgment. He quoted Ibn al-A'rābī, Abū Ziyād al-Kilābī, al-Umayrī, Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī, al-Kisā'i, and al-Farrā', as well as some of the scholars of al-Baṣrah, among whom there were al-Aṣma'i, Abū 'Ubaydah, and Abū Zayd.⁵⁸ Whenever he wrote a book he presented it to 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, who bestowed great wealth upon him.

⁵⁸ Probably Sa'īd ibn Aws al-Anṣārī.

He died during the year two hundred and twenty-four [A.D. 838/39] at Makkah, while he was on the pilgrimage, on the point of starting for Baghdād. This was after he had composed the books which he wrote. I read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Nahwī as follows:

I heard 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sadaqāh of al-Kūfah tell what Ḥammād ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm said, namely, "Abū 'Ubayd asked, 'Did you show my book, *The Strange in Composition*, to your father?' When I replied 'Yes,' he told me that there were in it two hundred incorrect letters. Then Abū 'Ubayd said, 'Two hundred incorrect letters are not very many for a book of this sort.'"⁵⁹

Among the books of Abū 'Ubayd there were:

The Strange in Composition; The Strange in the Ḥadīth; The Strange in the Qur'ān; The Meaning of the Qur'ān; Poets; The Shortened and the Lengthened; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Masculine and Feminine; Genealogy; Tales (News); The Training of the Judge; The Number of Verses in the Qur'ān; Oaths and Vows; Menstruation; Ceremonial Purity; Interdiction and Bankruptcy; Properties (Possessions); Similes in Use (Current Proverbs);⁶⁰ What Abrogates and Is Abrogated [in the Qur'ān]; Excellencies of the Qur'ān.

He also wrote some other legal books. Some of the associates of Abū 'Ubayd who quoted him and learned from him were:

'Alī ibn al-'Abd al-'Azīz

He died during the year two hundred and eighty-seven [A.D. 900].

Thābit ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥabīb

He was a protégé of 'Alī ibn Rābaṭah, and quoted all of his [Abū 'Ubayd's] books.

Al-Mash'arī

His name was 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Wahb and he related, 'I heard Abū 'Ubayd say, 'This book is dearer to me than ten gold

⁵⁹ The father of Ḥammād, Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, was the great expert for music and poetry at the caliph's court.

⁶⁰ This title and the two which follow are not in the Beatty MS.

coins (*s.*, *dīnār*).’” He continued, “Three times I asked for an explanation and he said, ‘Truly it is dearer to me than ten thousand gold coins.’” He referred to *The Strange in Composition*, which according to what is reported has one thousand sections with one thousand two hundred verses as examples of poetry.

Naṣrān, the Teacher of Ibn al-Sikkīt

It is said that Ya‘qūb ibn al-Sikkīt learned from him, as he was his teacher. Naṣrān said, “I studied the poetry of al-Kumayt with Abū Ḥaṣṣ ‘Umar ibn Bukayr.” The books of Naṣrān were preserved (memorized) by Ibn al-Sikkīt and al-Ṭūsī heard them [read aloud].

Account of Barzakh al-‘Arūdī

Barzakh⁶¹ memorized quotations, but was very untruthful in relating information about one person or another. Yūnus [ibn Ḥabīb] the grammarian said that Barzakh was not the best quoter, but he was the biggest liar. He was attached to al-Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā and a scholar of al-Kūfah, according to what I have read in the *Accounts of the Scholars of al-Kūfah*, written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ṭayyib, the brother of al-Shāfi‘ī. Among his books there were:

Prosody, both the large and the small [books]; Building Words, which I saw on parchment; Refutation of al-Khalīl, Showing What Is Mistaken in “Kitāb al-‘Arūd” (Book of Prosody); Explanation of the Strange; The Meaning of Prosody, according to letters with numerical value;⁶² Prosody, the medium-size book.

Account of al-Sikkīt and His Son Ya‘qūb

According to what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī:

When al-Kisā‘ī died, the associates (pupils) of al-Farrā’ met together and asked him to teach them, saying “You are the most learned among us.” Although he refused, they persisted with the request until he accepted. Then he needed to know their genealogies, so as to seat each one of them in accordance with the place due him. One of the persons whom he

⁶¹ The Beatty MS has Nazraḥ, but Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 366 and the Flügel text give Barzakh, which is probably correct.

⁶² This title and the one following are not in the Beatty MS.

asked to state his lineage was al-Sikkīt. When he said, "What is your genealogy?" he replied, "I am from Khūzistān, may Allāh be good to you, from the village of Dawraq in the district of al-Ahwāz." Then al-Farrā' stayed at home for forty days, without appearing to any of his friends. When he was asked about this he replied, "Glory to Allāh, I am too bashful to see al-Sikkīt, for when I asked him about his lineage, although much of it was base, he told me the truth about it."⁶³

Truly he was a learned man.

Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab* said, "Ya'qūb ibn al-Sikkīt was accomplished in a variety of sciences." His father was a good man, one of the associates (pupils) of al-Kisā'i, well versed in the Arabic language. He [the son Ya'qūb] said, "I know more about grammar than my father does, but my father knows more than I do about poetry and language."

Ya'qūb was surnamed Abū Yūsuf. He was one of the scholars of Baghdād who drew upon those of al-Kūfah for learning. He was tutor to the sons of [the Caliph] al-Mutawakkil, about whom he had anecdotes.⁶⁴ He was acquainted with the grammar of the scholars of al-Kūfah, as well as with Qur'ānic science and poetry. He met with the Arabians acquainted with language, learning from them and writing in his books what he heard them say.⁶⁵ He had his share of modesty and piety. It is said that al-Mutawakkil assigned an allowance to him until he died, during the year two hundred and forty-six [A.D. 860/61].

Ya'qūb had a son named Yūsuf, who was a court companion to [the Caliph] al-Mu'tadid, to whom he was personally attached. Among his [Ibn al-Sikkīt's] books there were:

Pronunciations (Dialects); Logic;⁶⁶ Decoration; Investigation; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; the large book, Categories; Differentiation (Al-Farq);⁶⁷ Saddle and Bridle;

⁶³ Khallikān, IV, 294, tells this story about the son Ya'qūb rather than the father al-Sikkīt. A comparison of dates makes it clear that the account in *Al-Fihrist* is the correct one. For the village of Dawraq, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 618.

⁶⁴ This phrase may be "he had with him historical traditions."

⁶⁵ He probably met with tribesmen who knew their Bedouin poetry and explained the vernacular expressions in their tribal dialects.

⁶⁶ Flügel gives *Correction of Logic*.

⁶⁷ In the Beatty MS this title is repeated later in the list.

Fa'ala wa-Af'ala; Creeping Things; Voices; Contraries; Trees and Plants; Wild Beasts; The Camel; Rare Forms; the large book, The Meaning of Poetry; the small book, The Meaning of Poetry; Plagiarisms of Poets and What They Agree Upon; Similes (Proverbs);⁶⁸ Permutation and Substitution [in grammar]; The Dual, the Undeclinable, and the Surnamed; Days and Nights; What Occurs in Poetry and What Is Removed from It.

Al-Hazunbal

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Aṣim al-Tamīmī, a scholar and quoter, who quoted the book *Plagiarisms* of Ibn al-Sikkīt.

Account of Abū 'Aṣidah

He was Aḥmad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Nāṣih, a scholar of al-Kūfah, who was quoted by Qāsim al-Anbārī. When [the Caliph] al-Mutawakkil wished to give orders for the selection of tutors for his two sons, al-Muntaṣir and al-Mu'tazz, he delegated the matter to Itākh. Then Itākh entrusted the affair to his secretary, who sent for al-Tuwāl, al-Aḥmar, Ibn Qādim, Aḥmad ibn 'Ubayd [Allāh Abū 'Aṣidah], and other men of learning, summoning them to a meeting. When Aḥmad ibn 'Ubayd arrived, he sat at the far end of the group, so that the man sitting next to him asked, "Why don't you move up higher?" He replied, "Here is the place left for me."

When they had assembled, the secretary said to them, "If you will join in discussion, we shall determine your degree of scholarship, so as to make a selection." Then among them there was quoted a verse of Ibn Ghalaḥfā':

Leave me alone, verily my wrong doings and intentions were mine,
But what I spent was wealth.

They said, "Wealth is in the nominative case, as though it were the subject with 'what.'" Then they remained silent until Aḥmad [Abū 'Aṣidah] at the far end of the gathering said, "So much for the parsing, but what is its meaning?" He said, "It means, 'Your blame

⁶⁸ This title and the three which follow are not in the Beatty MS, and the last title is omitted by Flügel.

should not be for me, because although I exhausted [my] wealth, honor was not lost. With regards to wealth, it is no disgrace to exhaust it.”

Then a servant came to him from the upper end of the gathering and, taking him by the hand, led him to a higher position, saying “This is not your proper place.” Whereupon he replied, “When I am in a company I prefer to be raised to a higher place, rather than to be in a gathering where I am sent to a lower seat.” Accordingly, he was chosen [to be a tutor], together with one other, who was Ibn Qādim. Among the books of Abū Ja‘far [Abū ‘Aṣīdah] there were:

The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; Additions to “Ma‘āni al-Shi‘r” (The Meaning of Poetry) by Ibn al-Sikkī, with a Correction of It; Sources of Historical Tradition and Poetry.⁶⁹

Account of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salamah

Abū Ṭālib al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salamah ibn ‘Āṣim was a philologist and scholar of al-Kūfah and also an expert penman. At first he was in the entourage of al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān, meeting Ibn al-A‘rābī and other scholars. He corrected *Kitāb al-Ayn* of al-Khalīl and the errors in it, thus composing a book of his own. Al-Mufaḍḍal died ———. Among his books there were:

The Excellent in the Study of Language and What Emerges from It; The Hamzah (‘), the Hā’ (H), the ‘Ayn (‘), the Khā’ (Kh), and Ghayn (Gh), and the Hā’ (H); Enlightening Souls about the Meaning of the Qur’ān, in more than twenty sections;⁷⁰ The Meaning of the Qur’ān, one part; Etymology; The Excellent, about the things in which the populace makes errors; The Lauds, Sowing, Plants, Palms, and Varieties of Trees; The Disposition of Man; The Instrument of the Scribe; The Shortened and the Lengthened; The Lute (Al-‘ūd) and Instruments of Entertainment;⁷¹ Introduction to the Science of Grammar; Making Clear the Likeness; The Script and the Pen; Refutation of al-Khalīl and Correction of the Mistakes, Inconsistencies, and Errors in “Kitāb

⁶⁹ The last title is not in the Beatty MS.

⁷⁰ “In more than twenty sections” is lacking in the Beatty MS.

⁷¹ “The lute” is not in the Beatty MS.

al-'Ayn"; The Excellent Book of the Communities of the Tribes; Apparition (Insanity);⁷² What a Scribe Needs; The Perfumed; Al-Anwā'.

Ṣa'ūdā'

He was one of the scholars of al-Kūfah, whose name was Muḥammad ibn Hubayrah al-Asadī, surnamed Abū Sa'īd. He was one of the scholars of grammar and language who belonged to the school of al-Kūfah. He was attached to 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz. Among his books there were:

Summary of What Is Used by a Scribe—I saw it written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Ḥafyānī,⁷³ corrected by 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz; his epistle to 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz, about the ideas of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām which the Arabs refuted and those with which they agreed; his epistle about handwriting and what is used for sharpening and nibbing a pen.

Account of Tha'lab

According to [what is written in] the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī, he was Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Zayd ibn Sayyar Abū al-'Abbās Tha'lab. In the handwriting of Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Muqlah it is stated that Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā [Tha'lab] said, "I saw [the Caliph] al-Ma'mūn when he came from Khurāsān, during the year two hundred and four [A.D. 819/20]. He had come from the Iron Gate on his way to the Palace of al-Ruṣāfah, the crowds being lined up as far as al-Muṣallā."⁷⁴ He went on to say, "My father was carrying me on his arm, and when al-Ma'mūn passed by he raised

⁷² This title and the ones which follow are not in the Beatty MS.

⁷³ This name is not written clearly enough to be sure of its spelling or to include it in the Biog. Index. The two titles which follow are omitted in the Beatty MS.

⁷⁴ The place names refer to sites in the old city of Baghdād on the West Bank of the Tigris. The Iron Gate (Bāb al-Ḥadīd) was a city gate near a bridge. The Palace of al-Ruṣāfah was built by the Caliph al-Manṣūr for his son, al-Mahdī, being completed A.D. 775. The Muṣallā was a well-known place, evidently used for prayer, while the Damascus Gate (Bāb al-Shām) mentioned at the end of the account, was the double gate on the west side of the round city of al-Manṣūr. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 204, and Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique*, pp. 47, 89, 102, 153, 155, 170.

me up on his arm, saying to me, 'This is al-Ma'mūn.' It was during the year four [A.H. 204: A.D. 819/20], but I have remembered it to this hour. At that time I was four years old."

Abū al-'Abbās [Tha'lab] also said:

I began to take an interest in Arabic studies, poetry, and language during the year sixteen [A.H. 216: A.D. 831]. When I was twenty-five years old I became skilled in Arabic, memorizing all of the books of al-Farrā', until not a single letter escaped me. I was more concerned with grammar than with other things, until I knew it accurately and became intent on poetry, rhetoric, and strange forms. I associated with Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn al-A'rābī for about ten years.⁷⁵

Abū al-'Abbās [also] said:

I remember one day when Aḥmad ibn Sa'id was with me. I was at his home with a group [of scholars], among whom there were al-Sukkārī⁷⁶ and Abū al-'Āliyah. While I was with him, he reminded us of a poem by al-Shammākh. When they started to discuss its meaning and raised questions about it, I replied without hesitation, while Ibn al-A'rābī was listening. After we had dealt with the greater part of the poem, Aḥmad ibn Sa'id turned to him [Ibn al-A'rābī] and showed him how surprised he was because of me.

Abū al-'Abbās [Tha'lab] died during the year two hundred and ninety-one [A.D. 903/904], being buried in the vicinity of his house near the Damascus Gate. Among his books there were:

What is Guarded (Preserved) in Grammar, which he wrote in the form of definitions (*ḥudūd*); Disagreements of the Grammarians; The Meaning of the Qur'ān; The Favored, an abridgment of grammar; How the Populace Errs in Speaking; [Qur'ānic] Readings; The Meaning of Poetry; The Diminutive; What Is Declined and What Is Not Declined; What Is Grammatical and What Is Not Grammatical; Exceptions; Similes (Proverbs); Oaths and Calamities; Stopping and Starting; The Derivation of Expressions from Legends (Historical Traditions); Spelling; The Medium, which I have seen; The Excellent Book of the Strange

⁷⁵ The last two sentences occur in the Beatty MS but not in the Flügel text.

⁷⁶ This name is garbled in the Beatty MS, but Flügel is evidently correct in giving al-Sukkārī. The translation is a free one. Aḥmad ibn Sa'id was probably Ibn Shāhīn of al-Baṣrah, who like Ibn al-A'rābī was older than Tha'lab.

in the Qur'ān; Questions; Definition of Grammar; Exposition of the Statement of Ibnat al-Khus [*Hind*]; Eloquent Style.⁷⁷

Abū al-'Abbās [Tha'lab]⁷⁸ also left discourses which he dictated to his pupils in his classes. They included something about grammar, language, [historical] traditions, the meaning of the Qur'ān, and poetry. A group [of pupils] quoted the things which they had heard and discussed with him. Among them were Abū Bakr ibn al-Anbārī, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Yazīdī, Ibn Durustūyah, and Ibn Muqsim. Abū al-'Abbās also edited some of the poems of the great masters and other men, such as al-A'shā, al-Nābighatān,⁷⁹ Ṭufayl, al-Ṭirmāh, and others. Among his pupils (associates) there were:

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh the Syrian

He was a member of the school of al-Kūfah. Among his books there was *Collected Questions*.

Also:

Ibn al-Ḥā'ik

His name was Hārūn, his origin being Jewish, from al-Ḥirah. He was a pupil (young man) of Abū al-'Abbās [Tha'lab] of outstanding ability and learned in the grammatical studies of al-Kūfah.

He had discussions with al-Mubarrad, and it is related that one day, while he was conversing with him, al-Mubarrad said to him, "I notice that you are full of understanding, but at the same time free from pride." Ibn al-Ḥā'ik replied to him, "Oh, Abū al-'Abbās, it is [because of] you that Allāh has provided our bread and livelihood." Then Abū al-'Abbās [al-Mubarrad] said to him, "In spite of [receiving] your bread and livelihood, you would be proud if you had a proud nature."⁸⁰ Among his books there were:

⁷⁷ This title is not in the Beatty MS. The other titles are taken from the Beatty MS, which differs from the Flügel text.

⁷⁸ The Beatty MS has Ibn al-'Abbās, which is evidently a mistake.

⁷⁹ For al-Nābighatān ("the two Nābighahs"), see al-Nābighah al-Dhubaynī and al-Nābighah al-Ja'dī in the Biog. Index.

⁸⁰ Al-Mubarrad evidently cared for Hārūn as an apprentice before Hārūn studied with Tha'lab.

The Weak Letters in Grammar; "The Strange" of al-Hāshimī⁸¹—there is a difference of opinion about it, some say that al-Hāshimī, whose name is ———, wrote it from [the dictation of] Tha'lab, others say that al-Hāshimī wrote it while close to Tha'lab and [therefore] it is considered that Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm was its author.⁸²

Account of Abū Muḥammad Qāsim al-Anbārī and His Son, Abū Bakr

Abū Muḥammad Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Bashshār al-Anbārī was an inhabitant of al-Anbār, who met with *Salamah* [ibn 'Āsim] and similar associates of al-Farrā'. He was in touch with a group of linguistic scholars and was also acquainted with historical traditions. Among his books there were:

The Disposition of the Horse; The Disposition of Man; Similes (Proverbs); The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; The Strange in the Ḥadīth.

Abū Bakr [Ibn al-Anbārī], His Son

Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim learned from his father and from Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn 'Ubayd [Abū 'Asīdah], also gaining a knowledge of grammar from Abū al-'Abbās Tha'lab. He was superior to his father and more learned, having extreme brilliance and understanding, excellence of genius, and rapidity of memory. In addition to these things and observance of the virtues, he was known to be free from impropriety and weakness, being proverbial for readiness to extemporize and for agility of repartee. Most of his dictation was without any notes or book.

He did not die from old age, but passed away close to the age of fifty.⁸³ He died during the year three hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 939/40] in Dhū al-Ḥijjah [the twelfth Muslim month], being buried in his own home. Among his books there were:

⁸¹ Flügel gives al-Hishāmī. Evidently Hārūn wrote a commentary about this book, *The Strange*, by a disciple of Tha'lab.

⁸² Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm may have been al-Hāshimī. A marginal note in the Beatty MS says, "The truth is that al-Hāshimī was a pupil of al-Mubarrad and that he wrote the book from [dictation by] him."

⁸³ The Arabic is *dūn*, which can mean "before," "after," or "near." As Ibn Khallikān says he was born A.D. 885 and the Beatty MS qualifies the word with *kathīr* ("very"), a reasonable translation seems to be "close to the age of fifty."

The Enigmatic in the Meaning of the Qur'ān, which he did not finish; Contraries in Grammar; The Bright; The Training of Scribes, which he did not finish; The Sufficient, about grammar; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; The Clear in (about) Grammar; Refutation of the Questions of Ibn *Shanabūdh*; The Strange in the Ḥadīth, which he did not finish; Spelling; The Lām (The L); Stopping and Starting; The Hā' (the H) in the Book of Allāh, May His Name Be Glorified; Al-Sab' al-Ṭuwāl, which he edited;⁸⁴ the large book, The Clear in Grammar; The Alif (The A); Al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt;⁸⁵ The Poetry of al-Rā'ī, which he edited; Refutation of Whoever Disagrees with the Version of the Qur'ān of 'Uthmān.

Abū Bakr [Ibn al-*Anbārī*] also compiled a number of anthologies of the poetry of the Arab masters of style. They included the poetry of *Zuhayr*, al-*Nābighah* [al-Dhubaynī], [al-*Nābighah*] al-Ja'dī, al-*A'shā*, and others in addition to them. He also gave lectures about language, grammar, and historical traditions, which a group of the scholars coming to him heard him deliver. Abū Sa'īd al-*Dabīlī* and others were among them.

Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid

He was Abū 'Umar Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Hāshim al-Mutarriẓ, known as al-Zāhid (the Ascetic), a pupil (associate) of Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab*. I heard a group of scholars magnifying his reputation and dealing with his genealogy in an exaggerated way. He was extreme in opposing and taking sides against 'Alī, for whom be peace. He lived on the street of Abū al-'Anbar, and died during the year forty-five [A.H. 345: A.D. 956/57], when he was eighty-six years old.⁸⁶ Among his books there was *Al-Yāqūt*, about language.⁸⁷ Account of This Book [*Al-Yāqūt*]. and How It Became Sound (Accepted as Authentic)

⁸⁴ These were the seven long sūrahs of the Qur'ān, sūrahs 2 through 8. The five titles which follow are not found in the Beatty MS.

⁸⁵ The anthology of al-*Mufaḍḍal*.

⁸⁶ The Flügel text gives eighty years old. The translation follows the Beatty MS. The street of Abū al-'Anbar in Baghdād was probably near the 'Anbar Bridge and the street of al-'Anbar on the West Bank. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 304.

⁸⁷ *Al-yāqūt* can mean "jewel," but usually means "ruby."

I read [what was written] about him [al-Zāhid] in the handwriting of Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad the grammarian, who was truthful, inquiring, and searching:

Abū 'Umar Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid was an associate (pupil) of Abū al-'Abbās Tha'lab. He began to dictate this book, *Kitāb al-Yāqūt*, on Thursday, during the last night of al-Muharram [the first Muslim month] in the year three hundred and twenty-six [A.D. 937/38], in Jāmi' al-Madīnah in the city of Abū Ja'far,⁸⁸ extemporizing without book or notes.

He continued with the dictation, session after session, until he came to the end. I wrote down what he dictated as session followed session, after which he wished to make additions, adding more than he had already dictated. Thus he extemporized another *Yāqūt*, to which supplement Abū Muḥammad al-Ṣaffār gave special attention, with assiduous service, re-reading the book for Abū 'Umar. It was from him that I obtained the additions. Then the group [of pupils] came together for a reading in his presence, given by Abū Ishāq al-Ṭabarī. He called this version *The Summing Up (Al-Fadhlakah)*. He [al-Ṭabarī] read it for him, the group listening to him.

Then even after that he added to it, so that I, ['Ubayd Allāh] collecting in my [copy of the] book all of these additions, started to read the book to him on Tuesday, three nights before the end of Dhū al-Qa'dah [the eleventh Muslim month] during the year three hundred and twenty-nine [A.D. 940/41]. I finished [reading] it in the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir [the fourth Muslim month] during the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 943]. While I was reading I had with me all of the transcriptions; the manuscript of Abū Ishāq al-Ṭabarī, the manuscript of Abū Muḥammad al-Ṣaffār, the manuscript of Abū Muḥammad ibn Sa'd al-Qutrubulī, and the manuscript of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥajjājī.⁸⁹ As I was reading to him, he gave me more additions, but finally we agreed about the entire text from start to finish.

-Then, even after that, he gave extemporaneously some more "jewels" [additions to *Al-Yāqūt*] and supplements, further expanding the book, with Abū Muḥammad *Wahb* giving special attention to these additions

⁸⁸ Jāmi' al-Madīnah was the "Mosque of the City." The city of Abū Ja'far was the Round City of Baghdād, built by the Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 33-36.

⁸⁹ These were evidently pupils who helped their master to compile his book. None of them became especially famous.

and to serving him. Then he gathered the group [of pupils] together and promised that Abū Ishāq al-Ṭabarī would correct the book in his presence. This, moreover, would be the final editing to establish the book as authentic for him, with no further additions. This version was called *Al-Mijrā'iyah*.⁹⁰ The group gathered together on Tuesday, the fourteenth night of Jumādā' al-Ūlā' [the fifth Muslim month] during the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 943] at his house on the Street of Abū al-'Anbar, where he dictated to those present what I copied down.

Abū 'Umar Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid [al-Zāhid] said:

This version, which Abū Ishāq al-Ṭabarī has made unique, is the final rendering. So hear it and, after that, if any one quotes me from this transcription and version, but does not give my wording even to the extent of one letter, he will misquote me. For this has [resulted] from hour after hour⁹¹ of the reading of Abū Ishāq [al-Ṭabarī] to the rest of the people, while I myself was listening, letter after letter.

Abū al-Faṭḥ ['Ubayd Allāh] said, "He began with this version on Tuesday, the fourteenth night of Jumādā' al-Ūlā' during the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 943].

Among the books of Abū 'Umar [al-Zāhid] there were:

Commentary on the book "Eloquent Style" (Kitāb al-Faṣīḥ);⁹² Beauty of "Eloquent Style"; Al-Marjān; about "Al-Kalamāt" (The Phrases), which al-Ḥadramī wrote and he [al-Zāhid] plagiarized from him, transcribing the book which was a composition of al-Ḥadramī;⁹³ The Acrostic (Al-Murwashshah); Hours; Day and Night; Approval; Tithings; Counsel; Classification; Commentary on "The Names of the Poets";

⁹⁰ This word is not clear in the Beatty MS. It seems to be either *mijrā'iyah* ("paying respect"), or *mijzā'iyah* ("enriching" or "satisfying"). Flügel has *al-bahrānīyah* ("pure stock").

⁹¹ The translation follows Flügel, who gives *sā'ah ba'd sā'ah* ("hour after hour"). The Beatty MS has *shā'ah ba'd shā'ah* ("publicizing after publicizing").

⁹² This title is not in the list of books by Tha'lab in the Beatty MS. It comes last in the list given by Flügel. Yāqūt [*Irshād*, VI (2), 153] says, "It is said to be the composition of al-Ḥasan ibn Dā'ūd al-Raqqī, which was ascribed to Tha'lab, but was his transcription." Suyūṭī (*Bughyat*, p. 173) says it was ascribed both to al-Ḥasan al-Raqqī and Ibn al-Sikkīt. Two titles following, *al-marjān* can mean "coral," "small pearl," "life," or "the soul."

⁹³ In the Flügel text the *m* is omitted from this name, and the name is badly written in the Beatty MS. The person meant is probably Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Ḥadramī, who was a famous reader of the Qur'ān and an expert on colloquial words and phrases.

The Tribes; The Concealed and the Hidden; The Apple;⁸⁴ Falsity of "Al-Mustaḥsan" (The Approved); Introductions (Gateways); Revealing "Introductions"; Rare Forms; Falsity of "Al-Jamliarah" and a Refutation of Ibn *Durayd*; Falsity of "Kitāb al-'Ayn"; What the Arabians Disapprove Of, from what Abū 'Ubayd [al-Qāsim ibn Sallām] quoted and composed; Speed.⁸⁵

It is said that along with his [knowledge of] colloquialisms he was a poet, and from his poetry there is:

If the Rāfiḍ from Damascus completes his disgrace,
He will hide himself with his right hand.
But if he comes to you feigning an innocent face,
The rejection will appear on his forehead.⁸⁶

This poem suffices to show his ignorance.

⁸⁴ Flügel gives *Al-Tuḥfāhah* ("The Apple"), but the word given in the Beatty MS could equally well be *Al-Naffāhah* ("The Perfumed," or "The Agreeable") or *Al-Thafājah* ("The Foolish").

⁸⁵ This title is omitted in the Beatty MS. The order of the other titles follows the Beatty MS, which differs from the Flügel version.

⁸⁶ This poem is omitted by the Beatty MS. The word *rāfiḍ* may mean "rejected," "abandoned," or refer to one of the Rawāfiḍ heretics; see Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 34.

In the Name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Third Section of the Second Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, the names and accounts of a group of scholars of grammar and language, who combined both schools [those of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah]¹

Ibn Qutaybah

He was Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaybah of al-Kūfah, where he was born. He was called “al-Dīnawarī” because he was the judge of al-Dīnawar. Although Ibn Qutaybah was an ardent member of the school of al-Baṣrah, he was connected with the two schools, speaking in his writings about the scholars of al-Kūfah. He was accurate in what he quoted, being an authority on language, grammar, strange forms in the Qur’ān, the meaning of poetry, and the law. He was a prolific composer and author, whose numerous works were in demand. His birth was at the time of the new moon of Rajab [the seventh Muslim month] and he died during the year two hundred and seventy [A.D. 883/84]. Among his books there were:²

The Great Book of the Meaning of Poetry (Kitāb Ma‘āni al-Shi‘r al-Kabīr), comprising twelve books (chapters): The Horse, forty-six sections; The Camel, sixteen sections; The Scab, ten sections; The Mange, twenty sections; Regions (Dwellings), ten sections; Winds, thirty-one sections; Lions and Wild Beasts, seventeen sections; Reptiles,

¹ See Flügel, in ZDMG, XIII (1859), 579.

² Different sources give different titles for his books. For some of his well-known works referred to in this translation, see the Bibliography.

fourteen sections; Oaths (Faith) and Calamities, seven sections; Women and Amatory Poetry, one section; Youth and Old Age, eight sections;³ Mistakes (Taṣḥīf) of the Scholars, one section.

The Sources of Poetry ('Uyūn al-Shi'r), which comprises ten books (chapters): Ranks; Worthy Deeds; Meaning; Chains of Poetry (Necklaces); Good Qualities; Praises; Means of Transportation; Sacred Places; Witnesses; Jewels.

The Sources of Information ('Uyūn al-Akhbār), comprising ten books (chapters): The Sultan; War; Dominion; Dispositions; Learning; Asceticism; Brothers; Needs; Nourishment; Women.⁴

Legal Instruction (Al-Taḥqīq), three sections of which book I have seen, filling nearly six hundred sheets in Bark handwriting.⁵ As it lacked some two sections, I inquired about the book from a group of the people of al-Jabal, who thought that it was extant [in complete form], longer than the books of al-Bandanījī and better than his works.

Also among his books there were:

The Training of the Scribe (Secretary); Poetry and the Poets; Horses; Compendium of Grammar; Differences in the Ḥadīth; Inflection (Declension) in the Qur'ān; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Al-Anwā'; Comparison of the Arabs and Persians; The Difficult to Solve; Things Known; Correction of the Error of Abū 'Ubayd [al-Qāsim ibn Sallām] in "The Strange in the Ḥadīth"; Compendium of Law; Questions and Answers; Learning (Al-'Ilm), nearly fifty sheets; Gambling and Betting with Arrows;⁶ Small Compendium of Grammar; Refutation of the Mushabbihah; Tradition and What Is Reported;⁷ Register of the Secretaries (Dīwān al-Kuttāb); [Literary] Gems of Pearl; The Disposition of Man; Grades and Virtues from "The Sources of Poetry"; Guides of Prophecy; Disagreements in the Interpreting Ḥadīth; The

³ The Flügel edition has *Genealogy and Milk*.

⁴ On the margin of the Beatty MS there is the note, "Book, *The Strange in the Ḥadīth*, which I have seen."

⁵ "Bark" may refer to a district of al-Yaman by that name or may be "Tark" (Turkish).

⁶ "Gambling and Betting with Arrows" is a game called in Arabic *qarab bi-al-qidāh wa-al-maysir*. Arrows are cast down so as to count in certain ways, according to the marks on these arrows.

⁷ This title and those which follow are in the Flügel edition but not in the Beatty MS. The title *Dīwān al-Kuttāb* might also be *Dīwān al-Kitāb*. For the Mushabbihah, in the previous title, see the Glossary.

Wisdom of Proverbs; Drinks; The Manners of Society; The Strange in the *Ḥadīth*.⁸

Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī

He was Aḥmad ibn Da'ūd from among the people of al-Dīnawar, who learned from the scholars of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, but derived most of his knowledge from Ibn al-Sikkīt and his [own] father.⁹ He was skilled in many sciences, among which there were grammar, philology, geometry, arithmetic, and the sciences of astronomy.¹⁰ He was accurate in connection with what he quoted and related, and known for reliability. Among his books there were:

Plants, valued by scholars for its composition; Eloquent Style; Al-Anwā'; Al-Qiblah wa-al-Zawāl;¹¹ Calculation of Cycles; Refutation of Lughdah al-Iṣbahānī;¹² An Examination of Indian Mathematics; The Cities (Regions), a large book; Addition and Subtraction (Summing Up and Dividing); Algebra and Equation; Rare Forms of Algebra; Wills; Poetry and the Poets; How the Popular Errs in Speaking; Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl (Legends in the Ṭiwāl Meter).¹³

Abū al-Ḥaytham al-Rāzī

He was mentioned by al-Sukkarī, but nothing more is known about his life. Among his books there were:

Al-Anwā', which I saw written in the handwriting of al-Sukkarī, about twenty leaves; Basis of Language.¹⁴

⁸ On the margin of the Beatty MS there is written, "*The Book of the Strange in the Ḥadīth*; he made improvements in it."

⁹ The Flügel edition has "son" instead of "father," but the Beatty MS, as translated, is probably correct.

¹⁰ The Flügel edition has "India" instead of "astronomy," which is taken from the Beatty MS.

¹¹ *Al-qiblah* is the direction to be faced in prayer, but here may have a more technical astronomical connotation. *Al-zawāl* usually means the going down of the sun, but may also signify the disappearance of the sun. See "Kibla," *Enc. Islam*, II, 985-89.

¹² Flügel evidently follows Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 127 n. 2, in giving the word *raṣd* ("observation"), but the Beatty MS is much more likely to be correct in giving "Lughdah." See Biog. Index, Abū 'Alī al-Hasan al-Iṣbahānī, who was called Lughdah.

¹³ This title is omitted in the Beatty MS. *Ṭiwāl* indicates "long."

¹⁴ This title is omitted in the Beatty MS. The title preceding it is given incorrectly by Flügel.

Al-Sukkari

He was Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-ʿAlāʾ al-Sukkari. I have copied his genealogy from [what was written in] the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Kūfi. He had an excellent knowledge of language, genealogy, and historical events. He was also sought after for his penmanship, because of its accuracy. He died———. Among his books there were: Wild Beasts—he made improvements in its composition; Plants, a small portion of which I saw written in his own handwriting.

Al-Sukkari also compiled an anthology of the poems of the masters, with selections from the tribes and from such poets as composed verse: *Imruʿ al-Qays*, al-Nābighatān,¹⁵ *Qays* ibn al-Khaṭīm, *Tamīm* ibn Ubayy ibn Muqbil, in addition to the poems of al-Luṣūṣ and the poems of Hudhayl,¹⁶ *Hudbah* ibn Khashram, al-ʿAʿshā, *Muzāḥim* al-ʿUqayli, al-*Akhṭal*, *Zuhayr*, and others besides them. He also dealt with the poetry of Abū Nuwās, commenting on its meaning and strange forms. This [anthology] was nearly a thousand leaves in length. I saw it written in the handwriting of al-Ḥalwānī, who was close to Abū Saʿīd [al-Sukkari].

Water Sources and the Desert (Al-Manāhil wa-al-Qawwā)—I saw it written in his own handwriting;¹⁷ Tents for Migrating (Current Verses).

Al-Ḥamīd

He was Abū Mūsā Sulaymān ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥamīd, who was a friend of *Thaʿlab*, having a special connection with him. He learned from the scholars of al-Baṣrah, being noted for accuracy of penmanship and good technique for correctness. He was a scribe,¹⁸ among whose books there were:

¹⁵ Al-Nābighatān ("the two Nābighahs") were al-Nābighah al-Dhubaynī and al-Nābighah al-Jaʿdi.

¹⁶ As "the poems of" precedes both al-Luṣūṣ and Hudhayl, but not the other names, these two words probably refer to tribes or groups rather than individual poets. *Al-luṣūṣ* means "robbers," Hudhayl is a well-known tribe; see "Hudhayl," *Enc. Islam*, II, 329.

¹⁷ The Beatty MS is followed in the translation of this title. Flügel has *al-qurā* ("villages") instead of *al-qawwā* ("desert"). The title which follows is omitted in the Beatty MS.

¹⁸ The Arabic word might mean that he owned a book store, as well as copying manuscripts, but the most likely meaning is that he was an apprentice of *Thaʿlab*, who transcribed manuscripts, as well as writing some books of his own.

The Disposition of Man; Plants; Wild Beasts, which I saw copied in the handwriting of his sister's son, *Zakariyā'*; Abridgment of Grammar.

Al-Aḥwal

He was Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Dīnār¹⁹ al-Aḥwal, a scholar of language and poetry, as well as a copyist. Among his books there were:

Calamities; Weapons; What Agrees in Pronunciation but Differs in Meaning; Fa'ala wa-Af'ala; Similarities.²⁰

He also edited the poetry of *Dhū* al-Rummaḥ and other poets.

Ibn al-Kūfī

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Zubayr al-Asadī al-Kūfī, a learned man who had an accurate penmanship and quoted from a collection of books. He was truthful in giving reports and keen in analysis. Among his books there were:

The Meaning of Poetry and Disagreements of the Scholars about It—I saw a small part of it; Necklaces and Single Gems in Language and Poetry.²¹

Ibn Sa'dān Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'dān ibn al-Mubārak

He was a collector of books, an accurate penman, and reliable in making quotations. Among his books there were;

Horses, which I have seen and it was delightful; The Letters of the Qur'ān.²²

His son, *Muḥammad* ibn Sa'dān, wrote a large book, [*Qur'ānic*] *Readings*, and a book *Abridgment of Grammar*.

Al-Ma'badi

His name was Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān, surnamed Abū al-Ḥusayn. He quoted 'Alī ibn Thābit, who quoted Abū 'Ubayd [al-Qāsim ibn Sallām]. His penmanship was in demand and he was one of the scholars who were famous and trusted.

¹⁹ Ibn Dīnār is omitted in the Beatty MS, but the rest of the name is included.

²⁰ This title is omitted in the Beatty MS.

²¹ The second title is not in the Beatty MS.

²² This title and the account of his son, which follows, are not included in the Beatty MS.

Al-Karmānī

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Karmānī was preeminent in a knowledge of language and grammar. As he had a good handwriting and was accurate in copying, he was sought after by the people for his penmanship. He transcribed [manuscripts] for pay. Among his books there were: What al-Khalīl Neglected in "Kitāb al-'Ayn" and What He Mentioned as Obsolete, Used, and Unused, and What He Left Out; Compendium of Language; Grammar, which he did not finish; Summary of Grammar.²³

Al-Fazārī

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥabīb ibn Sulaymān ibn Samurah ibn Jundab al-Fazārī was a scholar and was accurate as a calligrapher.

Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ishāq al-Zajjājī²⁴

He was a grammarian, among whose books there was *Al-Qawāfi*.

Ibn Wadā'

His name was 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Wadā' ibn al-Ziyād ibn Hānī al-Azadī, surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was learned and accurate in his penmanship, which was sought after, so that for his penmanship he received pay.

*Al-Namarī*²⁵

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh, among whose books there were: The Shining, about colors; The Meaning of "Al-Ḥamāsah";²⁶ Adornment.

Al-Tirmidhī al-Kabīr (the Elder, the Greater)²⁷

His name was ———.

²³ Last title omitted in the Beatty MS.

²⁴ This scholar is omitted by the Beatty MS.

²⁵ The Beatty MS omits this paragraph about al-Namarī.

²⁶ The reference may be to the anthology of this title by Abū Tammām, who died A.D. 850.

²⁷ The Flügel edition has al-Ramadhī, but the Beatty MS makes it clear that the correct name is al-Tirmidhī.

Al-Tirmidhī al-Saghīr (the Younger, the Lesser)

His name was Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad.

*Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm*²⁸

He was grammarian who was the teacher of Abū al-‘Abbās *Tha‘lab*. He was surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan and, although his penmanship was in demand, he did not compose any books.

*Ibn Fārīs*²⁹

Among his books there was the book *Al-Ḥamāsah*.

*Al-Ḥulwānī*³⁰

He was Abū Sahl, whose name was Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Āṣim al-Ḥulwānī. It is said that he was close to Abū Sa‘īd al-*Sukkārī*, quoting his books and learning from him. Although he was one of the scholars, he had an extremely bad handwriting. Among his books there was *Jinni-Possessed Men of Letters*.

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-*Khawlānī* Ibn Mihrawayh³¹

Among his books there was *Race Horses*.

Al-Munkhalī

Al-Yashkurī

Al-Ṭalḥī

Ibn Shāhīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Sa‘īd ibn Shāhīn

‘*Alī ibn Rabī‘ah al-Baṣrī*³²

Among his books there was *What the Arabs Have Said and the Populace Enlarged Upon*.

²⁸ In the Flügel edition the name given above, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, is omitted, and the name *Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm* is confused with al-*Tirmidhī al-Saghīr*.

²⁹ This name and the following sentence are not in the Beatty MS.

³⁰ In the Beatty MS the name al-Ḥulwānī is clearly given, but Abū Sahl is omitted, as well as the title of the book.

³¹ The Beatty MS omits this name, giving only Ibn Mihrawayh.

³² This name and book are not in the Beatty MS.

Ibn Sayf

His name was Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sayf al-Sijistānī, who was surnamed Abū Bakr and was one of the scholars.

*Al-Aḥmadī*³³

He was Abū al-Ḥasan, whose name was Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Šāliḥ. He went from Baghdād to Egypt, being attached to Ibn Ḥinzābah. His handwriting was good and accurate.

*Aḥmad ibn Sahl*³⁴

His book was *Choice of the Way*.

Al-Jarmī Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Abī Ḥumaydah al-Makkī

He was known as Ibn Abī al-‘Alā’, and was a scholar whose handwriting was sought after because of its precision. He was also a historian.

*Abū Dimās*³⁵

Among his books there was *Al Ḥamāsah*.

Account of Ibn Kaysān

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Kaysān. “Kaysān” is “treachery” (*ghadr*), his name in the vernacular of the Banū Sa’d Tribe. Kaysān was a grammarian, but not a skilled one. Abū al-Ḥasan [the son of Kaysān] was an excellent man who combined the teachings of the two schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah], deriving knowledge from both of them. Among his books there were:

The Strange in the Ḥadīth, about four hundred leaves; The Proof; Truths; The Selected; The School of Thought; Stopping and Starting;

³³ Flügel gives al-Asadī. The sentence following also differs from the Beatty MS.

³⁴ This name and book are lacking in the Beatty MS.

³⁵ Omitted by the Beatty MS.

Spelling; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Al-Shādhānī, about grammar;³⁶ Masculine and Feminine; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Declensions (Conjugations); Abridgment of Grammar; The Meaning of the Qur'ān, known as The Tens (Delights, Conversations);³⁷ Definition of the Verb and Object; Questions concerning the School of Thought of the Grammarians and the Points about Which the Scholars of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah Differ; The Sufficient in Grammar.

Lughdah al-*Iṣbahānī* Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh

He was born at Iṣbahān, but came to the settled districts, where he received instruction from the same person with whom Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī studied. Among his books there were:

Refutation of the Poets; Logic; The Weak Letters of Grammar; The Abridgment, about grammar; The Attributes (Descriptive Words); The Soft and the Cheerful; Naming; Commentary on the "Book of Meaning" of al-Bāhili; Dissolution (Refutation) of the Weak Letters of Grammar.

Ibn al-Khayyāṭ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Manṣūr al-Khayyāṭ

He was an inhabitant of Samarqand who came to Baghdād, where he met with Ibrāhīm ibn al-Sarī al-Zajjāj, with whom he had a controversy. He drew upon the two schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah]. Among his books there were:

The Large Book of Grammar; The Meaning of the Qur'ān; The Sufficient (The Veil);³⁸ The Abridgment.

Naftuwayh (Niṭawayh)

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Urfah ibn Sulaymān ibn Mughayrah ibn Ḥabīb ibn al-Muhallab al-'Atakī al-Azdī. He learned from *Tha'lab* and al-Mubarrad and heard [the lectures of] Muḥammad ibn al-Jahm, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ishāq ibn Salām, and the associates of al-Madā'inī.

³⁶ In this title, al-Shādhānī is probably al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān.

³⁷ The word "tens" may be *ishrah* ("enjoyments"), but much more likely is a plural of *'asharah*, referring either to certain verses of the Qur'ān, or to the rosettes which separate the passages. See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 129 bottom, 130 top.

³⁸ This title is given in a different form in Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 19; the title which follows is omitted by the Beatty MS.

His mother was a descendant of Khālīd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Murri al-*Tahhān*, the historian, and his birth was during the year two hundred and forty-four [A.D. 858/59]. He had a virtuous character, was an excellent teacher, and drew upon both schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah].

His class was in the Mosque of the People of Anbār³⁹ in the early mornings. He was in agreement with the [legal] sect of *Dā'ūd*⁴⁰ in which he was a leader. He died the sixth of Ṣafar [the second Muslim month] during the year three hundred and twenty-three [A.D. 935], being buried the day after his death at the Kūfah Gate. Ibn al-Barnhādān prayed for him. Among his books there were:

History; Abridgments; The Strange in the Qur'ān; The Sufficient in Grammar; Receiving Full Payment, about contracts;⁴¹ Similes (Proverbs); Testimonials, Al-Qawāfī and a Refutation of Whoever Thinks that the Arabs Derive Words, One from the Other; Refutation of Whoever Upholds the Creation of the Qur'ān; Refutation of al-Mufaḍḍal [ibn Salāmah] in Connection with His Criticism of al-Khalīl; Salt;⁴² Nouns (Origins); The Arabs Speak According to Nature Rather than Education.

Al-Ja'd

He was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān al-Ja'd, an associate of Ibn Kaysān, who derived knowledge from both schools [al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah]. Among his books there were:

The Meaning of the Qur'ān; [Qur'ānic] Readings; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Spelling; Masculine and Feminine; Abridgment of Grammar; Prosody; The Disposition of Man; Differentiation; The Alfāt (The A's).⁴³

³⁹ A mosque in Baghdād south of the Kūfah Gate, or southwest gate of the Round City, on the West Bank of the Tigris. The people of Anbār were clerks of the land tax office. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 57, 61.

⁴⁰ The sect called al-Zāhiriyyah, founded by Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī ibn Khalaf. He may have taught law, which was often scheduled before sunrise, when the pupils' minds were alert.

⁴¹ The Flügel text has a variation, which is probably wrong.

⁴² This title and the two which follow are not found in the Beatty MS.

⁴³ The last title is not in the Beatty MS.

Al-Khazzāz

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn [al-Ḥasan] ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Sufyān al-Khazzāz, who was a tutor in the home of Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Isā. He had a good handwriting and was one of the grammarians who derived information from both schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah]. It was he who wrote the book *The Meaning in the Qur’ān* for ‘Alī ibn ‘Isā. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Abridgment, about the Arab sciences; The Meaning of the Qur’ān;⁴⁴ The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; The Ample, about the science of language; Accounts of the Leading Men among the Judges (Rulers), which he wrote for Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī ‘Amr; Concubines, Given as Pledges and [Coming] Willingly;⁴⁵ Feasts of Souls, about the mention of learning; Ramaḍān [the Fast] and What Is Said about It.

Al-Bandanjī

His name was al-Yamān ibn Abī al-Yamān al-Bandanjī. He was a blind poet, as well as a scholar of language, who fell in with Ibn al-Sikkīt and other scholars of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah. Among his books there were:

Instruction in Law; The Meaning of Poetry; Prosody.

*Al-‘Umari*⁴⁶

He was judge of Takrīt and among his books there were:

Commentary on the Pre-Islāmic Seven and What Was Strange in Them; Commentary on the “Maṣṣūrah” of Abū Bakr Ibn Durayd.

⁴⁴ This title is repeated further down on the list in the Arabic, though not in the translation.

⁴⁵ This title is taken from the Beatty MS, which seems to give *Al-Sarāri al-Rahināt al-Mashā’iyāt*. This strange title is probably incorrect. Flügel gives a very different title, which is probably not the original.

⁴⁶ This paragraph is omitted by the Beatty MS. Takrīt is on the Tigris. The Pre-Islāmic Seven are the famous odes, “Al-Mu’allaqāt.” The “Maṣṣūrah” was a poem in praise of his patrons in Fars, who gave Ibn Durayd generous financial support.

Abū al-*Haydhām* al-ʿUqaylī

His name was Kilāb ibn Ḥamzah and he was an inhabitant of Ḥarrān. He lived among the nomads, but it is said that he was educated, entering into city life at the time of al-Qāsim ibn ʿUbayd Allāh, whom he praised. He was learned, a poet, and had a handwriting for which there was a demand. He mixed the teachings of the two schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah] and among his books there were:

Compendium of Grammar; Al-Arākah;⁴⁷ How the Populace Errs in Speaking.

Al-*Ushnāndānī*⁴⁸

He wrote a book, *The Meaning of Poetry*, and has already been mentioned.

Ibn *Luzah* al-Karkhī⁴⁹

He was one of the scholars of al-Jabal, whose name was Buidār ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. Luzah was his nickname. Buidār was surnamed Abū ʿAmr. He mixed the teachings of the two schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah]. Among his books there were:

The Meaning of Poetry; Commentary on the "Book of Meaning" of al-Bāhili;⁵⁰ Compendium of Language, a portion of which I have seen; Wild Beasts.

Ibn *Shuqayr*

Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Shuqayr the Grammarian was said by the shaykh Abū Saʿīd, to whom may Allah show mercy, to have drawn upon the two schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah]. Among his books there were:

Abridgment of Grammar; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine.

⁴⁷ Probably a proper name; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 182.

⁴⁸ This paragraph is omitted by the Beatty MS.

⁴⁹ The Beatty MS has al-Karjī.

⁵⁰ Flügel adds "al-Anṣārī." The last title is not in the Beatty MS. On the margin of the Beatty MS there is a note, "He met Ibn al-Sikkīt and others besides him."

Al-Mufajja'

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mufajja',⁵¹ [whose name was] Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, a scribe of al-Baṣrah who fell in with *Tha'lab*, learning from him and other scholars. He was a Shī'ī poet, who wrote a poem entitled "Resemblances" in which he eulogized 'Alī, for whom be peace. He and Abū Bakr ibn Durayd lampooned one another. Among his books there were:

The Interpretation, about the meaning of poetry, which included Definition of Declension (Definition of the Arabians), Definition of Praise, Definition of Vigor; Dream and Discernment; Spelling; Pack Animals (Al-Maṭāyā'); Trees and Plants; Declension (The Arabians); The Riddle.

He also wrote:

The Properly Prepared (Al-Musta'idd), about oaths; Poems of Brigands (Javelins); Booths for Meetings; The Strange in the Poetry of *Zayd al-Khayl*.⁵²

*Al-Akhfash al-Ṣaghīr*⁵³

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Sulaymān al-Akhfash, the grammarian. He was greatly vexed when questioned about some matter of grammar, but he remembered historical traditions. He died during the year three hundred and fifteen [A.D. 927/28]. Among his books there were:⁵⁴

Al-Anwā'; Formation of the Dual and the Plural; Locusts.

Al-Hunā'i

His name was 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan, surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. He came from Egypt but belonged to the school of al-Kūfah, though he also drew upon the scholars of al-Baṣrah. He was known as

⁵¹ The Beatty MS inserts "ibn," which must be an error. The translation of titles of books follows the Beatty MS, which seems to be more correct than the Flügel text here.

⁵² Omitted in the Beatty MS.

⁵³ He was called al-Ṣaghīr or al-Aṣghar, meaning "younger" or "lesser," to distinguish him from others of this name.

⁵⁴ All of the titles are omitted in the Beatty MS.

al-Dawsī, Daws being an Arab tribe.⁵⁵ His writings can be obtained in Egypt, where they are in demand. Among his books there were:

The Basic of Strange Forms, similar to "Kitāb al-'Ayn," but with a different arrangement. He originally composed this work about strange Arab words and vernaculars based upon the alphabet of twenty-eight letters, which are alif, bā', tā', thā', and the rest of the letters. He also wrote *Al-Munaḍḍad* (Strung Together), about language; *Al-Farīd* (The Unique).⁵⁶

*Dūmī*⁵⁷

He was one of the grammarians living close to our own time. His name was 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Za'farānī, sur-named Abū Aḥmad. Among his books there were:

Al-Qawāfī; Pronunciations (Dialects).

The Names of Persons from a Number of Regions Whose Names and Biographies Are Not Based on Research⁵⁸

Ibn Khālawayh

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad⁵⁹ ibn Khālawayh learned from a group [of scholars] such as Abū Bakr ibn al-Anbārī and Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid. He was a pupil of Abū Sa'id al-Sirāfi and mixed the teachings of the two schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah]. He died at Aleppo in the service of the Banū Ḥamdān during the year three hundred and seventy [A.D. 980/81].⁶⁰ Among his books there were:

⁵⁵ See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 291.

⁵⁶ First he wrote his long book, *Al-Munaḍḍad*, and then condensed his material as *Al-Mujarrad*, not mentioned in *Al-Fihrist*. The Beatty MS omits *Al-Farīd*.

⁵⁷ Flügel calls him 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far. The title *Pronunciations (Dialects)* is given by Flügel but lacking in the Beatty MS.

⁵⁸ This probably means that the author learned about these scholars, who lived near his own time, by personal contact and word of mouth rather than merely by study of books. See also Flügel, in *ZDMG*, XIII (1859), 581.

⁵⁹ The Beatty MS gives "ibn Muḥammad," which seems to be an error.

⁶⁰ The Beatty MS omits the date. Sa'd al-Dawlah was the member of the Ḥamdān dynasty ruling at Aleppo when he died.

Etymology; The Phrase, about grammar;⁶¹ Reviving Language; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Inflection (Declension) in Thirty Sūrah's of the Qur'ān; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; The Alfāt (The A's); The Subject;⁶² Lays [an Arabic form of the negative].

Abū Turāb

This man tried to correct *Kitāb al-'Ayn* of al-Khalīl, but a group of scholars refuted his revisions. Among his books there were:

Bringing to Terms (I'tiqāb), about language; Correction of al-Khalīl, in connection with what was neglected and used.

Abū al-Jūd

He was al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Ramaḍān al-'Ajlānī, a grammarian living close to our time, and a scholar of the school of al-Baṣrah. Among his books there were:

Abridgment for Students; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; Differentiation.

The Brother of Ibn Ramaḍān

He was known as Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ramaḍān. Among his books there were:

The Names of Fermented Drinks and Their Extracts;⁶³ Retreat (The Direction Away from Makkah).

Al-Kashshī

He came from the regions of Khurāsān and, although he was able in composition, it is not known with whom he studied or to what period he belonged. Among his books there were:

Fa'altu wa-Af'altu, According to the Mu'jam Letters,⁶⁴ a large work of extreme excellence; Declensions (Conjugations), which was also large—I have seen it.⁶⁵

⁶¹ The Beatty MS gives the vowel signs indicating the word *al-jumal*, which when referring to grammar signifies a phrase or aggregate of words.

⁶² This title and the one following are omitted in the Beatty MS.

⁶³ This evidently refers to forms of liquor made from such materials as palm trees and grapes. The title which follows is omitted by the Beatty MS.

⁶⁴ This probably means letters marked with diacritical points.

⁶⁵ "I have seen it," seems to be the meaning of a phrase written in faint letters under the line in the Beatty MS.

Mikhnaf

I know nothing about him except this, that his books were:

Explanation of Grammar; Declension (Conjugation).⁶⁶

Al-Muhallabī Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad

He lived in Egypt. In Egypt there was another one known as Ibn *Wallād* and still another known as al-*Rajjānī*.⁶⁷ Al-Muhallabī wrote:

Explanation of the Weak Letters in Grammar; Abridgment of Grammar.⁶⁸

Abū Mushir

He was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Marwān ibn Yaṣīrah, a grammarian, among whose books there were:

Compendium, about grammar; Abridgment; Account of Abū 'Uyaynah Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Uyaynah al-Muhallabī.

Al-Qummī

Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad al-Qummī wrote the books:

Forming the Hamzah; The Weak Letters.⁶⁹

Abū al-Fahd

Al-Zajjāj, with whom he studied the *Book of Sibawayh* for a second time, said to him, "Oh, Abū Fahd, you did better the first time than you did the second!" Among his books there was *The Exposition*, about grammar.

Al-Azdī

Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Azdī was one of the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah. Among his books there were:

Speech; Disagreement.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Last title omitted in the Beatty MS.

⁶⁷ Both of these grammarians were evidently named Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad and lived in Egypt.

⁶⁸ Omitted in the Beatty MS.

⁶⁹ Omitted in the Beatty MS.

⁷⁰ Omitted in the Beatty MS.

Al-Harawī

He was from Persia and among his books there were:

Declension (Conjugation); The Explanation.⁷¹

Al-Miṣṣīṣī

Nothing else is known about him except that his books were:

Healing, about language; The Exposition.⁷²

Al-Washshā'

Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ishāq al-A'rābī al-Washshā' was a man of letters and a master of literary style. He was also a grammarian and a teacher in a school for the common people. His books composed about historical traditions, poems, and short verses were in demand. Among his books there were:

Abridgment of Grammar; Compilation of Grammar; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; Differentiation; The Disposition of Man; The Disposition of the Horse; The Triple.⁷³

The books which he wrote about belles-lettres and historical traditions were:

Account of the Ṣāhib al-Zanj;⁷⁴ The Shining, about lights and bright things; Yearning for Fatherlands; the large book, Definitions of Elegant Forms; Embellishment (Al-Dibāj); Accounts of Those Who Affect Elegance; Remedy for Love (Remedy to Appease Pain); The Gilded; The Acrostic (Al-Muwashshah); The Chain of Gold.

Ibn al-Marāghī

He was Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Hamdānī, later called al-Marāghī. He was a teacher at the time of the regime of Abū Manṣūr,⁷⁵ as well as a memorizer of traditions. He was also a grammarian, eloquent in style, and a historian concerned with extreme examples of generous nobility and freedom. Among his books there were:

⁷¹ Omitted by the Beatty MS.

⁷² Omitted by the Beatty MS.

⁷³ Perhaps this refers to letters with three dots or to the script of that name.

⁷⁴ 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, leader of the black slave rebellion in the Persian Gulf area, A.D. 870-83.

⁷⁵ Al-Qāhir, who became the 'Abbāsīd caliph A.D. 932.

Rejoicing, in the form of "Kitāb al-Kāmil" [by al-Mubarrad]; Supplying the Things Neglected by al-Khalīl.⁷⁶

Al-Marāghī Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Alī

He was one of the inhabitants of al-Marāghah. He was prevented from prolonging his stay at al-Mawṣil. He equaled Abū al-'Abbās⁷⁷ in intelligence, being learned and religious. He studied under al-Zajjāj. Among his books there were:

Abridgment of Grammar; Exposition and Interpretation of the Arguments of *Sībawayh*.

Al-Bakrī

He was known as Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Abī Ghassān al-Bakrī. Among his books there were:

Abridgment of Grammar; Differentiation,⁷⁸

'Urām

He was Abū al-Faḍl al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad, a foolish man to whom some gave the name of "The Court Companion Grammarian." He wrote some epistles, hit and miss, about banter and diversion for a group [of friends].

Al-Zajjāj

His name was Muḥammad ibn al-Layth, the tutor of the sons of Nāṣir al-Dawlah.⁷⁹ Although I met him at al-Mawṣil, I do not know of any book of his.

Al-'Awwāmī

He was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, the grammarian and judge. He was a friend of mine, known as "the Judge." He died ——. Among his books there was *Corrections and Clarifications*, about grammar.

⁷⁶ This title is omitted by the Beatty MS.

⁷⁷ Probably al-Mubarrad Abū al-'Abbās.

⁷⁸ Omitted in the Beatty MS.

⁷⁹ The ruler of al-Mawṣil, A.D. 929-68.

A Man Known as Ibn 'Abdūs

His name was 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdūs al-Kūfī and he was a grammarian. Among his books there were:

Measure of Poetry by Meter; The Proof, about the weak letters in grammar; The Meaning of Poetry.

Al-Wafrāwandī

His name was Yūnus ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Wafrāwandī and he was a grammarian among whose books there were:

Healing, about the weak letters of grammar; Fulfillment, about the science of prosody.

Al-Diymartī

He was Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad, one of the inhabitants of Iṣbahān, from a village named Diymart. Among his books there were:

Correction of Pronunciations (Dialects); The Happening (Misfortune), about "Al-Kāmil";⁸⁰ Commentary on "Al-Ḥamāsah."

Abū al-'Abbās⁸¹

He was Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn al-Marzabān. Among his books there were:

The Encompassing, about the sciences of the Qur'ān, in twenty-seven sections; Al-Ḥamāsah; Account of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib, may there be peace for them.

Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Warrāq⁸²

His name was Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh and among his books there were:

The Weak Letters of Grammar; The Guidance, a commentary on the "Abridgment of Grammar" of Abū 'Umar al-Jarmī.

⁸⁰ This was probably the great book of al-Mubarrad. The next title is omitted by Flügel. *Ḥamāsah* ("Valor") was the title of numerous anthologies, the most famous of which was that of Abū Tammām Ḥabīb ibn Aws.

⁸¹ This paragraph is omitted by the Beatty MS.

⁸² The Flügel text gives a different name and different titles. The translation follows the Beatty MS.

Abū *Aḥmad* ibn al-Ḥallāb⁸³

No book of his is mentioned.

Ibn *Jinnī*

He was Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān ibn Jinnī, the grammarian, whose birth was before the year three hundred and thirty [A.D. 941/42], and who died on a Friday evening of Ṣafar [the second Muslim month] during the year three hundred and ninety-two [A.D. 1001/1002].⁸⁴ Among his books there were:⁸⁵

The Explanation, a commentary on the poetry of Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī; Pursuit, about Arabic; Al-Mu'rab [word that can be declined] (or Al-Mu'arrab [a word that is Arabicized]); Comprehension; The Shining; Distinction between Special and Common Words; Prosody and al-Qawāfī; A Collecting of the Fundamentals of Declension (Conjugation); Stopping and Starting; Pronunciation of Words with Hamzah; Masculine and Feminine; Commentary on the Triple Elegies and Visionary Poem of al-Sharīf al-Riḍā; Meaning of the Verses of al-Mutanabbī; The Difference between Special and Common Words.

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Namārī⁸⁶

No composition of his is recalled.

Bardawayh

There is no mention of a composition of his.

Old Books with Traditions of the Grammarians

Traditions (Accounts) of the Grammarians: by al-Najīramī; by Abū Sa'id al-Sīrāfī; by al-Marzubānī, the great quoter [borrower

⁸³ Omitted in the Beatty MS.

⁸⁴ The date is omitted in the Beatty MS, which helps to prove that the manuscript was transcribed before the end of the tenth century.

⁸⁵ Only the first title is in the Beatty MS, but on the margin some extra titles have been added, probably by a scribe of the eleventh century. These titles do not coincide either with those of the Flügel edition, given in the translation, or the ones given in Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 322, except in a few instances.

⁸⁶ This paragraph and the following paragraph about Bardawayh are lacking in the Beatty MS.

from other authors]; by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-*Tārikhī*.⁸⁷

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-*Nadīm*]: This is the end of what we have written in the chapter about grammarians and scholars of language, up to the time of the Saturday after the appearance of the moon, during the month of Sha‘bān [the eighth Muslim month] in the year three hundred and seventy-seven [A.D. 987]. We pray Allāh for the long existence for what we have composed for Him and for our remaining in health, security, and sufficiency. For with His graciousness He [Allāh] will bring this to pass and His favor will inspire us, causing us to obey Him, with His generosity. For Allāh is sufficient for us, giving assurance of care. May Allāh bless the bounties of His creation, Muḥammad and [the members of] his family.

Naming of the Books Composed about the Strange in the Ḥadīth⁸⁸
The Strange in the Ḥadīth: by Abū ‘Ubaydah; al-*Aṣma’ī*; al-*Naḍr* ibn Shumayl; *Qutrub*; Ibn al-*A‘rābī*; Abū ‘Adnān; Ibn *Qadīm*;⁸⁹ Abū *Zayd*; *Salamah*; al-*Athram*; Abū ‘Ubayd; *Fistūqah* Ṣāhib al-Karāsi; al-*Sulamī*; al-*Ḥāmid*; Ibn *Qutaybah*; [also] Corrections of the Mistakes of Abū ‘Ubayd, by Ibn Qutaybah. The Strange in the Ḥadīth: by Ibn al-*Anbārī*; Ibn *Durayd*; Abū al-*Ḥusayn* al-Qāḍī (the Judge) ibn Abī ‘Umar; Ibn *Kaysān*; al-*Ja‘d*; al-*Ḥaḍramī*, [who] composed [in cooperation] with Abū ‘Umar al-*Zāhid*; Ibn *Rustam* al-*Ḥarbī*;⁹⁰ Ibn *Durustūyah*;

⁸⁷ This paragraph is contained on p. 87 ll. 17, 18, of the Flügel edition. It is not in the Beatty MS. As books which would have been recent in the author's time are called "old," it seems clear that this passage was inserted some time after the Beatty MS was transcribed. The paragraph which follows, however, is taken from the Beatty MS, which is more complete than ll. 19, 20, in the Flügel edition. This statement is important, as it gives the date when Chap. II was completed and shows that at that time the author asked for continuing good health.

⁸⁸ These books were evidently written about unusual colloquialisms in the Ḥadīth. All of the names of these authors are in the Biog. Index. This passage is in the same handwriting as the rest of the Beatty MS and was probably added to Chap. II as an appendix.

⁸⁹ Omitted in the Beatty MS. The author who follows is probably Abū *Zayd* Sa‘īd ibn Aws.

⁹⁰ Omitted in the Beatty MS.

Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī. The Strange in the Qur'ān, by 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām al-Dīnawarī.⁹¹

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: The book of al-Sulamī, who was al-Ḥusayn ibn Ayyāsh al-Sulamī, was quoted by Abū 'Umar Hilāl ibn al-'Alā' ibn 'Umar ibn Hilāl al-Raqqī al-Bāhili. Then from Hilāl it was quoted by Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sādir al-Wāsiṭī.⁹²

Naming of the Books Composed about Rare Forms

Rare Forms: according to Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā'; by Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī, three editions, large, small, and medium; of Abū Zayd;⁹³ of al-Aṣma'ī; of al-Kisā'ī, three renderings; of Ibn al-A'rābī, quoted from him by twelve persons; of al-Farrā', quoted by Salamah, Ibn Qadīm, and al-Ṭuwāl; of al-Liḥyānī; of Abū Miṣhal; of Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī; of Abū Ziyād al-Kilābī; of Abū Shunbul al-'Uqaylī; Dahmaj al-Naṣrī; of al-Umawī; of al-Athram; of al-Zubayriyūn,⁹⁴ according to Ibn al-A'rābī; of Ibn al-Sikkīt; of Abū al-Maḍraḥī;⁹⁵ of Abū al-Yaqṣān, which I have seen written in the handwriting of Ibn Sa'dān; of al-Tawwazī,⁹⁶ [surnamed] Abū Muḥammad; [also] the book of Abū Ishāq al-Zajjāj, about rare forms.

The Names of Books Composed about al-Anwā'

Al-Anwā': by al-Aṣma'ī; by Abū Muḥallim; by Quṭrub; by Ibn al-A'rābī; by al-Mubarrad; by Ibn Qutaybah; by Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī; by al-Zajjāj; by Ibn Durayd; by al-Wahbi; by al-Marḥadī; by al-Wakī'; by Ibn 'Ammār; by Abū Ghālib Aḥmad ibn Salīm al-Rāzī; by Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb.⁹⁷

⁹¹ Omitted in the Beatty MS.

⁹² This short paragraph is in the Beatty MS, but omitted by the Flügel edition.

⁹³ Probably Abū Zayd Sa'īd ibn al-Aws.

⁹⁴ This probably refers to members of the family of one of the famous men called al-Zubayr; see Biog. Index, *Zubayr* and *Zubayrī*. Flügel, however, gives a different form and the name is not clearly written in the Beatty MS.

⁹⁵ The Beatty MS has al-Maḍraḥī, probably an error.

⁹⁶ This name is unclear in Flügel.

⁹⁷ The last two authors are omitted in the Beatty MS.

The Third Part

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed. The composition of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, known as Ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Warrāq.¹

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Third Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the historians, genealogists, and students of historical traditions and literature;² three sections. The first section with accounts of the historians, genealogists, and students of biography and historical traditions, with the names of their books. The second section with accounts of the secretaries, correspondents, and administrators of the revenues,³ with the names of their books.⁴ The third section, with accounts of the men of letters, court companions, singers, buffoons, and clowns, with the names of their books.

The First Section

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: I have read the following, written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Kūfi

¹ This title is on a special page of the Beatty MS. Added to it are the following inscriptions: "Transcribed from his model and his handwriting." "An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His [Allāh's] servant, Muḥammad ibn Ishāq." "It is the third chapter." The Glossary should be consulted for explanation of many of the terms, names of sects, and book titles mentioned in this chapter.

² Instead of "literature" (*al-ādāb*), given in the Beatty MS, the Flügel version has "verses" (*al-āyāt*).

³ These categories refer to men in the government offices.

"The first person to write a book about calumnies was *Ziyād ibn Abih*. When he and his lineage were slandered, he wrote it for his son, saying, 'Get the better of the Arabs with this and they will leave you alone.'"

The Names and Accounts of the First Authorities from Whom a Knowledge of Heroic Deeds, Genealogies, and Anecdotes Was Derived⁴

Daghfal

According to what is written in the handwriting of *Ibn al-Yazīdī*, he was *al-Ḥujr ibn al-Ḥārith al-Kinānī*, *Daghfal* being a nickname. He was called *Daghfal al-Dhuhli*.⁵ He was the genealogist *Daghfal ibn Ḥanzālah al-Sadūsī*, who was alive at the time of the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, but he never heard him speak. When he joined [the Caliph] *Mu'āwiyah* there came to him *Qudāmah ibn Ḍarrār al-Quray'ī*. *Daghfal* gave him [*Qudāmah*] his genealogy until he reached the father who begot him. Then he said, "The sons of *Ḍarrār* are two, one of whom is a poet and the other a hermit. Which one of the two are you?" He [*Qudāmah*] replied, "I am the frivolous poet. You have hit upon my genealogy and all that concerns me, so now tell me when I shall die." He [*Daghfal*] said, "I can't do that." The *Shurāt* (*Shurāh*) killed *Daghfal*. He had no compositions.

The Genealogist *al-Bakrī*

He was a Christian who was quoted by *Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajjāj* as saying, "With learning there are want, degradation, and importunity."

Lisān al-Ḥumarrāh

His name was *Wiqā' ibn al-Ash'ar*, surnamed *Abū Kilāb*. He was a genealogist, the most proud and haughty among the people.

⁴ This title is translated freely.

⁵ This sentence is written on the margin of the Beatty MS. For the tribe of *Dhuhl*, see *Durayd*, *Geneal.*, pp. 114, 117.

'Ubayd ibn Sharyah

He belonged to the Jurhum Tribe⁶ and to the period of *Mu'āwiyah*. He reached maturity at the time of the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, but he never heard him speak. He went to [the Caliph] *Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān*, who asked him about the traditions of the past, as well as about the Arab and Persian⁷ kings, and the reasons for the babel of tongues and the divisions of the peoples in the land. When he [Mu'āwiyah] summoned him to come from Ṣana'ā' al-Yaman, he did what Mu'āwiyah commanded him, 'Ubayd ibn Sharyah, to do, namely to collect records (poems) and genealogy. 'Ubayd lived until the time of [the Caliph] 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. Among his books there were:

Similes (Proverbs); *The Kings and Traditions of the Peoples of the Past*.

The Names of the Persons Who Were Quoted by 'Ubayd ibn Sharyah

Al-Kayyis al-Namirī and his son *Zayd ibn al-Kayyis*, *al-Lisayn al-Jurhumī*, and 'Abd Wadd al-Jurhumī.

'Alāqah ibn Karsham al-Kilābī

He was a member of the Banū 'Āmir ibn Kilāb Tribe, who lived at the time of [the Caliph] *Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah* and had a knowledge of chronicles and the traditions of the Arabs. He was also one of the scholars from whom they learned of heroic deeds. *Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah* included him with those who kept him company in the evenings. Among his books there was *Similes (Proverbs)*, about fifty leaves in length. I have seen it.

Ṣuḥār al-'Abdī

He was one of the Khawārij, named Ṣuḥār ibn al-'Abbās, a genealogist and preacher of the period of *Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān*. Like *Daghfal* he knew about historical traditions. Ṣuḥār

⁶ For the Jurhum Tribe, see "Djurhum," *Enc. Islam*, I, 1066.

⁷ Instead of "Persian" this might be "foreign."

belonged to the party of 'Uthmān⁸ and was a member of the 'Abd al-Qays Tribe.⁹ He quoted two or three of the sayings (*ḥadīth*) from the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace.¹⁰ Among his books there was (*Similes*) *Proverbs*.

Al-Sharqī ibn al-Qaṭāmī

He was surnamed Abū al-Muthannā al-Kalbī. His real name was al-Walīd ibn al-Ḥusayn. He was a genealogist and quoter of historical traditions, genealogies, and records (poems). According to what is written in the handwriting of al-Yūsufī, "He was a liar."

It is quoted from al-*Aṣma'ī* that one of the traditionalists told him, "I said to al-Sharqī, 'What did the Arabs recite in their prayers for the dead?' He answered, 'I do not know.'" Then he [the traditionalist] went on to say to him, "They used to recite this verse:

Neither timid nor the son of cruelty wert thou;
Be at peace until the Creator sends His Messenger."

He also said, "If I am with him on Friday, there is conversation with him in the sanctuary (mosque)."¹¹ A poem, "Strange Forms," was written by al-Sharqī.

Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥanaḥī

Ibn al-Kawwā'

His name was 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr. He belonged to the Banū Yashkur Tribe and was a genealogist and a scholar. He was also one of the Shī'ah and an adherent of 'Alī, for whom may there be peace. It is said that when they challenged [the knowledge of] Ibn al-Kawwā' as a genealogist, *Maskīn* al-Darāmī said:

Come to the sons of al-Kawwā', who make decisions
By their judgment of men's genealogies.

⁸ The party loyal to the third caliph; see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 176, 177.

⁹ For this tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 196.

¹⁰ The pious phrase is not found in the Beatty MS.

¹¹ The wording of this passage, with its quotation, should be compared with the account in Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 268. The messenger in the couplet is the Quickener, sent by Allāh to summon the dead on the Day of Resurrection.

Al-Ṣughdī

His name was Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Imrān, but he was called al-Ṣughdī because his father lived for a long time in al-Ṣughd. He knew a great deal about the historical tales concerning the Prophet, for whom may there be peace. Among his books there was *The Power (Glory) of Persons Given to Vanities*.

Mujālid ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Umayr ibn Hamdān

He was surnamed Abū 'Umayr. *Al-Haytham* ibn 'Adī quoted him, making additions. He recounted historical traditions but, although he heard the sayings of the Prophet, he was weak among the traditionalists. He died during the year one hundred and forty-four [A.D. 761/62].

Sa'd al-Qaṣīr

He was a protégé of the Banū Umayyah Tribe and a genealogist from whom al-'Uḡbī¹² learned about the historical traditions, heroic deeds, and poems of his own people.

'Isā ibn Da'b Abū al-Walīd 'Isā ibn Yazīd ibn Bakr ibn Da'b

He belonged to the Kinānah and the Banū al-Shuddākh Tribes.¹³ He had relatives at al-Baṣrah and his brother was *Yahyā* ibn Yazīd. Their father was also an authority for the historical traditions and poems of the Arabs. He himself was a poet, but the chief ability of the Da'b family was in connection with historical traditions.

Al-Qurqubī

His name was Zuhayr ibn Maymūn al-Hamdānī, surnamed Abū Muḥammad. He was a grammarian and [Qur'ānic] reader. When Zuhayr was asked, "From where did you learn about grammar?" he replied, "We heard about it and learned it from the companions of Abū al-Aswad [al-Du'alī]." He was also learned in genealogy, historical traditions, and the chronicles (wars) of mankind. He died in the year one hundred and fifty-five [A.D. 771/72].

¹² Probably Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh.

¹³ For these tribes see "Kināna," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1017-18.

Account of 'Awānah

He was 'Awānah ibn al-Ḥakam ibn 'Iyād ibn Wazr ibn 'Abd al-Ḥārith al-Kalbī, surnamed Abū al-Ḥakam, one of the scholars of al-Kūfah, who was a quoter of historical traditions and acquainted with poetry and genealogy. He was eloquent in style, although blind.

According to what Hishām ibn al-Kalbī quoted from him, 'Awānah said:

'*Utbah* ibn al-Nahās al-'Ijlī preached to us saying, "What is the summum bonum? Allāh, Glorified and Exalted, said in His Book [the Qur'ān], 'Nothing remains alive at death, except the honor of him who praises the Creator.'"

Then he ['Awānah] said:

I rose up in front of him exclaiming, "Allāh, to Whom be glory and praise, did not say that, for it was said by 'Adī ibn Zayd." He ['Utbah] replied, "By Allāh, I did not think that this was from other than the Book of Allāh, Glorified and Praised, but blessed is the saying of 'Adī ibn Zayd."

When he ['Utbah] came down from the pulpit, there was brought to him a woman of the Khawārij to whom he said, "Oh, enemy of Allāh, why do you revolt against the Commander of the Faithful [the Caliph], do you not respect the word of Allāh, to Whom be glory and praise: 'Foreordained for us [men] are slaying and combat, whereas for women the dragging of skirts.'" She replied, "Oh, enemy of Allāh, your ignorance of the Book of Allāh and your neglect of Allāh's truth have caused me to revolt."¹⁴

'Awānah died during the year one hundred and forty-seven [A.D. 764/65]. Among his books there were:

History: The life of *Mu'āwiyah* and the Banū Umayyah—this book was said to have been written by *Minjāb* ibn al-Ḥārith, but the truth is that it was written by 'Awānah.

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū 'Abd Allāh [al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī] ibn Muqlah: "Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab* said, '[The Caliph] al-Walīd ibn Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik collected

¹⁴ The woman was a fanatic of the Khawārij, who refused to accept certain of the early caliphs. She made fun of the way in which the preacher quoted verses which did not belong to the Qur'ān. Cf. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 94.

the records, poems, historical traditions, genealogies, and dialects of the Arabs and turned over the collection to *Ḥammād* and *Jannād*.”

Account of *Ḥammād*

He was Abū al-Qāsim *Ḥammād* ibn Sābūr ibn al-Mubārak ibn ‘Ubayd. Sābūr was nicknamed Abū Laylā. He was one of the captives from Daylam captured by Ibn ‘*Urwah* ibn Zayd al-Khayl al-Ṭā’i, who gave him to his daughter, *Laylā*, whom he served for fifty years. When she died he was sold for two hundred silver coins (s., *dirham*). ‘*Amir* ibn Maṭar al-Shaybānī purchased him and then set him free. It is said that Abū Laylā was named Maysarah.

Ḥammād, who may have made mistakes about one thing after another, was a quoter of historical traditions, poems, and genealogies during the days of al-Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik. He lived until the year one hundred and fifty-six [A.D. 772/73], which was the year of his death. He was a companion of al-Mahdī¹⁵ and he related, “I sang good poetry for al-Walīd, but he demanded something more popular (corrupt). When I sang that he enjoyed it so much that I knew it was a success. Then [in later years] I sang popular verses for al-Mahdī, but he asked me for something good, with literary excellence.¹⁶ Thus I know that it went well with them both.”

Ḥammād was born during the year seventy-five [A.D. 694/95]. When he died *Muḥammad* ibn Kunāsah eulogized him:

Thou hast gone beyond the fleeting sleep,
Past on hast thou, until fate has brought thee to an end.
Had caution saved thee from perishing,
Caution would have rescued thee from what befell thee.
May Allāh be merciful to thee, my brother Abū Qāsim,
For there is no impurity [mingled] with his purity.¹⁷
For thus doth time waste away,
Its wisdom perish and its traces vanish.

We have not seen any book of *Ḥammād*’s, but men quoted him and composed books according to him.

¹⁵ Al-Walīd was a light-hearted Umayyad caliph at the end of the dynasty. Al-Mahdī was an able ‘Abbāsid caliph, whom *Ḥammād* knew as a prince.

¹⁶ The Arabic word translated “literary excellence” is *al-faḥl*.

¹⁷ Compare this couplet with Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (4), 140.

Account of *Jannād*.

He was Abū Muḥammad Jannād ibn Wāṣil al-Kūfī, a protégé of the Banū Asad Tribe, said to have been surnamed Abū Wāṣil. Although he was not learned in grammar and made many errors in speech, he knew more than the other people about the poetry and chronicles of the Arabs.

I read something written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ṭayyib, the brother of al-Shāfiʿī, who said:

When Jannād and *Ishāq* ibn al-Jassās came to Abū 'Irār al-'Ijlī, the Arabian, who was a master of literary style, Jannād said to him, "Hear something which I have worked on and do it justice." He replied "Speak!" Jannād, accordingly, said:¹⁸

If thou dost not comprehend what death is,
Behold the Convent of Hind, how its graveyard is outlined.

Then *Ishāq* said:

Thou seest the wonder of things ordained by Allāh,
Among them pledges of death, constrained by His omnipotence.

Abū 'Irār continued:

Houses thou seest, their locks above their dwellers,
With a group of visitors, but the visitor is not spoken to.

Abū *Ishāq*

He was Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Asmā' ibn Khārīj al-Fazārī, a good and excellent man, except that his traditions were full of errors. He died at al-Maṣṣāh in the year one hundred and eighty-eight [A.D. 804]. Among his books there was a book about biography and the holy war . . .¹⁹ and *Al-Sir*, about historical events and traditions. Abū 'Amr Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Amr al-Azdī quoted him. This Abū 'Amr died at Baghdād during the year two hundred and fifteen [A.D. 830/31].

¹⁸ This same anecdote is given in Chap. II, sect. 1, near n. 39, with the account of Abū 'Irār.

¹⁹ Flügel omits this sentence and the Beatty MS garbles the final words, which are indicated by an ellipsis here.

Account of Ibn *Ishāq* Ṣāhib al-Sīr²⁰

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Yasār,²¹ who was defamed without reason. It is said that the charge was made to the governor of al-Madīnah that he took women inawares. The governor, therefore, ordered that he should be brought before him. As he [Muḥammad ibn Ishāq] had beautiful hair, he fastened up his head.²² Then he beat him with lashes and prohibited him from sitting in the rear of the mosque.²³

He had a handsome appearance and quoted *Fāṭimah* bint al-Mundhir [ibn Zubayr], the wife of *Hishām* ibn 'Urwah. This [gossip about her] reached *Hishām*, but he denied it saying, "When did he ever enter into her presence or hear her speak?"

It is said that poetry was composed for him, being brought with the request that it should be included in his book of biography. As he did include it, his book contained some verses which disgraced it among persons who quoted poetry. The errors in genealogy presented in his book and derived from the Jews and Christians, whom he called in his book "People of the First Knowledge" and "Possessors of Tradition," weakened and falsified his writing. He died during the year one hundred and fifty [A.D. 768]. Among his books there were:

The Caliphs, quoted by al-*Umayrī*; *Al-Sīrah* (The Biography)²⁴ and the Beginning and the Wars—Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd and al-*Nufaylī* quoted it.

The Name of al-*Nufaylī*

He was Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Numayr al-*Nufaylī*. He died during the year two hundred and thirty-four [A.D. 848/49] at *Hartān*. He was surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

²⁰ Ṣāhib al-sīr means "author of the biographies." Flügel gives the more usual form, *al-sīrah* ("biography").

²¹ The Beatty MS has *Yashār*, which is probably a mistake, as *Khallikān*, II, 677, and *Qutaybah*, *Ma'ārif*, p. 247, give *Yasār*.

²² Flügel gives *waqaf* ("stopped") whereas the Beatty MS has a word which must be incorrectly written but might be meant for *dhaqan*, which refers to striking the back of the head near the neck.

²³ The women sat in the rear of the mosque.

²⁴ This was the famous biography of the Prophet. For the English translation, see the bibliography in *Ishāq, Life of Muhammad*. See p. xxv of *Ishāq's* introduction for the poetry in *Al-Sīrah*.

Najīh al-Madanī

He was Abū Ma'shar, whose name was Najīh al-Madanī, a protégé and scribe of princes of the Banū Makhzūm Tribe.²⁶ He was a freedman and one of the traditionalists, acquainted with the Ḥadīth and biography [of the Prophet]. He died during the reign of al-Ḥādī in the year seventy [A.H. 170: A.D. 785/86]. Among his books there was *Raids* [early wars of Islām].

Abū Mikhnaḥ

He was Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd ibn Mikhnaḥ ibn Sulaym al-Azdī. *Mikhnaḥ* ibn Sulaym was one of the associates of 'Alī, for whom may there be peace. He quoted the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, and also the Companions. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Apostasy (Al-Riddah); The Invasion of Syria; The Invasion of al-'Irāq; [Battle of] the Camel; [Battle of] Ṣiffīn; The People of Nahrawān and the Khawārij; Raids (Al-Ghārāt [early wars of Islām involving plunder]); Al-Ḥārith ibn Rāshid and the Banū Nājiyah;²⁷ The Assassination of 'Alī, for Whom May There Be Peace; The Execution of Ḥujr ibn 'Adī; The Slaying of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr and of al-Ashtar and Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudayfah; Al-Shūrā²⁸ and the Assassination of 'Uthmān; Al-Mustawrid ibn 'Ullafah; The Slaying of al-Ḥusayn, for Whom May There Be Peace; The Death of Mu'āwiyah, the Reign of al-Yazīd, the Battle of al-Ḥarraḥ,²⁹ and the Fortifications of Ibn al-Zubayr; Al-Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubayd; Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad and 'Ayn al-Wardah.³⁰

Marj Rāhiṭ, the Election of Marwān, and the Slaying of al-Daḥḥāk ibn Qays; Muṣ'ab and His Province, al-'Irāq; The Slaying of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr; The Slaying of Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ; The Story of Yā Humayrā³⁰ and the Slaying of Ibn al-Ash'ath; Bilāl al-Khārijī; Najdah

²⁶ See "Makhzūm," *Enc. Islam*, III, 171.

²⁷ See Ma'sūdī, IV, 418-19; Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 146-47.

²⁸ A board appointed by the Caliph 'Umar to choose his successor; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 178.

²⁹ The Beatty MS has al-Ḥīrah, but probably al-Ḥarraḥ is correct, as it was the region near al-Madīnah where Ibn al-Zubayr was defeated, A.D. 683.

³⁰ Better known as Ra's al-'Ayn in northeast Syria, where Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad was killed; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 731.

³¹ A nickname for 'Ā'ishah. This word is not clear in the Beatty MS.

and Abū *Fudayk*;³¹ The Story of the Azāriqah; The Story of Rustuqbādh;³² *Shabīb al-Ḥarūrī*³³ and *Ṣāliḥ ibn Musarraḥ*; *Muṭarraḥ ibn al-Mughīrah*; Al-Jamājim³⁴ and the Disposal of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ash'ath; *Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab* and His Murder at al-'Aqr;³⁵ *Khālīd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī* and *Yūsuf ibn 'Umar*, the Death of *Hishām*, and the Reign of al-*Walīd ibn Yazīd*; *Zayd ibn 'Alī*, for Whom Be Peace; *Yahyā ibn Zayd*; Al-*Ḍaḥḥāk al-Khārījī*.

I have read what was written in the handwriting of *Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥārith al-Khazzāz*, that:

The scholars have said that Abū *Mikhnaf* excelled others in connection with al-'Irāq, for its historical traditions and invasions; al-*Madā'inī* in connection with Khurāsān, India, and Persia; and al-*Wāqidi* in connection with al-Ḥijāz and the biography [of the Prophet]. They shared together in a knowledge of the invasion of Syria.

Abū al-Faḍl *Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim*

He was a perfume seller of the Banū Munqar Tribe, who belonged to the generation of Abū *Mikhnaf*. *Muzāḥim* [his father] was the son of *Sayyār al-Minqarī*. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Raids [early wars of Islām]; [Battle of] Ṣiffīn; [Battle of] the Camel; Execution of *Ḥujr ibn 'Adī*; The Slaying of al-*Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī*, May There Be Peace for Both of Them [father and son].

Ishāq ibn Bishr

He was one of the scholars of biography and historical traditions, among whose books there were:

The Beginning; The Apostasy; [Battle of] the Camel; The Invasions;³⁶ The Banners; The Zamzam Well; [Battle of] Ṣiffīn.

³¹ The texts are garbled, but as these men were comrades, this rendering is probably correct.

³² In the Beatty MS this word is written as Rushnuqbādh, but it can also be written as Rustaqubādh; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 778; III, 227.

³³ This name comes from the rebel center, Ḥarūrā'; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 246.

³⁴ Dayr al-Jamājim ("Monastery of the Skulls") was the scene of a battle when the peasants rebelled against al-Ḥajjāj, the governor of al-'Irāq; see Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 431, 443; Mas'ūdī, V, 304 ff.

³⁵ A village southwest of Babylon; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 695.

³⁶ This title is in the Beatty MS but not in the Flügel text.

Sayf ibn 'Umar al-Asadī al-Tamīmī

He was one of those who were interested in biography and historical traditions. Among his books there were:

The large book, *The Conquests and the Apostasy*; *The Camel and the Experiences of 'Ā'ishah* and *'Alī, for Whom Be Peace*.

Sayf was quoted by *Shu'ayb* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ———.

'*Abd al-Mun'im* ibn Idrīs ibn Sinān ibn ibnat Wahb ibn Munabbih³⁷

He died during the year two hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 842/43]. He was blind at the end of his life but lived to be over one hundred years old. Among his books there was *The Beginning*.

Ma'mar ibn Rāshid

He was from al-Kūfah, a scholar of biography and historical tradition, quoted by 'Abd al-Razzāq. Among his books there was *Raids* [early wars of Islām].

Laqīf al-Muḥāribī

He was Abū Hilāl Laqīf ibn Bakīr al-Muḥāribī of al-Kūfah, from the Banū Muḥārib ibn Khafṣah Tribe, one of those who quoted learning and composed books. He was a man of bad character and a poet, who lived until the year one hundred and ninety [A.D. 805/806]. Among his books there were:

Al-Samūr (Swift Camels); *Spearman and Robbers*; *Information about the Jinn*.

Abū al-Yaqẓān the Genealogist

It was reported by al-Husayn ibn Fahm from al-Dīmashqī that al-Zubayr quoted al-Mada'īnī as saying:

Abū al-Yaqẓān was Suḥaym ibn Ḥafṣ, Suḥaym being a nickname, as his true name was 'Āmir ibn Ḥafṣ. Ḥafṣ had a son named Muḥammad, who was his eldest child. Now Ḥafṣ was a Negro, exceedingly black and so known as "the Black." Abū al-Yaqẓān said that for fifteen days his mother called him 'Ubayd Allāh (Little Slave of Allāh).

³⁷ The form *ibnat* means "daughter of." Wahb ibn Munabbih was one of the early converts to Islām.

Thus al-Madā'inī said:

If you say that Abū al-Yaḡẓān passed on a tradition to us, he is truly Abū al-Yaḡẓān. But if you say Suhaym ibn Ḥaḡṣ, or 'Āmir ibn Ḥaḡṣ, or 'Āmir ibn Abī Muḥammad, or 'Āmir ibn al-Aswad (the Black), or Suhaym ibn al-Aswad, or 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Āmir, or Abū Ishāq, it is also Abū al-Yaḡẓān.

He had a knowledge of historical traditions, genealogies, heroic deeds, and scandals, and was accurate in what he quoted about them. He died during the year one hundred and seventy [A.D. 786/87]. Among his books there were:

Intermingling of Tamīm [Clans], One with Another; Historical Traditions of the Tamīm; The Genealogy and Historical Traditions of Khindif; The Great Book of Genealogy, which included the genealogy of Iyād, Kinānah, Asad ibn Khuzaymah, al-Hawn ibn Khuzaymah, Hudhayl ibn Mudrikah, Quraysh, Banū Ṭābikhah, Qays 'Aylān, Rabī'ah ibn Nizār, Taym ibn Murrah, and other genealogies in addition to these;³⁸ Rare Forms, which I saw written in the handwriting of Ibn Sa'dān.

Khālīd ibn Ṭalīq ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Imrān ibn Ḥusayn al-Khuzā'i

He was a historian, who quoted the genealogists, and a proud, conceited man. [The Caliph] *Al-Mahdī* appointed him as judge of al-Baṣrah, where his pride reached the point that when prayer was offered he stood in his place, even if he stood alone. When somebody said to him, "One individual is straight in a row [at prayer],"³⁹ he replied to him, "The row is straight because of me." Among his books there were:

Heroic Deeds; *Al-Muzawwajāt* (Married Women) (or *Al-Muzawwijāt* [Women Who Make Matches]); Suits to Defend Nobility; The Proof.

Al-Zuhri

His name was 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Sa'd al-Zuhri, and he was one of the persons interested in biography. Among his books there was *The Invasions of Khālīd ibn al-Walīd*.

³⁸ For these tribes, see "Tamīm," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 643; "Iyād," II, 565; "Qais 'Ailān" (Qays 'Aylān), II, 652. See also Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 18, 104, for Kinānah; p. 115 for Khuzaymah; p. 108 for Hudhayl; p. 189 for Rabī'ah ibn Nizār; p. 123 for Taym ibn Murrah. The Quraysh was the tribe of the Prophet. The Beatty MS omits al-Hawn ibn Khuzaymah.

³⁹ The row formed by one man is straight.

Ibn Abī Maryam

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Sa'īd ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Abī Maryam, a genealogist and historian among whose books there were:

Genealogy; Heroic Deeds; Nawāfil of the Arabs.

Account of Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib [al-Kalbī]

He was Abū al-Naḍr Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib. In the handwriting of al-Kūfī [his genealogy is written]: "Muḥammad ibn Mālik ibn al-Sā'ib ibn Bishr ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā ibn Imru' al-Qays ibn 'Āmir ibn al-Nu'mān ibn 'Āmir ibn 'Abd Wudd ibn 'Awf ibn Kinānah ibn 'Udhrah ibn Zayd al-Lāt ibn Rufaydah ibn Kalb." He was one of the scholars of al-Kūfah acquainted with exegesis, historical traditions, and chronicles of the people, outstanding among them as a genealogist. He had a son named al-'Abbās, who quoted him.

It is said that *Sulaymān* ibn 'Alī [governor of al-Baṣrah] promoted Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib from al-Kūfah to al-Baṣrah, where he gave him a place in his court. He appointed him to dictate the exegesis of the Qur'ān to the public. But when he reached a verse in "Sūrah Barā'ah"⁴⁰ and explained it differently from what was accepted, the people said, "We won't write down this interpretation." Then Muḥammad [ibn al-Sā'ib] replied, "By Allāh, I won't dictate a single letter until the interpretation of this verse is written down as Allāh revealed it!" So the dispute was referred to *Sulaymān* ibn 'Alī, who said, "Write down what he says and submit to it."

Hishām ibn Muḥammad [Ibn al-Kalbī] said:

My father said to me, "I learned about the genealogy of the Quraysh⁴¹ from Abū Ṣāliḥ, Abū Ṣāliḥ having acquired it from 'Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib." Then he said, "I learned about the genealogy of the Kindah Tribe from Abū al-Kannās al-Kindī, who knew more about it than anyone else. I learned about the genealogy of the Ma'add ibn 'Adnān Tribe from al-Najjār ibn Aws al-'Adwānī, who from what I saw and what I heard about him had the best memory of them all. I learned about the genealogy

⁴⁰ Sūrah 9 of the Qur'ān, also called "Al-Tawbah."

⁴¹ For the tribal names in this paragraph, see "Quraysh" (Quraysh), *Enc. Islam*, II, 1122; "Kinda" (Kindah), II, 1018; "Iyād," II, 565; "Ma'add," III, 58. For the Rabī'ah, see *Durayd, Geneal.*, p. 189; *Qutaybah, Ma'ārif*, Index, for references.

of the Iyād Tribe from 'Adī ibn Waththāb al-Iyādī, who knew more than anyone else about Iyād."

Hishām also said, "I learned about the genealogy of the Rabī'ah Tribe from my father and from *Khīrāsh* ibn Ismā'il al-Ijlī."

Muḥammad ibn Sā'ib said, "Once 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan asked me about the name of *Sukaynah*, the daughter of al-Ḥusayn, for whom be peace. I replied, 'Umaymah.' Then he said 'You have hit it right.'" Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib died at al-Kūfah during the year one hundred and forty-six [A.D. 763/64]. Among his books there was *Exegesis of the Qur'ān* (*Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*).

Account of Hishām al-Kalbī (or ibn al-Kalbī)

Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, the secretary of al-Wāqidi, said, "He was Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib ibn Bishr, a scholar of the genealogy, historical traditions, chronicles, faults, and battles of the Arabs. He derived his knowledge from his father and from a group of persons who quoted traditions."

Ishāq al-Mawṣilī said, "Whenever I saw three men appearing, three others were coming too. For if al-Haytham ibn 'Adī appeared, Hishām al-Kalbī was there; 'Allawīyah was there if Mukhāriq turned up; Abū Nuwās was on hand if Abū al-'Atāhiyah appeared."⁴³

Hishām died during the year two hundred and six [A.D. 821/22]. The books which he composed are the following, mentioned according to the sequence recorded in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥasan, [called] Ibn al-Kūfī:

His Books about Treaties

Treaty of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Khuzā'ah;⁴³ Treaty of al-Fadhūl and Qissat al-Ghazāl; Treaty of Kalb and Tamīm; Light-Armed Raiders (Al-Mughīrāt); Treaty of the Conversion to Islām among the Quraysh.⁴⁴

⁴³ Ishāq al-Mawṣilī was the foremost court musician. In regard to the other names in this paragraph, al-Haytham and al-Kalbī were experts for anecdotes and tribal traditions, 'Allawīyah and Mukhāriq were popular singers, while Abū Nuwās and Abū al-'Atāhiyah were leading poets. They all lived at the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd and his immediate successors.

⁴⁴ See "Khuzā'a" (Khuzā'ah), *Enc. Islām*, II, 984.

⁴⁵ For submission of the Quraysh, see Ishāq, *Life of Ishāq*, p. 553.

His Books about Heroic Deeds, Aristocratic Families, Competitions for Nobility, and Girls Buried Alive⁴⁶

Contests for Nobility (Al-Munāfarāt); Aristocratic Families of the Quraysh; Virtues of Qays 'Aylān; Girls Buried Alive; Aristocratic Families of Rabī'ah; Surnames; The Sermon of 'Alī, for Whom May There Be Peace;⁴⁶ The Nobility of Qusayy ibn Kilāb and His Children during the Pre-Islāmic Period and Islām; Nicknames of the Quraysh; Nicknames of the Banū Tābikhah; Nicknames of the Qays 'Aylān; Nicknames of the Rabī'ah; Nicknames of the Yaman; Faults; Nawāfil, which comprises Nawāfil of the Quraysh;⁴⁷ Kinānah, Asad, Tamīm, Qays, Iyād, and Rabī'ah; Naming of Those of 'Ād, Thamūd, al-'Amālik (the Amelekites), Jurhum, and the Banū Isrā'īl (Children of Israel) among the Arabs Who Rendered Extra Favors;⁴⁸ The Story of al-Hijris and the Names of Its Tribes; also, Nawāfil of Qudā'ah and the Yaman.

Among the Books of Hishām [al-Kalbī]

Appeal of Ziyād to Mu'awiyah; Account of Ziyād ibn Abih; Crafts of the Quraysh; Disputes (Contests); Transmitting Stories (Conversations, Recounting of Tales); Reproaches; Insurrections; Kings of the Tribes;⁴⁹ Kings of Kindah; Aristocratic Families of the Yaman; The Tubba' Kings of the Yaman;⁵⁰ Divisions of the Offspring of Ma'add;⁵¹

⁴⁶ Flügel gives *al-mawūdāt* ("girls buried alive"), which seems correct, as the Arabs buried daughters alive when too many of them were born in one family. On the other hand, the word in the Beatty MS appears to be *al-mawridāt*, which means "ways to watering places."

⁴⁷ The translation follows Flügel, which gives *khutbah* ("sermon") or *khishbah* ("betrothal"). The word might also be *khayb* ("calamity"), which appears to be the form in the Beatty MS. Flügel gives the epithet "may Allāh honor his presence."

⁴⁸ For this and the tribes which follow, see *Enc. Islam*: "Quraysh" (Quraysh), II, 1122; "Kināna" (Kinānah), II, 1017; "Asad," I, 474; "Tamīm," IV, 643; "Qays-'Aylān" (Qays), II, 652; "Iyād," II, 565; "'Ād," I, 121; "Thamūd," IV, 736; "Djurhum" (Jurhum), I, 1066; "Qudā'a" (Qudā'ah), II, 1093. For Rabī'ah, see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 93, 280, 502 n. 1.

⁴⁹ This translation is taken from the Beatty MS; Flügel gives a different form.

⁵⁰ The Kings of the Tribes (*Mulūk al-Tawā'if*), when referring to Asia, as a rule signifies the tribal kings of Persia in Hellenistic times; see Glossary. Here the term may refer to tribal chiefs among the Arabs, such as those mentioned by Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 78-86.

⁵¹ See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 60, 85.

⁵² For the tribes mentioned in this title and the ones which follow, see "Ma'add," *Enc. Islam*, III, 58; "Nizār," III, 939; "Al-Azd," I, 529; "Djadis," III, 992, for Tasm and Jadis.

Scattering of the Offspring of Nizār; Scattering of al-Azd; Ṭasm and Jadīs; He Who Has Recited a Verse of Poetry and Been Nicknamed for It;⁵² The Women of the Quraysh Who Are Known.

His Books with Accounts of the Forefathers *ancient history*

Traditions of *Adam* and His Offspring; 'Ād, the Beginning and the End;⁵³ The Scattering of 'Ād; Companions of the Cave [Sūrah 18]; Ascension of 'Isā,⁵⁴ for Whom Be Peace; Elders⁵⁵ of the Children of Israel; The Forefathers (Ancients); Proverbs of Ḥimyar;⁵⁶ The Retribution (Life) of al-*Dahhāk*;⁵⁷ Language of the Birds; Ghazīyah;⁵⁸ Languages (Vernaculars) of the Qur'ān; Persons Who Have Lived to an Advanced Age; Idols; Arrows for Fortune Telling (Arrows for Gambling); Teeth of the Slaughtered Animal; Religions of the Arabs.

Judgments (Regimes) of the Arabs; Charges (Wills) of the Arabs; Swords; Horses; Things Buried; Stallions among the Horses of the Arabs; Court Companions; Wealth (Song); Diviners (Priests); Jinn; *Chosroes* Taking Arab Hostages (*Chosroes* Taking Arab Pledges); What the Pre-Islāmic Period Accomplished and Contributed to the Regime of Islām; Ibn 'Attāb Rabi' When He Was Asked about the Strange; 'Adī ibn Zayd al-'Ibādī; Al-Daws;⁵⁹ *Bayhas* and His Brothers; *Marwān* al-Qaraz.

His Books about How Islām Was Close to the Regime of the Pre-Islāmic Period

The Yaman and the Rule of *Sayf*;⁶⁰ The Deputations;⁶¹ Wives of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;⁶² Marriages of Arab Couples; *Zayd* ibn Ḥārithah, Beloved of the Prophet, May Allāh

⁵² The last two titles are omitted in the Beatty MS.

⁵³ See Qur'ān 7:65-72 and " 'Ad," *Enc. Islam*, I, 121.

⁵⁴ This evidently refers to Jesus. The Beatty MS does not include the pious phrase.

⁵⁵ As the form is unusual, this may not be correct.

⁵⁶ See "Ḥimyar," *Enc. Islam*, II, 310.

⁵⁷ Probably Ibn Qays.

⁵⁸ A tribal name; see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 177.

⁵⁹ For this tribal name see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 291.

⁶⁰ Almost certainly *Sayf* ibn Dhī Yazan, who freed the Yaman from Abyssinia, A.D. 575.

⁶¹ See Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 627.

⁶² The blessings for the Prophet here and two titles further are omitted in the Beatty MS.

Bless Him and Give Him Peace; The Naming of Whoever Spoke a Verse or Was Mentioned in One; The Adornment, about traditions of the poets; He Who among the Quraysh Gloried in His Maternal Uncles; He Who Migrated and His Father;⁶³ Accounts of the Jinn and Their Poems; The Introduction of *Jarīr* [the poet] to al-Ḥajjāj [the governor of al-'Irāq]; Account of 'Amr ibn Ma'dī Karīb.

His Books about the Historical Traditions of Islām

History; History of the Traditions of the Caliphs; Descriptions (Qualities) of the Caliphs; The Ones Who Pray.

His Books about the Historical Traditions of the Countries

^{K. Qudān ḥabīb}
The large book, The Countries; the small book, The Countries; The Naming of Whoever in al-Hijāz was from the Encampments of the Arabs; Division of the Two Lands; The Rivers; Al-Ḥīrah;⁶⁴ Manār of al-Yaman;⁶⁵ The Four Wonders; Arab Fairs; The Regions; Al-Ḥīrah and Naming of the Churches and Houses, and the Genealogy of the 'Ibād.⁶⁶

His Books with Traditions of the Poetry and Battles (Ayyām) of the Arabs

Listing of the Names of the Men and Women in the Poetry of *Imru'* al-Qays, with Their Genealogies and the Names of the Regions, Mountains, and Waters; Whoever Recited a Verse of Poetry after Which He Was Nicknamed;⁶⁷ Al-Mundhir, King of the Arabs; Dāḥis and al-Ghabrā';⁶⁸ The Battles of Fazārah and the Conflicts of the Banū Shaybān;⁶⁹ The Conflicts of al-Ḍabāb and Fazārah; The Battle of

⁶³ This evidently refers to a man who went from Makkah to al-Madīnah with the Prophet; perhaps it refers to the Prophet himself.

⁶⁴ Al-Ḥīrah was a Nestorian town east of Babylon in Byzantine times.

⁶⁵ Stones erected by King Abrahah to help his troops find their way. It was also a nickname of the king; see Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1496.

⁶⁶ The people of al-Ḥīrah were called the 'Ibād; Flügel gives 'Ibādīyīn. See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 82, 312; "Al-Ḥīrah," *Enc. Islam*, II, 314; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 375.

⁶⁷ Not in the Beatty MS.

⁶⁸ The stallion and mare of two chiefs who were responsible for a war; for the story, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 90; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVI, p. 24 l. 11.

⁶⁹ See "Fazārah," *Enc. Islam*, II, 93; Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 117, 155, 171, 210; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 345.

Sunnayq;⁷⁰ Al-Kilāb, Which Was [about] the Battle of Nashshāsh;⁷¹ The Battles of the Banū Ḥanīfah;⁷² The Battles of Qays ibn Tha'labah;⁷³ The Battles (Ayyām); *Musaylimah* the Imposter and *Sajāh*.⁷⁴

His Books about Traditions and Stories

The Four Youths; Storytelling (Evening Conversation); The Traditions (Legends); Short Poems (Pieced Garments); Ḥabīb the Perfumer;⁷⁵ Wonders of the Sea.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]:

Kitāb al-Nasab al-Kabīr (The Large Book of Genealogy) [by Ibn al-Kalbī] Contains the Genealogy Of:⁷⁶

[Tribe]	[Reference]
Muḍar	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 20
Kinānah ibn Khuzaymah	"Kināna," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 1017
Asad ibn Khuzaymah	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 110
Hudhayl ibn Mudrikah	"Hudhail," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 329
Banū Zayd Manāh ibn Tamīm	"Tamīm," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , IV, 644 middle
Taym al-Ribāb	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 111
'Ukl	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 113
'Adīy	Ishāq, <i>Life of Muhammad</i> , pp. 73, 228, 296
Thawr Aṭḥal	Yāqūt, <i>Geog.</i> , I, 306
Muzaynah Ḍabbah	"Ḍabba," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 884
Qays 'Aylān	"Kais-'Ailān," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 652
Ghaṭafān	"Ghaṭafān," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 144
Bāhilah	"Bāhila," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 576
Ghanīy	"Ghanī," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 140

⁷⁰ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 171.

⁷¹ For the tribal term al-Kilāb, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 13, 95. For the battle of Nashshāsh with the Banū Numayr, see Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XII, p. 38, and Part XV, p. 65 bottom. See also Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 783.

⁷² See Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 207, 209.

⁷³ See references in Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Tables alphabétiques, p. 559.

⁷⁴ Musaylimah was a false prophet who opposed the development of early Islām, and Sajāh was a soothsayer, whom he married.

⁷⁵ This was probably the character in a story rather than a real person.

⁷⁶ For convenience, the translator's references are given in a second column after the tribal names, rather than in footnotes. Additional references can be found with the notes of the Flügel edition.

[Tribe]	[Reference]
Sulaym	"Sulaim," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , IV, 518
'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah	"'Āmir," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 329
Murrah ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah	"'Āmir," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 329
Al-Ḥārith ibn Mu'āwiyah	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 239
Naṣr ibn Mu'āwiyah	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 177; Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 42
Sa'd ibn Bakr	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 177
Thaqif	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 183
Muhārib ibn Khaṣafah	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 41
Fahm	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 162
'Adwān	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 162
Rabī'ah ibn 'Āmir	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , pp. 178, 179; Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , pp. 42, 46
Iyād	"Iyād," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 565
'Akk	"'Akk," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 240
'Alī	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 285

Genealogy of al-Yaman:

Kindah	"Kinda," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 1018
Al-Sakūn	"Kinda," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 1019
Al-Sakāsik	"Kinda," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 1019
'Āmilah	"'Āmila," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 326
Judhām	"Djudhām," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 1058
Qādim	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 250
Khawlān	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 227
Ma'āfir ⁷⁷	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 227
Madhhij	"Madhhidj," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , III, 82
Ṭayyi' ibn Madhhij	"Ṭayy," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , IV, 623
Banū Madhhij ibn Ka'b	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 53
Musliyah	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 241
Ashja'	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , pp. 39, 40
Rāhā'	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 52; Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 242
Ṣudā'	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 52; Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 242
Janb	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 52; Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 242

⁷⁷ Written as Ma'āqir in the Beatty MS.

[Tribe]	[Reference]
Ḥakam ibn Sa'd al-'Ashirah	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 52; Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 242
Zubayd	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 245
Murād	"Murād," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , III, 726
'Ans	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 52
Al-Ash'ar	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 50
Udad	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 51
Hamdān	"Hamdān," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 246
Al-Azd	"Al-Azd," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 529
Al-Aws	"Al-Aws," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 523
Al-Khazraj	"Khazradj," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 938
Khuzā'ah	"Khuzā'a," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 984
Bāriq	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 54
Ghassān	"Ghassān," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 142
Bajilah	"Badjila," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 558
Khath'am	"Khath'am," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 924
Ḥimyar	"Ḥimyar," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 310
Quḍā'ah	"Qudā'a," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 1093
Balqayn	"Al-Kāin," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 644
Al-Namir ibn Wabarah	"Wabār," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , IV, 1073; Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , pp. 113, 240
Lahab	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 288
Sulaym	"Sulaim," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , IV, 518
Dim	[Clearly written in the Beatty MS, but not identified]
Baliy	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 51
Mahrah	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 51; "Mahra," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , III, 138
'Udhrah	"'Udhra," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , IV, 988
Salāmān	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 51
Ḍabbah ibn Sa'd	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , pp. 111, 117; "Ḍabba," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 884
Juhaynah	"Djuhaina," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 1060
Nahd ibn Zayd	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 320

What Was a Single (Unmixed) Genealogy [Contained] in the Large Genealogy⁷⁸

⁷⁸ In the Arabic text the words "Book (chapter), the genealogy of" come before the names of most of these tribes, but these extra words are omitted in the translation.

[Tribe]	[Reference]
Quraysh	"Quraysh," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 1122
Ma'add ibn 'Adnān	"Ma'add," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , III, 58
Descendants of al-'Abbās	Hitti, <i>Arabs</i> , pp. 289, 297
Abū Ṭālīb	Hitti, <i>Arabs</i> , p. 111
Banū 'Abd Shams ibn 'Abd Manāf	Hitti, <i>Arabs</i> , pp. 111, 189
Banū Nawfal ibn 'Abd Manāf	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 54
Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā ibn Quṣayy	"Asad," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 474; "Ḳusayy," II, 1158
Banū 'Abd al-Dār ibn Quṣayy	"Ḳusayy," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 1158
Banū Zuhrah ibn Kilāb	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 59
Banū Taym ibn Murrah	"Taim B. Murra," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , IV, 622
Banū 'Adīy ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ayy	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , pp. 16, 84; Qutaybah, <i>Mā'ārif</i> , p. 33
Sahm ibn ——— 'Amr ibn Huṣayṣ	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 73; Qutaybah, <i>Mā'ārif</i> , p. 33
Banū 'Āmīr ibn Lu'ayy	Qutaybah, <i>Mā'ārif</i> , p. 33
Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Fihrr	Mas'ūdī, IV, 121, 124
Banū Muḥārīb ibn Fihrr	Mas'ūdī, IV, 122 ⁷⁹

Other Books of His [Ibn al-Kalbī]

Children of the Caliphs; Female Ancestors (Mothers) of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;⁸⁰ Mothers of the Caliphs; Weeping (Al-'Awā'il);⁸¹ Naming of the Sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; A Compendium of Collecting, quoted by [Muḥammad] ibn Sa'd; Surnames of the Ancestors of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace.

Account of al-Wāqidi

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidi, a protégé of the Aslam family, which descended from Sahm ibn

⁷⁹ The Flügel edition inserts a title which is evidently out of place. It is "*The First Kilāb and Second Kilāb*, which were two battles (*ayyām*) among the battles of the Arabs." See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XI, p. 63, and Part XII, p. 153.

⁸⁰ The Beatty MS lacks this pious phrase, and also that following "the Prophet" in the last title of this list.

⁸¹ This title may also be *Al-Ghawā'il* ("Misfortunes"). Flügel has a variation, *Al-'Awāqil* ("The Intelligent").

Aslam.⁸² He was a Shī'ī, his way of belief being good, demanding piety.⁸³

It was he who quoted that 'Alī, for whom be peace, was one of the miracles of the Prophet, may Allāh grant him peace, as the rod was to Mūsā (Moses) and the raising of the dead to 'Isā (Jesus). [He also quoted] other historical traditions.⁸⁴

He was an inhabitant of al-Madīnah, who moved to Baghdād, where he served [the Caliph] al-Rashīd⁸⁵ as judge of the 'Askar al-Mahdī Quarter.⁸⁶ He was learned in connection with the wars and the biography [of the Prophet], the invasions, the contradictory ideas of scholars about the Ḥadīth, as well as for the law, judgments, and historical traditions.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: I have read the following in an ancient handwriting:⁸⁷ "After his death Al-Wāqidi left behind six hundred cases of books, each case a load for two men. He had two young men slaves, who wrote for him day and night. Previously there had been sold to him books costing two thousand gold coins (s., *dīnār*)."

His secretary, Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, said:

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Wāqidi told me that he was born during the year one hundred and thirty [A.D. 747/48]. He died Monday evening, the eleventh of Dhū al-Hijjah [the last Muslim month], during the year two hundred and seven [A.D. 822/23] when he was seventy-eight years old. He was buried in the Cemetery of al-Khayzurān; Muḥammad ibn Samā'ah prayed for him.⁸⁸

⁸² For this tribal name, see Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, p. 1567; Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 512.

⁸³ Cf. "al-Wāqidi," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1105, for the final statement about the Shī'ī belief of this author.

⁸⁴ This paragraph follows the Beatty MS, which varies from the Flügel text.

⁸⁵ Flügel gives al-Ma'mūn.

⁸⁶ This quarter is better known as al-Ruṣāfah. It is in the northeast part of Baghdād, where between A.D. 770 and 775 the Caliph al-Manṣūr built a palace for his son, al-Mahdī. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 293; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 42, 189.

⁸⁷ *Bi-khatt 'aṭīq* is the phrase given in Arabic. It probably means "an ancient handwriting," although it might refer to the handwriting of a man named 'Aṭīq, such as the contemporary of al-Nadīm, 'Aṭīq ibn Khalaf. See Ziriklī, Part IV, p. 362.

⁸⁸ Muḥammad ibn Samā'ah offered the principal prayer at the funeral. The cemetery was on the East Bank of the Tigris, north of the Ruṣāfah Quarter of Baghdād; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 191, 226.

Among his books there were:⁸⁹

History, Raids, and Deputations; Historical Traditions of Makkah; The Generations [of Islām];⁹⁰ The Invasion of Syria; The Invasion of al-ʿIrāq; [The Battle of] the Camel; The Slaying of al-Ḥusayn;⁹¹ The Biography [of the Prophet]; Marriage of the Prophet, for Whom Be Peace; Repulsion and al-Dār;⁹² The War of Aws and Khazraz;⁹³ [The Battle of] Şiffin; The Incident of the Abyssinians and the Elephant;⁹⁴ The Death of the Prophet, for Whom Be Peace; The Marriages; Al-Saqifah⁹⁵ and the Acknowledgment (Baʿah) of Abū Bakr; Mention of the Call to Prayer.⁹⁶

The Life and Death of Abū Bakr; The Claims of the Quraysh and the Anṣār to the Land Tax Collection, the Establishment by ʿUmar of the Registers and Classification of the Tribes, with Their Ranks and Genealogies; The Desired, concerning a knowledge of the raids [wars of early Islām]⁹⁷ and the errors of men; The Birth of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn and the Slaying of al-Ḥusayn, for Whom Be Peace; Minting Gold Coins (s., Dīnār) and Silver Coins (s., Dirham); History of the Legal Authorities; Al-Ādāb (Literary Pursuits); the large book of history; Errors of the Ḥadīth; The Sunnah, the Jamāʿah, the Evil of Passion, and Refraining from Rebellion.⁹⁸

Disagreements. It dealt with the disagreements of the people of al-Madīnah and al-Kūfah about the right of preemption of adjoining property, payments of alms and gifts, assignment of one's house for one's

⁸⁹ For publications of the most famous works of al-Wāqidi, see the Bibliography.

⁹⁰ The first generation was that of the Companions of the Prophet, the second that of their children, and so on.

⁹¹ Flügel gives "Al-Ḥasan, for whom may there be peace."

⁹² Al-Dār refers to the house of the Caliph ʿUthmān, where the struggle took place in A.D. 656 in which ʿUthmān was killed; see Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, p. 37; "ʿOthmān b. ʿAffān," *Enc. Islam*, III, 1010.

⁹³ A tribal war in the early seventh century. See "al-Aws," *Enc. Islam*, I, 523; Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 33.

⁹⁴ The battle when the Abyssinians with their elephant were defeated south of Makkah, A.D. 571; see Qurʾān 105:1.

⁹⁵ This was the sun shelter of the Banū Sāʿidah at al-Madīnah where Abū Bakr was chosen to be the first caliph; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 104.

⁹⁶ Flügel gives "the Qurʾān," whereas the Beatty MS has *al-adhān* ("the call to prayer").

⁹⁷ Flügel gives "the Qurʾān" here also, but the Beatty MS has *al-maghāzī* ("raids").

⁹⁸ The sunnah comprises the sayings and precedents of the Prophet, the *jamāʿah* refers to the loyal Muslim community.

lifetime, transfer of one's property to a recipient for his lifetime, trusts, lending, merchandise, split-profit investment, appropriation of property with consent of the owner, partnership,⁹⁹ penalties and witnessings, according to the method of legal books still extant.

Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, Secretary of al-Wāqidi

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, one of the associates of al-Wāqidi, whom he quoted. He composed his books from the writings of al-Wāqidi. He was reliable, trustworthy, and learned in connection with the historical traditions about the Companions of the Prophet and their successors. He died during the year two hundred and thirty [A.D. 844/45]. Among his books there were:

Historical Traditions of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;¹⁰⁰ the large book, *Al-Ṭabaqāt* (Generations, Groups), which included historical traditions about the Prophet and the generation of the Companions who were inhabitants of al-Madinah, the generation of the inhabitants of Makkah and, after that, the generations of al-Ṭā'if, al-Yaman, al-Yamāmah, al-Baḥrayn, al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, al-Shām, al-Jazīrah, Miṣr (Egypt), al-Andalus (Muslim Spain), Wāsiṭ, al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon-Seleucia), Baghdād, Khurāsān, al-Rayy, Hamadhān, Qūm, al-Anbār, and the generations of the women. [Muḥammad] ibn Sa'd compiled this book from the books of al-Wāqidi, al-Kalbī, al-Haytham ibn 'Adī, and al-Madā'inī.

He also had some other books:

The small book, *Generations; Horses*.

Among the Associates (Pupils) of al-Wāqidi There Was Also *Ismā'il* ibn Majma'¹⁰¹

He died during the year two hundred and twenty-seven [A.D. 841/42]. Among his books there was *Historical Traditions of the Prophet, His Raids (Wars) and Military Units*.

Account of al-Haytham ibn 'Adī

He was Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Haytham ibn 'Adī al-Thu'li, an authority for poetry, historical traditions, faults, virtues, heroic

⁹⁹ Flügel gives "stealing" instead of "partnership." It is difficult to translate these ancient legal terms into modern English.

¹⁰⁰ This title is in Flügel but not the Beatty MS, while the compilations which follow are in the Beatty MS but not the Flügel text.

¹⁰¹ This paragraph is omitted in the Flügel text.

deeds, and genealogy. He was accused of not having distinguished lineage. He recited [a poem] to *Di'bil*, satirizing [*Aḥmad*] Ibn Abī Duwād, al-Haytham feigning defeat with the [following] satire:

I questioned my father, for my father was acquainted.
 With traditions of the settled regions and the desert wastes,
 I said to him, "Is Haytham from 'Adī?"
 He answered "As truly as *Aḥmad* is Ibn Abī Duwād,"
 If Haytham is of those whose lineage is pure,
 Then *Aḥmad* is undoubtedly from *Iyād*.
 But when *Iyād* was presiding over the people,
 The deity was angered against mankind.¹⁰²

He died at Fam al-Šilḥ during the year two hundred and seven [A.D. 822/23] at the home of al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl.¹⁰³ Among his compiled books there were:

Faults; Those Who Have Lived to an Advanced Age; The Aristocratic Families of Quraysh; The Government (State); The Aristocratic Families of the Arabs; The Fall of *Adam*, the Dispersion of the Arabs, Their Encampments and Settlements; Encampments of the Arabs in al-Sawād and Khurāsān; Genealogy of Ṭayy;¹⁰⁴ Confederacy (Covenant) of Kalb and Tamīm, Confederacy of Dhuhl, Confederacy of Ṭayy and Asad; the small book, Faults; the large book, Faults; Faults of Rabī'ah; Historical Traditions of Ṭayy, Its Settling the Two Mountains, and the Confederacy (Covenant) of Dhuhl and Thu'al;¹⁰⁵ Praise of the People

¹⁰² Al-Haytham was a scholar, *Aḥmad* ibn Abī Duwād was a judge, and *Di'bil* was a poet. The translation is taken from the Beatty MS, which is clearer than Flügel. In this little poem, al-Haytham apparently defends his own aristocratic lineage and makes fun of the judge, whose ancestral tribe of *Iyād* suffered disgrace. This tribe at one time presided over the shrine at Makkah, but it was forced to migrate to al-'Irāq, where it was defeated and driven into Syria, losing its importance. See "Iyād," *Enc. Islam*, II, 565.

¹⁰³ Fam al-Šilḥ was at the mouth of the Šilḥ River, where the vizier al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl had a house in which al-Haytham died. The Caliph al-Ma'mūn also had a palace there; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, pp. 413, 917. There are marginal notes in the Beatty MS, but they are illegible and not part of the original text.

¹⁰⁴ For the tribes, see *Enc. Islam*: "Ṭayy," IV, 623; "Kalb b. Wabara," II, 688; "Tamīm," IV, 643; "Asad," I, 474. See also Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 280 for Rabī'ah; Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 114, 117, for Dhuhl; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 51, for Thu'al.

¹⁰⁵ The two mountains are Ajā and Salmā south of Ḥā'il. See "Ṭayy," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 623; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 125.

of al-Shām;¹⁰⁶ History of Persia and the Banū Umayyah; Banquets of the People of al-Shām.

The Nomads; Account of *Ziyād* ibn Umayyah; Which of the Protégés Married Arabs; Al-Shabāb (Youth, Youths);¹⁰⁷ The Compendium (The Mosque); The Deputations; The Names of the Prostitutes of the Quraysh during the Pre-Islāmic Period and the Names of Those to Whom They Gave Birth; The Land Allotments of al-Kūfah; The Governors of al-Kūfah; The Women; Al-Nukd (Scantiness, An Ill-Tempered Man); Superiority of the People of al-Kūfah over Those of al-Baṣrah; the large book, History of the Nobility; the small book, History of the Nobility; Generations (Categories) of Authorities for the Law and the Ḥadīth; Nobility; Seals (Signet Rings) of the Caliphs; Ashrāf al-Kuttāb [noblemen who were government secretaries];¹⁰⁸ Guards (Guarding) of the Caliphs.

Bodyguards of the Caliphs; Judges of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah; Officers of the Bodyguards of the Governors of al-ʿIrāq; Meeting Places [for pilgrims, fairs, and so on]; The Governors (Umarāʾ) of Khurāsān and al-Yaman;¹⁰⁹ History of the Caliphs; Land Tax (Al-Kharāj);¹¹⁰ Summer Campaigns; Al-Khawārij; Rare Forms; Who among the Companions Quoted the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;¹¹¹ Naming of the Authorities for the Law and the Ḥadīth; History According to Years; Record of Jewels; Traditions of al-Ḥasan, for Whom Be Peace,¹¹² and His Death; One Who Converses at Night (Al-Samīr) (or Invocation [Al-Samiz]); Historical Traditions of Persia; Affairs (Sermons) of the Two Cities, Makkah and al-Madīnah; Miscellaneous Poems of the Arabs; Al-Muḥabbar;¹¹³ The Place of Death of Khālīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Qasrī, of al-Walīd ibn Yazīd, and of Khalaf ibn ʿAbd Allāh.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁶ These last three titles in the list are omitted in the Beatty MS.

¹⁰⁷ The title may be *Invective* ("Al-Sibāb"). Flügel gives what might be *The Arrow* ("Al-Nushshāb") or *The Archer* ("Al-Nashshāb").

¹⁰⁸ This title and the one following are not in the Flügel text.

¹⁰⁹ This title and the two which follow are not in the Flügel text.

¹¹⁰ This might also be *Al-Jarrāḥ* ("Surgeon") or *Al-Khurāj* ("Abscess"), but these medical terms are unlikely.

¹¹¹ The Beatty MS lacks this pious phrase.

¹¹² This title shows slight variations between the Beatty MS and the Flügel edition, as do several others which follow.

¹¹³ This was probably al-Muḥabbar ibn Iyās ibn Marhūb, a noble of Khurāsān during the early Islāmic period, but the consonants given in the Beatty MS might also be used to form numerous common words.

¹¹⁴ Khālīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh was killed at al-Ḥirah, and the Caliph al-Walīd died at Bakhrāʾ south of Palmyra, but the place of Khalaf's death has not been identified.

Among Those Who Learned from al-*Haytham* and Composed Books
 Abū 'Umar al-'Umārī,¹¹⁵ whose name was Ḥafṣ ibn 'Umar, and
 among whose books there were:

Adulterers among the Noblemen¹¹⁶ and Mention of the Arab Youths
 and What Occurred between the Two Groups, and Mention Also of the
 Illegitimate (Adopted) Sons of the Pre-Islāmic Period; Women, written
 in the handwriting of al-Sukkārī.

Account of Abū al-Bakhtārī the Judge

He was Abū al-Bakhtārī Wahb ibn Wahb ibn Kathīr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Zama'ah ibn al-Aswad ibn Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā ibn Quṣayy. It is said that Ja'far ibn Muḥammad [al-Ṣādiq], for whom may there be peace, was married to his mother, who was one of the inhabitants of al-Madīnah.

He was a legal authority, historian, and genealogist. Hārūn [al-Rashīd] appointed him as judge of the 'Askar al-Mahdī [Quarter of Baghdād].¹¹⁷ Later he removed him, making him the governor of the city of the Apostle, for whom be peace [al-Madīnah], succeeding Bakkār ibn 'Abd Allāh, and assigning to him the finances in addition to the judiciary. Then he was removed and came to Baghdād, where he died. He was weak in his knowledge of the Ḥadīth. Among his books there were:

Standards (Flags); Ṭasm and Jadīs;¹¹⁸ Description of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;¹¹⁹ Virtues of the Anṣār;¹²⁰ the large book, Virtues, including all of the virtues; Genealogy of

¹¹⁵ Flügel gives al-'Anbarī, which is an error. The Beatty MS has a correction on the margin.

¹¹⁶ This perhaps means adulterers who were Pre-Islāmic noblemen or chiefs. The word "adulterers" (*al-zunāh*) might be "affluence" (*al-raḥāh*).

¹¹⁷ This quarter is better known as al-Ruṣāfah; see n. 86. In the following sentence, the phrase "for whom be peace" is not in the Beatty MS.

¹¹⁸ Legendary tribes of Arabia. See "Ṭasm," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 691.

¹¹⁹ The pious clause and the similar phrase after Abraham are not in the Beatty MS.

¹²⁰ The Anṣār were citizens of al-Madīnah who gave their support to the Prophet.

Ismā'il ibn Ibrāhīm (Ishmael Son of Abraham), for Whom Be Peace, which includes a section with traditions and stories.

Account of al-Madā'ini

Al-Ḥārith ibn Abī Usāmah related, saying, "Al-Madā'ini was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Sayf al-Madā'ini, a protégé of Samurah ibn Jundhab, or some say of Samurah ibn Ḥabīb ibn 'Abd Shams ibn 'Abd Manaf."¹²¹ According to what Muḥammad ibn Yahyā quoted from al-Ḥusayn ibn Fahm as coming from him [al-Madā'ini], he said, "I was born during the year one hundred and thirty-five [A.D. 752/53]." He died during the year two hundred and fifteen [A.D. 830/31].

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū Bakr ibn al-Ikhshid: "Al-Madā'ini was a theologian, one of the young men of Mu'ammār ibn al-Ash'ath." He also said, "Ḥafṣ al-Fard, Mu'ammār, Abū Shīmr, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'ini, Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm, Abū 'Āmir, and 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Rūḥ—these six were apprentices (*ghilmān*) of Mu'ammār ibn al-Ash'ath."

It has been said, and I have also read it written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī, that al-Madā'ini died during the year two hundred and twenty-five [A.D. 839/40], when he was ninety-three years old, at the house of Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣili, to whom he was attached. His books as I recall them, according to what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Kūfī, were as follows:

His Books about the Historical Traditions of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him

Women Ancestors (Mothers) of the Prophet;¹²² Description (Quality)

¹²¹ For these tribal names as given in the Beatty MS, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 50, 172.

¹²² After this title and in other places where the Prophet is mentioned, the Flügel text adds the term *ṣal'am*, an abbreviation for the phrase "May Allāh bless him and give him peace."

of the Prophet; Historical Traditions of the Hypocrites;¹²³ Treaties of the Prophet; Naming of the Hypocrites about Whom There Was a Revelation in the Qur'ān, and Others besides Them; Naming of Those Who Molested the Prophet and Also Naming of the Mockers, Who Called the Qur'ān Falsehoods;¹²⁴ Emissaries (Missives) of the Prophet, for Whom Be Peace; Letters of the Prophet to the Kings;¹²⁵ Verses of the Prophet, for Whom Be Peace; Land Allotments of the Prophet; Invasions of the Prophet, for Whom Be Peace; Peace of the Prophet;¹²⁶ Sermons of the Prophet;¹²⁷ Other Treaties of the Prophet; The Raids [wars of early Islām]—Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Kūfī asserted that he had a copy on eight pieces of parchment, written in the handwriting of 'Abbās al-Yābis.¹²⁸ He also stated that below this text there was another in two sections, composed by Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥārith al-Khazzāz.

Military Units of the Prophet; The Deputations, which included the deputations (envoys) of the Yamān, the deputations of Muḍar, and the deputations of Rabī'ah; Invocation of the Prophet; News (Awareness) of the Untrue; Wives of the Prophet; The Military Units; The Prophet's Agents for Alms; What the Prophet Forbade; The Pilgrimage (Ḥajjah) of Abū Bakr;¹²⁹ Sermons of the Prophet; Historical Traditions of the Prophet; The Seal and the Missives; Those for Whom the Prophet Wrote Letters and Safe Conducts (Trusts); The Properties of the Prophet, His Scribes, and Who among the Arabs Refused Alms from Him.

Accounts (Traditions) of the Quraysh

Genealogy and Historical Traditions of the Quraysh; Al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; Account of Abū Ṭālib and His Sons; Sermons of 'Alī, for Whom May There Be Peace; 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās; 'Alī

¹²³ The word translated as "hypocrites" is *al-munāfiqīn*, which means persons who pretended to side with the Prophet, but plotted against him. See Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 247-70.

¹²⁴ For *yū'dhūn* ("molest"), see Qur'ān 9:61 and 33:57. For *'iḍm* ("falsehoods"), see Qur'ān 15:91, and for *mustahzi'ūn* ("mockers"), see Qur'ān 2:14.

¹²⁵ See Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 652.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 504.

¹²⁷ Instead of "sermons," this word may be "business" or "calamity."

¹²⁸ The Beatty MS gives this name; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 312 has Ibn 'Abbās al-Yābis, and the Flügel text a different name, which is almost certainly incorrect.

¹²⁹ This might be *Hujjat Abū Bakr*, referring to his claim or title to become the caliph. *The Sermons of the Prophet* has already been given once above. The title which follows it is not included in the Flügel text.

ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās; The Family of Abū al-'Āṣ; The Family of Abū al-'Īṣ; Information about al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-'Āṣ; 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Samurāh; Ibn Abī 'Atīq; 'Amr ibn al-Zubayr; The Virtues of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah; The Virtues of Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib; The Virtues of al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; The Virtues of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far; Mu'āwīyah ibn 'Abd Allāh; 'Abd Allāh ibn Mu'āwīyah; The Affair of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās; Al-'Āṣ ibn Umayyah; 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Kurayz; Bishr ibn Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam; 'Umar ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ma'mar; Satire of Ḥassān¹³⁰ about the Quraysh; Virtues of the Quraysh; 'Amr ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ; Yahyā ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith; The Names of the Members of the Family of Abū Ṭālib Who Were Killed; Account of Ziyād ibn Abīh; Marriages of Ziyād and His Sons and Adopted Sons;¹³¹ Replies—it includes replies of the Quraysh, replies of Muḍar, replies of Rabī'ah, replies of the protégés, and replies of al-Yaman.¹³²

His [al-Madā'ini's] Books containing Traditions concerning the Marriages of the Nobility and Traditions concerning Women

The Dowry; Banquets; Marriages; Married Women and Refractory Wives;¹³³ Uncircumcised Girls (Al-Mu'barāt); Dressers of Brides;¹³⁴ Those Riding behind [Their Husbands] (Al-Mutaradifāt) among the Quraysh; He Who Has Intercourse with Two Sisters, He Who Marries His Wife's Daughter, He Who Weds More than Four, He Who Marries a Magian (Zoroastrian); He Who Abhorred His Marriage; She Whose Husband Finishes with Her; She Who Was Prohibited from Marrying a Man, but Married Him; Who among the Nobles Married in the Kalb Tribe.

She Whom Her Husband Ridiculed (Lampooned); She Who Accused Her Husband and He Accused Her; Contradictions (Oppositions) of the Poets and Traditions about Women; Who among the Quraysh Married [Women of the] Thaḡif Tribe; The Fāṭimahs; He Who Described a

¹³⁰ Probably the poet, Ḥassān ibn Thābit.

¹³¹ "Adopted sons" very likely refers to the sons of concubines.

¹³² For Muḍar, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 20; for Rabī'ah, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 93; for both tribes, see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 280, 302 n. 1.

¹³³ The Beatty MS omits "and refractory wives."

¹³⁴ The Beatty MS has *Dressers of Brides* ("Al-Muḡayyinat") whereas Flügel gives *Singing Girls* ("Al-Muḡhanniyāt"). Other titles differ in the various versions; the translation follows the Beatty MS.

Woman and Flattered Her; Women of the Kalb Tribe; Women Colored by Cosmetics;¹³⁵ The Marriages of al-Farazdaq; The Virgin (First-Born); Which of the Women of the Caliphs Married.

His Books about Historical Traditions of the Caliphs

Naming of the Caliphs, Their Surnames,¹³⁶ and Their Lives; History of the Lives of the Caliphs; History of the Caliphs; Adornment (Distinguishing Attributes) of the Caliphs; the large book, Historical Traditions of the Caliphs, which included accounts of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī,¹³⁷ Mu'āwiyah, Yazīd, Mu'āwiyah [II], Ibn al-Zubayr, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, 'Abd al-Malik [ibn Marwān], al-Walīd, Sulaymān, 'Umar [II], Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik, Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, al-Walīd [II] ibn Yazīd, Yazīd ibn al-Walīd, Marwān [II], al-Saffāḥ, al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī, al-Ḥādī, al-Rashīd, al-Amīn, with his civil war, al-Ma'mūn, al-Mu'taṣim;¹³⁸ Traditions of al-Saffāḥ; Training of the Sultan.

His Books about Historical Events

The Slaying of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, with Whom May Allāh Be Well Pleased;¹³⁹ The Apostasy; The Camel; The Raids; Al-Naharwān; Al-Khawārij; Ḍābī' ibn al-Ḥārith al-Burjūmī; Tawbah ibn Muḍarras; Banū Nājīyah, al-Mudabbār ibn Rāshid, and Maṣqalah ibn Hubayrah;¹⁴⁰ abridgment of "Al-Khawārij"; The Sermons of 'Alī and His Letters to His Governors; 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amir al-Ḥaḍramī; Ismā'il ibn Habbār.

'Amr ibn al-Zubayr; Marj Rāhī;¹⁴¹ Al-Rabadhah and the Slaying of Khunays; Account of al-Ḥajjāj and His Death; 'Abbād ibn al-Ḥusayn;

¹³⁵ Flügel suggests *The Ancients* ("Al-'Awā'il"), but questions this interpretation, so that the Beatty MS is probably correct in giving *Women Colored by Cosmetics* ("Al-'Awātik").

¹³⁶ The Beatty MS has *al-kuttāb* ("secretaries") instead of surnames.

¹³⁷ The Flügel version adds, "may there be peace for them."

¹³⁸ See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 139, 193, 279, 297, for lists and dates for these names.

¹³⁹ This title is omitted in the Beatty MS.

¹⁴⁰ Al-Mudabbār ibn Rāshid is not clear enough in the different versions to be included in the Biog. Index. For this book, see Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, p. 105.

¹⁴¹ A battle near Damascus A.D. 634; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 150. In the title which follows, the Beatty MS gives Khunays, probably the Companion of the Prophet killed in the Battle of Badr. The name al-Rabadhah is probably the place of that name near al-Madīnah (see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 748 bottom, 749), but there were other famous men named Khunays and at least one other Rabadhah on the way to al-Kūfah,

Ḥarrat Wāqīm;¹⁴² Ibn al-Jārūd at Rūstuqbādh (Rūштуqbādh); The Slaying of 'Amr ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ; Ziyād ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ashrāf ibn al-'Atkī; The Dissention and Slaying of 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Azdī; *Salm* ibn Qutaybah and Rūḥ ibn Ḥātīm; *Āl-Musawwar* ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abbād al-Ḥabṭī and 'Amr ibn Sahl; The Slaying of Yazīd ibn 'Umar ibn *Hubayrah*; Battle (Yawm) of Sanbīl.¹⁴³

His Books about the Invasions

The Invasion of al-Shām,¹⁴⁴ [during] the Time (Ayyām) of Abū Bakr;

First Record of al-Shām, Marj al-Ṣuffār, The time of Abū Bakr, Account of Buṣrā, Account of al-Wāqūṣah, Account of Dimashq (Damascus). The Time of 'Umar: Account of Fiḥl, Ḥims (Homs), al-Yarmūk, Iliyā' (Jerusalem), Qaysariyah (Caesarea), 'Asqalān, Ghazzah (Gaza), and Qubrus (Cyprus).

'Amr ibn Sa'd al-Ansārī. The Invasion of al-'Irāq,¹⁴⁵ The Death of Abū Bakr, Account of al-Jisr, Account of *Mihrān* and His Being Killed, The Battle (Yawm) of al-Nukhaylah, Account of al-Qādisiyyah, al-Madā'in, Jalūlā', Nihāwand. Account of al-Baṣrah and Its Invasion including: Dastumīsān, The Rule of al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah, The Rule of Abū Mūsā, Account of al-Ahwāz, Account of Manādhir, Account of Nahr Tīrā, Account of al-Sūs (Susa, Shushan), Account of Tustar (Shushtar), Account of al-Qalā'ah, Account of al-Hurmuzān, Account of *Ḍabbah* ibn Miḥṣin, Account of Jundī Sābūr (Shāpūr), Account of Ṣahratāj,

¹⁴² A street in al-Madīnah where fighting occurred A.D. 682-83; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 252.

¹⁴³ An encounter in a village of Khuzistān. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 157; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, p. 818; Part III, p. 2203.

¹⁴⁴ Al-Shām seems to refer to Syria, rather than Damascus. In the same paragraph, Marj al-Ṣuffār is a plain 20 miles south of Damascus, and Buṣrā Eskī Shām is still further south. Al-Wāqūṣah is the valley where the defeated soldiers who fled from the Yarmūk, the decisive battle against the Byzantines, were overtaken. The Beatty MS gives al-Bāqūṣah, which is evidently a mistake; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 893. Fiḥl (Pella) was in Jordan. Al-Yarmūk is the battle referred to above. Iliyā' is Aelia Capitolina, the name given to Jerusalem by Hadrian. For accounts of the conquest of Palestine and Syria in English, see Hitti, *Arabs*, Chap. XII, and Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 165-265.

¹⁴⁵ The names which are not indicated by italics as those of men are the names of places where engagements took place during the Muslim invasions. These names can be found in Yāqūt, *Geog.* For the history, see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 157-59; Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 403-20, 469-93.

Qaryat al-'Abdā,¹⁴⁶ Account of Surraq, Account of Mihrijānqadhaq,¹⁴⁷ Account of Māsabadhān, Account of Qalā'at Surraq, Account of Rām-hurmuz, Account of al-Bustān.¹⁴⁸ Al-Asāwirah.¹⁴⁹

The Invasion of Khurāsān. It includes the governorships of al-*Junayd* ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān and *Rāfi* ibn al-Layth ibn Naṣr ibn Sayyār and the conflict of reports about *Qutaybah* [ibn Muslim] in Khurāsān.

Rare Anecdotes about Qutaybah ibn Muslim in Khurāsān; The Administration¹⁵⁰ of *Asad* ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī; The Governorship of *Naṣr* ibn Sayyār; The Government; Breaking into India; The Governors of India; The Invasion of Sijistān; Fāris; The Invasion of al-Uballah;¹⁵¹ Account of Armenia; Karmān; The Invasion of Kābul and Zabulistān;¹⁵² The Castles and the Kurds; 'Ammān (or 'Umān); The Invasion of the Mountains of Ṭabaristān; Ṭabaristān during the Days of al-*Rashīd*; The Invasion of Egypt; Al-Rayy and the Affair of al-'*Alawī*.

Account of al-*Ḥasan* ibn Zayd, How He Was Praised in Poetry, and His Agents; The Invasion of al-Jazīrah;¹⁵³ The Invasion of al-Bāmar; The Invasion of al-Ahwāz; The Invasion of al-Shām;¹⁵⁴ The Affair of al-Baḥrayn; The Invasion of Shahrak;¹⁵⁵ The Invasion of Barqah; The Invasion of Makrān; The Invasion of al-Ḥirah; The Negotiation with (Consultation of) Nubia;¹⁵⁶ Account of *Sāriyah* ibn Zunaym; The Invasion of al-Rayy; The Invasion of Jurjān and Ṭabaristān.

¹⁴⁶ As this name cannot be identified, it may be meant for Qaryat 'Abd Allāh near Wāsiṭ; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 85.

¹⁴⁷ It may be more correct to spell this place-name without the second *i*. For this location, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 745 l. 8.

¹⁴⁸ Flügel suggests al-Bustān, whereas the Beatty MS has al-Shīyān. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 611; III, 345.

¹⁴⁹ These were Persian horsemen who accepted Islām. The best-known group connected with al-Baṣrah, but there were others from Daylam. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 441. Flügel gives this title incorrectly.

¹⁵⁰ The word in Arabic is usually translated "governorship" but, although his brother Khālīd served as governor, it is not certain that he himself served in that capacity.

¹⁵¹ A town near al-Baṣrah; see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 154 map, 468.

¹⁵² For Zabulistān, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 31 l. 9, and Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 116. The Beatty MS gives this name clearly.

¹⁵³ Al-Jazīrah was probably northern 'Irāq. In the next title, Flügel omits this name and it is not written clearly in the Beatty MS, and so it is impossible to identify. Perhaps it is meant to be al-Bāmqaṛā in al-Jazīrah; see Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 149 l. 9.

¹⁵⁴ Omitted by the Beatty MS.

¹⁵⁵ A place near Iṣṭakhr invaded A.D. 643; see Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, p. 2697.

¹⁵⁶ Instead of Nubia, the word may be *al-naubah*, a "crowd or circle of men."

His Books about Historical Traditions of the Arabs

Aristocratic Families; The Animals;¹⁵⁷ Nobles of the 'Abd al-Qays Tribe;¹⁵⁸ Historical Traditions of al-Thaqif; He Who Was Named for His Mother; He among the Arabs Who Was Called by His Father's Name; Horses and Betting on Races; Building of the Ka'bah; The Defense of al-Madinah, Its Mountains and Valleys.

His Books with Historical Traditions of the Poets and Others besides Them

Historical Traditions (Account) of the Poets; Which One of the Poets Was Named for His Mother; The Great Tribes; The Chiefs (Elders); Litigants; Who Suspended Hostilities or Raided; Who among the Arabs Borrowed from an Anthology, but Regretted It and Recited [His Own] Poetry; Makers of Similes (Word Pictures); He Who Described His Illness with Poetic Simile (He Who in His Sickness Illustrated with Poetry); Verses Which Had a Word as Reply (Verses Which Had in Reply Speech); Al-Najāshī;¹⁵⁹ He Who Stood at a Tomb and Made a Simile with Poetry; He Who Learned of the Death of a Man and Illustrated It with Poetry of Speech; Who among the Women Resembled Men; He Who Preferred Nomadic Ways of Speaking to Those of the Townsmen.

Those Who Recited Poetry Extemporaneously; Those Who Recited Poetry about Calamities (Those Who Recited Poetry about Timorous Beasts); Seeking Aid against the Poets; He Who Recited Poetry and Was Named for It; Who among the Poets Spoke in the Government; Preference of the Poets, One over the Other; Who Repented for (Regretted) Praise and Who Repented for (Regretted) Satire; Who Recited Poetry and Was Answered by Speech; Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī; Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān; The Lampooning of 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ḥassān by al-Najāshī [Qays ibn 'Amr]; The Poem of Khālīd ibn Yazīd about Kings and Events; Account of al-Farazdaq; Poem of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ishāq ibn al-Faḍl ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān; Report of 'Imrān ibn Ḥittān al-Khārījī;¹⁶⁰ Calamity.

¹⁵⁷ The Beatty MS has a word which seems to be *al-hayawān* ("animals"), although Flügel gives *al-hirān* ("obstinate").

¹⁵⁸ For the tribes, see "'Abd al-Qays," *Enc. Islam*, I, 45; "Thaqif," IV, 734.

¹⁵⁹ This probably refers to the poet Qays ibn 'Amr, rather than to the Emperor of Ethiopia, whose title was al-Najāshī.

¹⁶⁰ The word "al-Khārījī" and the two titles which follow are omitted by the Beatty MS.

Among His Composed Books

The Ancients; The Enslaved (Those Conquered by Love); Condoling; Competitions for Honor; Blaming One Who Is Absent (The Meal);¹⁶¹ The Travelers; Tracking, Divination by Flight of Birds, Augury; Who among the Nobles Was of Unsound Mind;¹⁶² Al-Marwah (Abundantly Watered) [also, the name of a mountain at Makkah]; Fools; Foolish (Al-Ṭaraṭūn); The Jewels; Singers (Al-Mughanniyūn) (or Muftīs [al-Muftiyūn]); The Poisoned (Al-Masmūmūn); He Used to Say; The Reproach of Envy; He Who Endows a Tomb (He Who Is Acquainted with a Tomb); The Horses (The Generation); He Whose Case Is Granted; Judges of the People of al-Madīnah; Judges of the People of al-Baṣrah.

Account of *Raqabah* ibn Maṣqalah; Heroic Deeds of the Arabs and Persians (Foreigners); Heroic Deeds of the People of al-Baṣrah and the People of al-Kūfah; Minting Money and Exchange; Account of *Iyās* ibn Mu'āwiyah; Information about the Companions of the Cave (Aṣḥāb al-Kahf);¹⁶³ Betrothal and Origin; Integrity of Property (Safety of Wealth); The Training of Brothers; Stinginess;¹⁶⁴ Short Poems (Al-Muqaṭṭa'āt) and Scatterings (al-Munhabirāt);¹⁶⁵ Account of Ibn Sīrīn; Epistle to Ibn Abī Duwād; Rare Forms; Al-Madīnah; Makkah; The Dying, referring to those who die in youth; Pasture Lands and Waste Lands, including bad lands, lands parceled out and their tributes; Al-'Aqabah and al-Bardah;¹⁶⁶ Wishing; Cunning (Horses); Account of al-Mukhtār; Knowledge of Observations and Traces; Answers.

Account of *Aḥmad* ibn al-Ḥārith al-Khazzāz, a Friend of al-Madā'ini

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī saying:

¹⁶¹ In the Flügel edition this title is in the preceding paragraph.

¹⁶² The word given by Flügel is almost certainly incorrect. In the Beatty MS it is not clearly written, but it seems to be *kharif* ("of unsound mind").

¹⁶³ See Qur'ān 18:9-26. There is a note on the margin of the Beatty MS but it is not legible.

¹⁶⁴ This might be *al-najl* ("offspring"), *al-nakhl* ("palm tree"), *al-bukhl* ("stinginess"), or several other choices.

¹⁶⁵ The words given in the Flügel version seem to be wrong. The translation follows the Beatty MS.

¹⁶⁶ The first word may be *al-'aqabah* (see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 692) and the second *al-bardah* ("captive slave"), as translated. Or they may be *al-'uqbah* ("the substitute") and *al-burzah* (see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 564). This title and the ones which follow in this translation are not found in the Beatty MS.

Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Mubārak was a protégé of [the Caliph] al-Manṣūr, an inhabitant of Baghdād, with a large head, a long full beard, handsome features, and a large mouth. He was a stammerer, and the year before his death used red dye [on his hair]. When he was questioned about this he said, "It has reached me that when Munkar and Nakir come to a dead person whom they see has dyed hair, Munkar says to Nakir, 'Turn away from him.'" ¹⁶⁷

From a source other than what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī, "He quoted al-*Madā'inī* and al-*Attābi*. His grandfather was named *Hassān* and was one of the boys of al-Yamāmah [brought as] captives to al-Manṣūr to work among the doorkeepers." ¹⁶⁸

Aḥmad [ibn al-Ḥārith] was a poet. Among his poems there was:

I am a person who would not be seen knocking at the door,
If the doorkeeper should be ill-tempered;
Though I do not blame one wishing noble patronage,
I do not seek the friendship of the disdainful and haughty. ¹⁶⁹

Most of his poetry was reproach of the chamberlain.

Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥārith died during Dhū al-Ḥijjah [the last month of the Muslim year], during the year two hundred and fifty-eight [A.D. 871/72]. His house was at the Kūfah Gate and he was buried in the cemetery there. ¹⁷⁰ Some say that he died during the year fifty-six [A.D. 869/70]. Among the books which he composed there were:

Roadways and Kingdoms; The Names of the Caliphs and Their Secretaries and the Companions; Marine Wars during the Rule of the Banū Hāshim and Mention of Abū Ḥafs, the Master of Crete; The Tribes; Nobility; What the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace (Ṣal'am), ¹⁷¹ Prohibited; Sons of the Concubines; Rare Forms of Poetry;

¹⁶⁷ When these angels, Munkar and Nakir, came to a grave, they cross-examined the dead. As Aḥmad stuttered, he wished to avoid this embarrassment. See "Munkar wa-Nakir," *Enc. Islam*, III, 724.

¹⁶⁸ Yāqūt explains that the caliph purchased 200 boys from eastern Arabia so that he could select from among them some good doorkeepers. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 407.

¹⁶⁹ Compare with the longer quotation, Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 408.

¹⁷⁰ On the south side of Baghdād.

¹⁷¹ The Beatty MS lacks this pious phrase. The Flügel text adds it here and four titles following, after mention of the Prophet.

Abridgment of "Tribal People" (Kitāb al-Buṭūn);¹⁷² The Raids of the Prophet, May Allah Bless Him and Give Him Peace, His Army Ranks, and Mention of His Wives; The Eminent among the Sons of al-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b and Historical Traditions about Them during Pre-Islamic Times;¹⁷³ Historical Traditions about Abū al-'Abbās; Accounts and Rare Forms (Historical Traditions and Rare Anecdotes); Constitution of the Postal Service;¹⁷⁴ Love Poetry (High in Rank); Milk Camels and Pledges.

Abū Khālid al-Ghanawī

Among his books there was *Historical Traditions and Genealogies of the Ghani*.¹⁷⁵

Account of Ibn 'Abdah

He was Muḥammad ibn 'Abdah ibn Sulaymān ibn Ḥājib al-'Abdī. The [real] name of 'Abdah was 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Abdah being a nickname. 'Abdah was surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. His son Muḥammad was surnamed Abū Bakr.

He was one of the genealogists who were accurate, with excellent knowledge of the heroic deeds, historical traditions, and chronicles (*ayyām*) of the Arabs. He was in the continual service of the sultan. He died ———. Among his books there was the large book, *Genealogy*, which contained genealogies of the tribes, according to the example of the book of Hishām al-Kalbī. In addition to this he also wrote:

Abridgment of the Names of the Tribes; Sufficiency, about genealogy; Marriages of the Family of al-Muḥallab; Genealogy of the Sons of Abū Ṣufrah and of al-Muḥallab and His Sons; Ma'add ibn 'Adnān and Qaḥṭān;¹⁷⁶ Virtues of the Quraysh; Genealogy of the Banū Faq'as ibn

¹⁷² In the Flügel and Yāqūt [*Irshād*, VI (1), 407] accounts these are two separate books, *Abridgment* and *Tribal People*. In the title which follows, the Beatty MS lacks the pious phrase.

¹⁷³ The Flügel edition lacks this title.

¹⁷⁴ This follows the translation in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 407, and is different from Flügel. The final title in this list is not in the Beatty MS.

¹⁷⁵ For Ghani, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 164. The paragraph which follows is taken from the Beatty MS, which is more specific than the Flügel text.

¹⁷⁶ For these tribes, see "Ma'add," *Enc. Islam*, III, 58; "Qaḥṭān" (Qaḥṭān), II, 628; "Quraish (Quraysh), II, 1122.

Ṭarīf ibn Asad ibn Khuzaymah;¹⁷⁷ The Mothers; Genealogy of al-Akḥmas ibn Sharīq al-Thaqafī; Genealogy of the Kīnānah;¹⁷⁸ Abū Ja'far [the Caliph] al-Manṣūr; The Nobility of Bakr and Taghlib—Their Horsemen, Their Battles, Their Virtues, and Their Characters;¹⁷⁹ Names of the Great Men among the Poets; The Brave.

Account of 'Allān al-Shu'ūbī

He was 'Allān ibn ——— al-Shu'ūbī, whose origin was Persian. He was a quoter of traditions, who had a knowledge of genealogies, disputes, and competitions for honor. He was attached to the Barāmakah and also transcribed in the Bayt al-Ḥikmah for al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn. For the Barāmakah he wrote *Kitāb al-Maydān*, about the faults by which the Arabs were dishonored and the most apparent of their vices.¹⁸⁰ He also wrote a book, which he did not finish, entitled *Adornment (Al-Ḥalyah)*, all trace of which is lost. I have read about this from what was written in the handwriting of Ibn *Shahīn* the historian. Among his books there was *Al-Maydān*, about the faults of the Quraysh, the industries of the Quraysh, and their forms of trade. It also included the faults of:¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ For the Banū Faq'as, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 111; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 32.

¹⁷⁸ See "Kīnānah" (Kinānah), *Enc. Islam*, II, 1017.

¹⁷⁹ See "Bakr," *Enc. Islam*, I, 60, and for Taghlib, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 202.

¹⁸⁰ 'Allān was of Persian origin and belonged to the party of the Shu'ūbiyah, which opposed Arab supremacy. It was natural, therefore, for the viziers of the family of Barmak, who were of Persian origin and anxious to gain as much power as possible, to employ him to write about the faults and vices of the Arabs. In spite of this, however, the Arab caliphs, Hārūn al-Rashīd and his son, al-Ma'mūn, employed him to transcribe manuscripts in the royal research institute, Bayt al-Ḥikmah.

¹⁸¹ Both the Beatty MS and Flügel place the word *mathālib*, which means "faults," "vices," "defects," before the name of each individual tribe. To simplify the translation, the word is omitted, except where the Beatty MS indicates by the use of heavy black letters that the faults of some new group of tribes are being listed. For convenience, references are given in a second column after the names of the tribes instead of in footnotes. Brackets are omitted around the references. For the Quraysh, which was the Prophet's tribe, see "Ḥuraish," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1122. In addition to the references given, there are also many references to the tribes in biographical and historical works, such as Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad*; Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*; and Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*.

[Tribe]

[Reference]

Taym ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b	"Ta'im B. Murra," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , IV, 622
Banū Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā	"Asad," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 474
Banū Makhzūm ibn Ya'qazah ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b	"Makhzūm," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , III, 171
Sahm	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , pp. 73, 76
Jamah	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 73
Sāmāh ibn Lu'ayy	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 33
'Abd al-Dar ibn Quṣayy	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 34
Walad Zuhrah ibn Kilāb	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , pp. 34, 64
Banū 'Adiy ibn Ka'b	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 33
Sa'd ibn Lu'ayy	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 33
Al-Ḥārith ibn Lu'ayy	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 33
Khuzaymah ibn Lu'ayy	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 33
'Awf ibn Lu'ayy	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 33
'Āmir ibn Lu'ayy	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 33
Asad ibn Khuzayman	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 31
Hudhayl ibn Mudradah	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 31
Banū Imru' al-Qays ibn Zayd Manāh ibn Tamīm	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 37
Banū Ṭābikhah ibn Alyās	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , pp. 31, 36
Dabbah ibn Udd	"Dabba," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 884
Muzaynah ibn Udd	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 36
'Adiy ibn al-Ribāb	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 111; Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 36
'Ukl	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 36
Bal'am ibn Taym	"Bal'am," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 16; cf. Num. 22 : 5

The faults of:

Tamīm	"Tamīm," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , IV, 643
'Amr ibn Tamīm	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 37
Asad	"Asad," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 474
Al-Lakhm	"Lakhm," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , III, 11
Al-Qayn	"Al-Qāin," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 644
Ma'rib	"Ma'rib," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , III, 280
Al-Ḥabīṭ	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 37
Yarbū'	"Yarbū'," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , IV, 1159
Banū Dārim	"Dārim," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 924

[Tribe]

[Reference]

Al-Barājjim	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 197; Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 37
Rabī'ah al-Jīn'	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 37
Banū Sa'd ibn Zayd Manāh ibn Tamīm	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 37

The faults of:

Qays 'Aylān	"Kais-'Ailān," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 652
Ghanī	"Ghanī," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 140
Bāhilah	"Bāhila," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 576
Banū Sulaym ibn Manšūr	"Sulaim," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , IV, 518
Numayr	"Numair," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , III, 951
'Āmir ibn Ṣa'sa'ah	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 42

The faults of:

Fazārah	"Fazāra," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 93
Banū Murrah ibn Awf ibn Ghaṭafān	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 40
'Abs ibn Baḡhīḍ	"'Abs," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 73
Thaqīf	"Thaqīf," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , IV, 734

The faults of:

Rabī'ah	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 42
'Ijl ibn Lujaym	"Idjl," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 447
Taghlib ibn Wā'il	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 202
Banū Yashkur ibn Bakr	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 47
Al-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ ¹⁸³	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 46; Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 202
Sadūs ibn Shaybān	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 48
'Anazah ibn Asad	"Anaza," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 346
Taym Allāt ibn Tha'labah	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 52
Qays ibn Tha'labah	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 48
Ḥanīfah ibn Luhaym	"Ḥanīfa," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 260
Banū Shaybān	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , pp. 48, 49
'Ahd al-Qays	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 196

¹⁸³ The translation follows the Beatty MS, which on the whole is more correct than the Flügel version, but this name is spelled incorrectly by the manuscript.

[Tribe]

[Reference]

The faults of:

Iyād, without divisions¹⁸⁸

"Iyād," *Enc. Islam*, II, 565

The faults of:

Al-Yaman

Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 49; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 1034; "al-Yaman," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1155

Al-Aws

"Al-Aws," *Enc. Islam*, I, 523

Al-Khazraj

"Al-Khazradj," *Enc. Islam*, II, 938

Qudā'ah

"Qudā'a," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1093

Tīy

"Tāiy," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 623

Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Ka'h

"Ḥārith," *Enc. Islam*, II, 268

Al-Nakha'

Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 53

Khuzā'ah and Ghassān¹⁸⁴

"Khuzā'a," *Enc. Islam*, II, 984; "Ghas-sān," II, 142

Kindah

"Kinda," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1018

Al-As'adūn

For the legendary As'ad, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 29

Lakhm

"Lakhin," *Enc. Islam*, III, 11

Judhām

"Djudham," *Enc. Islam*, I, 1058

'Ans

Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 52

Murād

"Mūrād," *Enc. Islam*, III, 726

Al-Sakāsik

"Kinda," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1019

Al-Qayn

"Al-Qāin," *Enc. Islam*, II, 644

Nahd

Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 51

Zubayd

Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 254

Bajūlah

"Badjūla," *Enc. Islam*, I, 558

Hamdān

"Hamdān," *Enc. Islam*, II, 246

Ḥaḍramawt

"Ḥaḍramawt," *Enc. Islam*, II, 207

Ḥimyar

"Ḥimyar," *Enc. Islam*, II, 310

¹⁸⁸ Evidently all of the subtribes shared the same vices, so the tribe was discussed as a whole. Flügel places the words "without divisions" after al-Yaman. The translation follows the Beatty MS, which is almost certainly correct.

¹⁸⁴ Although Flügel and the Beatty MS give Ghassān, this word is perhaps meant to be the name of the last great chief of the Khuzā'ah Tribe. He was called Abū Ghabshān, and was known for selling the custodianship of the holy shrine at Makkah. Other heroes were also called by the name Ghabshān; see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 282; "Khuzā'a," *Enc. Islam*, II, 984.

[Tribe]	[Reference]
Among His Individual Books	
The Virtues of Kinānah	"Kināna," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 1017
Genealogy of al-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 46
Genealogy of Taghlib ibn Wā'il	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 46
The Virtues of Rabī'ah	Durayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 42
Competition for Honor	

Account of Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb

He was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb ibn Umayyah ibn 'Amr. It is written in the handwriting of al-Sukkārī:

Abū al-Qāsim al-Hijāzī, author of *The History Supplement* (*Al-Tārikh al-Mulḥaq*) said, "Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik told me that Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Hāshimī stated, 'Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb was a protégé of ours. He was of the descendants of al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad, the mother of Ḥabīb being our protégé also. Although the father of Ḥabīb was not known, his mother was.'"

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: He [Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb] was one of the scholars of Baghdād dealing with genealogy, historical traditions, language, poetry, and the tribes. He edited a portion of the poems of the Arabs and quoted Ibn al-A'rabī, Qutrub, Abū 'Ubaydah, Abū al-Yaqẓān, and others. He was highly cultured; his books were accurate. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Elegant Book of Examples Based on Af'ala;¹⁸⁵ Genealogy; Good Fortune and Support; Subtribes and Families, about genealogy;¹⁸⁶ Double-Rhymed Poetry (Al-Muwashshahah); The Diverse and Harmonious in Genealogy; The Informant (Giver of News); The Possessed (The Possessor); The Strange in the Ḥadīth; Al-Anwā'; The Wooded (Planted with Trees); He Who Grants His Petition (He Who Answers

¹⁸⁵ In the first part of the title, the word *munammāq*, probably meaning "elegant" when describing a book, is in both the Beatty MS. and Ḥajjī Khalifah, I, 374. The last word, *af'ala*, may be an error meant to be *af'al* ("deeds," "actions").

¹⁸⁶ "About genealogy" is omitted in the Beatty MS. In the second title following, "in genealogy" is also omitted by the Beatty MS.

His Prayer),¹⁸⁷ written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī; The School of Thought (Al-Madhhab), with traditions of the poets and their generations (categories); Embellishment (Al-Dibāʾ); Contradictions of Jarīr and 'Umar ibn Lajā';¹⁸⁸ Contradictions of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq; The Variegated (Al-Mufawwaf); History of the Caliphs; He Who Was Named for the Verse He Recited.

Adversaries of the Horsemen;¹⁸⁹ Nicknames of the Poets; Surnaming of the Poets; Intelligence; The Marks; Female Ancestors (Mothers) of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;¹⁹⁰ Battles (Ayyām) of Jarīr, Mentioned in His Poetry;¹⁹¹ The Mothers of the Leading Men among the Sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; The Seeker after Knowledge; Horses, copied in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī; Mothers of the Seven (al-Sab'ah) of the Quraysh;¹⁹² Plants;¹⁹³ The Blood Relationship between the Apostle of Allāh, for Whom May There Be Peace, and His Companions, Disregarding Relations on the Male Side; Nicknames of the Yaman, Rabī'ah, and Muḍar;¹⁹⁴ Nicknames, which comprised the nicknames of the tribes.

The large book, The Tribes and Their Battles (Ayyām), which he compiled for al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān. I saw the authentic manuscript at the house of Abū al-Qāsim ibn Abī al-Khaṭṭāb ibn al-Farrāt, made of paper and with more than twenty sections. As it was incomplete, it seemed as though there must have been originally about forty sections, with over two hundred leaves in each section. This manuscript also had a table of contents comprising the tribes and battles, written in the handwriting of

¹⁸⁷ "He" probably refers to an important person or to Allāh, and "his" to the suppliant.

¹⁸⁸ The word translated as "contradictions" is *naqā'id*, which also may mean "injuries," or "satirical attacks." The translation follows the Beatty MS, which differs from Flügel in some places and seems to be the more correct version.

¹⁸⁹ Flügel gives *muqātil* ("adversaries," "combatants"), but the word might be *muqābil* ("opposite," "in front of").

¹⁹⁰ The Beatty MS omits the pious phrase given by Flügel after the Prophet.

¹⁹¹ The word "battles" is omitted by Flügel.

¹⁹² "The seven" may refer to generations, or to Mu'āwiyah and his six ancestors, or to the first seven Umayyad caliphs. Flügel gives al-Shī'ah (the Shi'ites), but the Beatty MS gives *al-sab'ah*.

¹⁹³ Omitted by the Beatty MS.

¹⁹⁴ Flügel gives the Namir instead of the Yaman. For the Yaman, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 49; "al-Yaman," *Enc. Islām*, IV, 1155. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 46, for Namir; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 42, for Rabī'ah; and Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), I, 298-99, for Muḍar.

al-Sandī ibn 'Alī al-Warrāq, on ṭalḥī,¹⁹⁵ about fifteen leaves, with a Turkish script. I shall mention the main points about this matter, but not the details, if Allāh so wills.

Khallād ibn Yazīd al-Bāhili

He was one of those who quoted the historical traditions and poems of the tribes. There are no books of his that we know of.

'Umar ibn Bukayr

He was an associate of al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl, a scholar of historical traditions, a quoter of information, and a genealogist. It was for him that al-Farrā' wrote the book *Meaning of the Qur'ān*.¹⁹⁶ Among his own books there were:

Battle of the Ghawl; Battle of Zahr; Battle of Armān; Battle of al-Kūfah; Raiding of the Banū Sa'd ibn Zayd Manāh; Battle of Manābiḍ.¹⁹⁷

Ibn Abī Uways

He was one of the scholars who quoted information about language, genealogies, and heroic deeds. He met with the Arabian masters of literary style and quoted what Abū Sahl Sa'd ibn Sa'id passed on from the book of al-Ḥadramī about the strange forms.¹⁹⁸

Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ, who quoted al-Ḥasan ibn Maymūn. This man was the first person to write a book about the government, with its historical traditions. Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ passed on information from Ibrāhīm ibn Zadān ibn Sinān al-Baṣrī. Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ was also a scholar of historical traditions and genealogy, as well as a quoter of traditions about the biographies. Among his books there were:

¹⁹⁵ Ṭalḥī probably refers to a kind of paper. This is the word given by Flügel. The Beatty MS gives "Turkish."

¹⁹⁶ See the account of al-Farrā' in Chap. II, sect. 2, near n. 16.

¹⁹⁷ For these battles, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 211; III, 582, 826; IV, 322. For the Banū Sa'd, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 37.

¹⁹⁸ *Strange Forms in the Ḥadīth* ("Kitāb Gharīb al-Ḥadīth") by Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Ḥadramī.

Ancestral Nobilities (Amjād) of the Arabs (or Subtribes [Afkhādh] of the Arabs); Aristocratic Families; Refutation of Abū 'Ubaydah, in connection with his book "Embellishment" (Al-Dībāj); Genealogies of Azd 'Umān;¹⁹⁹ The Slaying of Zayd ibn 'Alī, May There Be Peace for Both of Them [father and son].²⁰⁰

Salmuwayh ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Laythī

He was a quoter of historical traditions and genealogies, among whose books there was *The Government*, in which he quoted several [authorities].

Al-Sukkari

His name was al-Ḥasan ibn Sa'īd and he was one of the genealogists. Among his books there was *Genealogies of the Sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib*, a large work.

Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib²⁰¹

He was one of the biographers, among whose books there was *Historical Traditions of the Banū al-'Abbās Caliphs*, a large [book].

Ibn Abī Thābit al-Zuhri

His name was 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Amrān al-Zuhri, among whose books there was *Treaties (Covenants)*.

'Uyaynah ibn al-Minhāl

He was surnamed Abū al-Minhāl and was one of those who quoted historical traditions, proverbs, and genealogies. Among his books there were;

Nomad Tents; Al-Mubāyanāt (Separations, Points of Difference, Intercedings); Similes (Proverbs); The Mirage.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ See "al-Azd," *Enc. Islam*, I, 529.

²⁰⁰ This pious phrase is not found in the Beatty MS.

²⁰¹ The title and short account which follows are given according to the Beatty MS. Flügel gives, as the title, "Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib." "Al-Kātib" probably signifies that he was a government secretary.

²⁰² Omitted by the Beatty MS.

Al-Rāwandī

This man compiled a book, making corrections in it, about the historical traditions of the government. I saw a small part of the manuscript. He used to meet with members of the Rāwandīyah,²⁰³ who were his pupils, [the pupils] obtaining from him information about the government. Among his books was *The Government*, which contained about two thousand leaves.

Ibn Shabīb

He was surnamed Abū Sa'īd and was 'Abd Allāh ibn Shabīb al-Rabī'ī of al-Baṣrah. He was a historian, among whose books there was *Historical Traditions and Traces*. *Tha'lab* quoted him.

Al-Ghallābī

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā' ibn Dīnār al-Ghallābī, one of the scholars who quoted biographies, stories, accounts of raids, and other things. He was both accurate and trustworthy. Among his books there were:

The Slaying of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, for Whom May There Be Peace; The Battle of Šiffīn; [The Battle of] the Camel; Al-Ḥarrah;²⁰⁴ The Assassination of the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī, for Whom Be Peace; The Calamity (Al-Bawās) and 'Ayn al-Wardah;²⁰⁵ The Generous; The Miserly.

A Group about Whom We Have Been Informed by What Is Written in the Handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī

We mention them in what follows; they were:

²⁰³ These were members of a sect, who often demanded violently that the caliphs should be descendants of Abū Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. See Ḥaghdādī (Seelye), p. 49; Mas'ūdī, VI, 54-58; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 129-33. *The Government*, in the following sentence, probably was concerned with the regime of the 'Abbāsids.

²⁰⁴ The volcanic plain east of al-Madinah where 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr was defeated A.D. 683; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 191.

²⁰⁵ This title is not clear in the Flügel version, but is well written in the Beatty MS. For Ra's al-'Ayn, which is the popular name for 'Ayn al-Wardah, and the calamity which occurred there, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 731; III, 764; Mas'ūdī, V, 216-21. The battle took place in A.D. 685/86.

Khīrāsh ibn Ismā'īl al-Shaybānī al-ʿIjlī

He was surnamed Abū Waʿr, and was one of the genealogists. Muḥammad ibn Sāʾib al-Kalbī learned from him. Among his books there was *The Historical Traditions of the Rabi'ah Tribe and Its Genealogy*.

Ibn Zabālah²⁰⁶

He was a historian and genealogist, among whose books there were:

Al-Madinah and Its Historical Traditions; The Poets; Nicknames.

ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Abī Saʿīd al-Warrāq

He was a historian, genealogist, and quoter of poetry. Among his books there were:

Arabic; Faith, Supplication, and Calamities.

Al-Naṣrī

He was al-Ḥasan ibn Maymūn of the Banū Naṣr ibn Quʿayn Tribe, who was quoted by Muḥammad ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ. Among his books there were:

The Government; Heroic Deeds.

Khālīd ibn Khidāsh ibn ʿAjlān, surnamed Abū al-Haythīm

He was a protégé of the family of al-Muḥallab ibn Abī Ṣufrah. He died during the year two hundred and twenty-three [A.D. 837/38]. Among his books there were:

Al-Azāriqah and the Wars of al-Muḥallab; Historical Traditions of the Family of al-Muḥallab.

Ibn ʿĀbid

Nothing more is known about him than this [his name]. Among his books there was *The Kings and Historical Traditions of the Nations*.

²⁰⁶ The translation follows the Beatty MS for this paragraph. Flügel has the single title *Historical Traditions of al-Madinah* instead of the three titles given. Flügel places these three titles in the list of books assigned to ʿUbayd Allāh, in the following paragraph. The Beatty MS omits the paragraph about ʿUbayd Allāh.

Mughīrah

He was Ibn Muḥammad al-Muhallabī, among whose books there was *The Marriages of the Family of al-Muhallab*.

Ibn 'Ashām al-Kilābī

His name was Ibn ———. He was a contemporary of Ibn *Kunāsah* at al-Kūfah, sharing with him a knowledge of historical traditions. Among his books there were:

Al-Nasīb (Genealogy, The Relative); Salt (Giving Suck [to form foster relationship]).

Abū al-Mungham

His name was ———. Among his books there was *Generations (Categories) of Poets*.

Al-Khath^{amī}

His name was Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh or 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. Among his books there was *Poetry and the Poets*.

Manjūf al-Sadūsī

Among his books there was *Dismissed (Al-'Azl) (or Al-Ghazl [a form of poetry])*.

Among His Descendants [the descendants of Manjūf]

Ghuyūbah al-Sadūsī, whose name was 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn Sufyān ibn Manjūf, surnamed Abū Muḥammad. He was a scholar of historical traditions, who quoted Abū 'Ubaydah, dying some time after the year two hundred [A.D. 815/16]. Among his books there was *Heroic Deeds, Genealogies, and Battles (Ayyām)*.

Al-Walīd ibn Muslim

He was a scholar of biography and historical traditions, among whose books there was *The Raids [early wars of Islām]*.

Al-Fākihī

He was ———. Among his books there was *Makkah and Its Historical Traditions during the Pre-Islāmic Period and Islām*.

Yazīd ibn Muḥammad al-Muḥallabī

He was a poet, mention of whom will be made.²⁰⁷ Among his books there was *Al-Muḥallab, Traditions about Him and His Offspring*.

Abū Ishāq

He was Ismā'īl ibn 'Īsā al-'Aṭṭār of Baghdād, one of the biographers. He was quoted by al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ulwīyah al-Qaṭṭān. Among his books there were:

The Subject [in grammar] (The Beginning); The Zamzam Well; Apostasy; The Invasions; [The Battle of] the Camel; [The Battle of] Şiffin; Banners (Government Districts); Seditions.

Ibn Abī Tayfūr

His name was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Jurjānī and he was from among the people of Jurjān. Among his books there was *Doors of the Caliphs*, dealing with the persons whom the caliphs favor, whose counsel they seek, whose intelligence they respect, and upon whom they depend for help.

Ibn Tammām al-Dihqān

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Faḍl ibn Tammām al-Dihqān, who was by origin from al-Kūfah. Among his books there was *The Excellencies of al-Kūfah*.

Abū al-Ḥassān al-Ziyādī

He was Abū al-Ḥassān al-Ḥasan ibn 'Uthmān al-Ziyādī, who quoted al-Ḥaytham ibn 'Adī and other scholars. He was a virtuous and honest judge, as well as a capable and high-minded genealogist. He himself wrote books and they were also compiled for him. He had an excellent and extensive library, and acquired material from the people. Both he and al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ja'd died at the same time during the year two hundred and forty-three [A.D. 857/58], when he was eighty-nine years and some months of age. Among his books there were:

The Raids of 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr; Generations (Categories) of Poets; Nicknames of the Poets; Fathers and Mothers.

²⁰⁷ The name is mentioned in the second paragraph of Chap. III, sect. 3.

Muṣ'ab ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muṣ'ab [ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muṣ'ab] ibn Thābit ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām al-Ḥijāzī. He lived at Baghdād. He was reliable in quoting and was a narrator of events. He was a paternal uncle of al-Zubayr ibn Abī Bakr. He was also a poet. His father, 'Abd Allāh, was one of the wickedest of men, as he maligned the descendants of 'Alī, for whom be peace. Records of his ['Abd Allāh] and of *Yahyā* ibn 'Abd Allāh are well known.

Muṣ'ab ibn 'Abd Allāh died on Wednesday, the second of Shawwāl [the tenth Muslim month] during the year two hundred and thirty-three [A.D. 847/48]. He was seventy-six years of age, according to what was recorded by Ibn Abī *Khaythamah*. Among his books there were:

The Large Genealogy; Genealogy of the Quraysh.

Account of al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayr ibn Abī Bakr Bakkār ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muṣ'ab ibn Thābit ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām was one of the people of al-Madīnah. He was a scholar of historical traditions, a genealogist, and a poet, who quoted accurately and was endowed with ability. He was the judge of Makkah, but went to Baghdād on numerous occasions, the last time being in the year two hundred and fifty-three [A.D. 867]. *Muḥammad* ibn Dā'ūd said, "He was youthful in his composing of poetry, his virility, courage, and temperance, in spite of old age." The following is a selection of his poetry:²⁰⁸

He is innocent in youth, graced with patience,
Expecting favorable fortunes from fate.
His ideals serve as a basis for his peace of mind,
Insofar as they calm the passion in his breast.
When a thought comes to him,
Bidding him to betray his ideal, he wards it off,
Because his conscience accuses his inclinations
Toward what he felt from that [evil] thought.

²⁰⁸ Both this quotation and the poem which follows are translated freely, so as to make them understandable in English.

While he was serving as the judge of Makkah, al-Zubayr died. He was buried there Sunday evening, nine days before the end of Dhū al-Qa'dah [the eleventh Muslim month] during the year two hundred and fifty-six [A.D. 869/70]. He reached the age of eighty-four. The reason for his death was a fall from his roof, which broke his collar bone and hip. His son *Muṣ'ab* led the [funeral] prayer, and *Muḥammad* ibn 'Īsā ibn al-Manṣūr attended the funeral. He was buried alongside the tomb of 'Alī ibn 'Īsā al-Hāshimī in the cemetery of al-Ḥajūn.²⁰⁹ Among his books there were:

The Genealogy and Traditions of the Quraysh; The Unusual in Traditions of Genealogy; Disagreements; Al-Muwaffaqiyyāt, about historical traditions, which he wrote for al-Muwaffaq;²¹⁰ The Disposition of the Prophet, for Whom May There Be Peace; Rarities (Unusual Anecdotes) of the People of al-Madīnah; The Bees; Al-'Aqīq²¹¹ and Its Traditions; Historical Traditions of al-Aws and al-Khazraj;²¹² The Deputation of al-Nu'mān to Chosroes [al-Kisrā];²¹³ Attack of Kuthayyir on the Poets; Historical Traditions of the Arabs and Their Wars;²¹⁴ Historical Traditions of Ibn Mayyādah.

From what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī:²¹⁵

Account of Ḥassān [ibn Thābit], al-Aḥwaṣ, 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'ah, Abū Dahbal, Jamīl, Nuṣayb, Kuthayyir, Umayyah, al-'Arjī, Abū al-Sā'ib, Ḥātim, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥassān, Hudbah and Ziyādah,²¹⁶ Tawbah and

²⁰⁹ A hill near Makkah where there were cemeteries; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 215.

²¹⁰ Al-Muwaffaq was the brother of three caliphs, so that it was not surprising for a book to be named for him. This title and a number of others which follow have been translated according to the Beatty MS and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (4), 219, as they seem to be more accurate than the Flügel edition.

²¹¹ Probably referring to the watered valley near al-Madīnah, described in Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 700.

²¹² Two well-known tribes at al-Madīnah; see "al-Aws," *Enc. Islam*, I, 523; "al-Khazraj," II, 938.

²¹³ When *Shahr-Barāz*, the general of Chosroes II, king of Persia, was on the eve of the battle of Dhū Qar with the Bakr ibn Wā'il Tribe, A.D. 615/16, al-Nu'mān ibn Zar'ah of this tribe negotiated with *Shahr-Barāz*. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XX, p. 134; Rawlinson, *Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, pp. 493-505.

²¹⁴ This title and the one following it are lacking in the Beatty MS, but are included in the Flügel version.

²¹⁵ "Account" (*akḥbar*) precedes each of the names that follow, although given only the first time in the translation. These accounts were written down by al-Zubayr about persons all or most of whom wrote poetry, taken from a copy by Ibn al-Kūfī.

²¹⁶ Two poets; Hudbah murdered Ziyādah.

Laylā,²¹⁷ Ibn *Harmah*, al-Majnūn, al-Qārī, Ibn al-Dumaynah, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt.²¹⁸

Naming of the Persons Who Were Quoted by al-Zubayr,²¹⁹ Taken from What Was Written in the Handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī²¹⁹

He quoted his uncle Muṣ'ab ibn 'Abd Allāh [al-Zubayr], Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Makhzūmī, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn 'Uthmān, Muslim ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Jundab, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir, Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Thawbān, 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Rabā'i, 'Uthmān ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Bakkār ibn Rabāḥ, Maslamah ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hishām al-Makhzūmī,²²⁰ 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh al——, Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd al-Ḥanīd, Ḥumayd ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Zuhri, 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Sa'īd ibn Sulaymān ibn Nawfal ibn Musāḥiq, Mu'min ibn 'Umar ibn Aflah, 'Alī ibn al-Mughīrah [al-Athram], 'Abd Allāh ibn Nāfa' ibn Thābit.

Account of al-Jahmī

Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Jahm ibn Ḥudhayfah al-'Adawī was a member of the Banū 'Adī ibn Ka'b Tribe. He was called al-Jahmī because of his descent from his ancestor. Abū al-Jahm ibn Ḥudhayfah. He lived in al-Hijāz but came to al-'Irāq, where he studied. He was cultured, a quoter [of other authorities], a poet, and a singer.²²¹ He recorded genealogy and [tribal] faults, gaining the respect of the public and writing books about these things.

Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd said:

Sawwār ibn Abī Sharā'ah related, "When there was ill feeling between him [al-Jahmī] and groups of the 'Umar and 'Uthmān factions, he recalled

²¹⁷ Two famous poets who were lovers.

²¹⁸ The Flügel text adds the name Ash'ath, probably ibn Qays. For al-Majnūn, see Qays ibn al-Mulawwah. It has not been possible to identify which al-Qārī this is.

²¹⁹ In the Arabic original the names are separated by the word "and."

²²⁰ This name and that of Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, the second name following, are corrected by marginal notes in the Beatty MS.

²²¹ This follows the Beatty MS in giving "singer" (*mughannī*). Flügel and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 30, give variations which do not seem accurate.

most infamous things about their ancestors. Then when some of the family of *Hāshim* spoke to him about this matter, he mentioned al-'Abbās with great severity. When [this] information about him was brought to [the Caliph] al-Mutawakkil, he ordered him beaten with a hundred strokes.²²² *Ibrāhīm* ibn Ishāq ibn *Ibrāhīm* gave him the strokes. When the beating was ended he [al-Jahmī] said about it:

Wounds heal and hair springs up,
And for every misfortune there is recovery from calamity.
But baseness is on the robes of one who casts down his slave,
For as long as there are leaves on a tree."²²³

Among his books there were:

Genealogies and Historical Traditions of the Quraysh; Those Free from Faults; Faults; Observations on the Refutation of the *Shu'ūbiyah*; The Virtues of Muḍar.

Al-Azraqī

His name was Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah ibn al-Azraq. [His ancestor, al-Azraq] was named 'Uthmān ibn al-Hārith ibn Abī Shimr ibn 'Umar ibn 'Awf ibn al-Hārith ibn Rabi'ah ibn Hārithah ibn al-Hārith ibn Tha'labah al-'Anqā' ibn Ḥiqbah ibn 'Amr ibn 'Āmir Muzayqiyā'. This has been taken from what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī.

He was one of the authorities for historical traditions and biography. Among his books there was *Makkah, Its Historical Traditions, Mountains, and Valleys*, a large book.

²²² To understand this anecdote, it is necessary to know something about the history. Al-Mutawakkil was a caliph of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, who ruled A.D. 847-861. Members of his dynasty, who belonged to the Sunnī party, honored 'Umar and 'Uthmān, the second and third caliphs. They also based their right to rule on their descent from the Prophet's uncle, al-'Abbās, and his great-grandfather, *Hāshim*; see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 189, 289. The 'Abbāsīd caliphs were threatened by the members of the opposition or Shī'ī party, who felt that the caliphs of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty were illegal impostors and that only direct descendants of the Prophet's son-in-law, 'Alī, had the divine right to be the caliph. In view of these facts it is easy to understand why al-Mutawakkil felt that al-Jahmī was disloyal to the ruling caliphs when he denounced 'Umar, 'Uthmān, *Hāshim*, and al-'Abbās.

²²³ This is translated very freely, so as to make sense. The Arabic word translated as "casts down" is *munbaṭṭih*.

Account of 'Umar ibn Shabbah

The names of the persons who were quoted by 'Umar: He quoted Abū 'Āṣim al-Nabīl, Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī, Hārūn ibn 'Abd Allāh, and Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir.²²⁴

He was Abū Zayd 'Umar ibn Shabbah ibn 'Ubayd ibn Rayṭah. The name of Shabbah was Zayd, but he was surnamed Abū Mu'adh. 'Umar related that he was called "Ay Shabbah" because his mother used to bounce him up and down, saying,

O ay, growing boy (*shabb*), he lives to creep;
Aged man, he ambles along.²²⁵

'Umar was from al-Baṣrah, a protégé of the Banū Numayr Tribe, a poet, and an authority for historical traditions and the law. He was accurate in his speech; he did not allow error to enter into what he quoted. There is from his poetry:

She was saying, "No lord (*sayyid*) remains among the people."
But I replied "Nay, for there is 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Ja'far."²²⁶

His son was Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn Shabbah, who was a poet, clever and eloquent, and also a quoter [of other authorities]. He died some ten years after his father did. From the poetry of Abū Ṭāhir there is:

I looked but beheld not among the soldiers
Misfortunes such as mine and Abū Ja'far's.
People go early to the feast,
Adorned more beautifully than the light.
But we go empty-handed,
Often from a home of misery,
To sit in misfortune and seclusion from the people,
Looking into a book.²²⁷

²²⁴ These names are inserted in the Beatty MS. As these scholars were a generation older than 'Umar, they were probably his teachers.

²²⁵ The Beatty MS starts the quotation with *yā' yāy wa-shabba(n) wa-'ash*, whereas Flügel gives *bābā wa-shabba(n) wa-'asha(n)*. See also Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 48.

²²⁶ This name is not included in the Biog. Index; it is perhaps that of a hero of tribal poetry who cannot be identified.

²²⁷ This translation is taken from the Beatty MS, as there are errors in the Flügel text, and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 48, does not seem to be entirely correct. The "book" was probably the register in the tax office.

'Umar ibn Shabbāh died at Samarrā on Monday, six days before the end of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [the sixth month of the Muslim year] during the year two hundred and sixty-two [A.D. 876], after reaching the age of ninety. His books went to Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā, who purchased them from Abū Ṭāhir [Aḥmad] ibn 'Umar ibn Shabbāh. Among his books there were:

Al-Kūfah; Al-Baṣrah; Al-Madīnah; Makkah; Chiefs (Governors, Umarā') of al-Kūfah; Chiefs of al-Baṣrah; Chiefs of al-Madīnah; Chiefs of Makkah; The Sultan; Assassination of 'Uthmān [the third caliph]; Secretaries (Scribes); Poetry and the Poets; Songs; History; Traditions about [the Caliph] al-Manṣūr; Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the Two Sons of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan; Poems of the Shurāt (Shurāh); Genealogy; Historical Traditions of the Banū Numayr Tribe;²²⁸ What People Find Difficult to Understand in the Qur'ān; Obtaining Help from Poetry and What Comes in Languages (Vernaculars); Admiration of Grammar—Who among the Grammarians Made Errors.

Al-Balādhurī

He was Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Jābir al-Balādhurī, said to have been surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. He was one of the people of Baghdād, but his grandfather Jābir was the secretary of al-Khaṣīb, the master of Egypt. He was a poet and a quoter [of authorities]. As he deteriorated at the end of his life, he was placed in the Bīmāristān,²²⁹ where he died. The reason for his deterioration²³⁰ was that he unwittingly drank the juice of the cashew nut,²³¹ so that there befell him what befell him.

He used to write a great deal of satire, and once he picked on Wabḥ ibn Sulaymān when he broke wind. The breaking wind was in the presence of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khāqān, so he made fun of him, the following being part of what he said about it:

Oh wind, thou wert thought to be his thunder.
Fastidious was his effort to conceal it.

²²⁸ For the Banū Numayr, see "Numair," *Enc. Islam*, III, 951.

²²⁹ From the Persian *bīmār* ("sick") and *stān* ("place"). This was the name of the medieval Arab hospital.

²³⁰ This might be *sūs* or *sawas*, terms used to describe the deterioration caused by certain parasites and poisons.

²³¹ The cashew nut, called *balādhur* in Arabic, has a juice which has evil effects on the body.

For thou, Wahb, first passed it out,
 After which the brother of Sa'īd prayed.
 But Allāh disclosed what they concealed,
 For so is it with all who feed the anus.

Among his books there were:

The small book, Countries;²³² the large book, Countries, which he did not finish; Historical Traditions and Genealogies;²³³ The Testament of *Ardashīr*, which he translated as poetry, for he was one of the translators from Persian into the Arabic tongue.²³⁴

Al-Ṭalhī

He was Abū Ishāq Ṭalhah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭalhah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Taymī, one of the people of al-Baṣrah and a court companion of [the Prince] al-Muwaffaq. He was a quoter [of authorities] and a scholar of historical traditions, who died Sunday evening, in the middle of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [the last month of the Muslim year] during the year two hundred and seventy-one [A.D. 884/85]. Among his books there were:

The Enslaved (Those Conquered by Love); Jewels of Historical Tradition.

Ibn al-Azhar

Ja'far ibn Abī Muḥammad ibn al-Azhar ibn 'Isā, the historian, was one of the scholars of historical traditions. His birth was during the year two hundred [A.D. 815/16] and he died during the year two hundred and seventy-nine [A.D. 892/93] at the age of seventy-nine.

He attended the lectures of Ibn al-A'rābī and other scholars. Among his books there was *History*, one of the good books.

Muḥammad ibn Sallām

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī was one of the historical traditionalists and quoters [of authorities]. Among his books there were:

²³² Today he is known for this book, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*; see Bibliography.

²³³ See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 388 n. 12, and Bibliography, for mention of *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, a book edited by German scholars which is probably this same one.

²³⁴ Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, IV, 286, contains this testament in the form of Persian poetry.

The Excellent, about the success of historical traditions and poems; Aristocratic Families of the Arabs; The Generations (Categories) of the Poets of the Pre-Islāmic Period; The Generations (Categories) of Islāmic Poets; Milkmen (or Dealers [Al-Jallāb] or Deceivers [Al-Khallāb]) and the Hire of Horses.

Abū Khalīfah al-Faḍl

Abū Khalīfah al-Faḍl ibn al-Ḥubāb ibn Muḥammad ibn Shu'ayb ibn Ṣakhr al-Jumāḥī of al-Baṣrah, from the Banū Jumāḥ Tribe, was blind, but served as the judge of al-Baṣrah. His quotations dealt with historical traditions, poetry, and genealogy. He quoted Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumāḥī. I have seen what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī [stating] that Abū Khalīfah died the night of Sunday, the thirteenth night of the month of Rabī' al-Awwal [the third Muslim month] during the year three hundred and five [A.D. 917/18]. He was buried at his home on Sunday. Among his books there were:

Generations (Categories) of the Poets of the Pre-Islāmic Period; The Horsemen.²³⁵

Among the Scholars of Historical Traditions

Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh ibn Ishāq ibn Sallām al-Makārī was an authority for the strange forms in the law, past traditions, and poetry. He was a reliable scholar and a poet, from whose poetry there is the following [example]:

Oh, vengeance of Allāh, wreaked in the palace of a king,
Who betters neither the Faith nor the world by a carat's weight,
No affair being carried out among his subjects,
Until he consults the daughter of Buqrāt.²³⁶

²³⁵ These two titles are omitted in the Beatty MS, but included by the Flügel text.

²³⁶ This translation follows the Beatty MS, which is more correct and complete than the Flügel edition. A *qīrāt* ("carat") was a weight equal to four grains of the carob tree. The daughter of Buqrāt, Qabīḥah, was a favorite of al-Mutawakkil (caliph A.D. 847-61). Her father was a Greek, therefore his name was very likely Hippocrates (Buqrāt). For accounts of this famous concubine, see Ishbāhānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIX, p. 132 bottom; Mas'ūdī, VII, 270-71; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 1395, 1456, 1919; Taghīrī-Birdī, Part III, pp. 22-25, 38 l. 12; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part IV, p. 184.

The reference is to *Qabīlah*, the mother of al-Mu'tazz. Among his books there was *Historical Traditions, Genealogies, and Biography*. I have seen part of it, but I have not seen a complete copy.

Ibn al-Ash'ath

He was 'Azīz ibn al-Faḍl ibn Fuḍālah ibn Mikhrāq ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Mikhrāq. Among his books there was *Description of the Mountains and Valleys at Makkah, with Their Names and What Is behind Them*.²³⁷

Ibn Abī Shaykh

His name was Sulaymān ———, his surname being Abū Ayyūb. He was a historian and quoter [of authorities], who came in touch with important people. The students of historical traditions derived information from him. Among his books there was *Historical Traditions That Are Reported*, which I have seen.

Wakī' al-Qāḍī (the Judge)

He was Abū Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān ibn Ṣadaqah, known as Wakī' al-Qāḍī. He was keen about all forms of literary pursuits and served as judge in several districts. To start with, however, he was secretary to Abū 'Umar²³⁸ Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb the judge. Among his books there were:

Accounts of the Judges, Their History, and Their Judgments; The Noble (Al-Sharīf), which followed the flow of thought of "Al-Ma'ārīf" by Ibn Qutaybah; Al-Anwā'; Raiding and Historical Traditions;²³⁹ The Traveler; The Way, also known as The Regions, which included accounts of the countries and the routes of the roads—he did not finish it; Exchange, Cash, and Coinage; Investigation.

²³⁷ The Flügel text gives a different title, but this translation of the Beatty MS seems to be correct.

²³⁸ Different authorities also call him Abū 'Amr; Flügel places Abū 'Umar after Ya'qūb.

²³⁹ In this title, the Beatty MS is probably incorrect, as it gives what appears to be *gharar* ("danger"), without a conjunction to follow. Flügel is evidently correct in giving *ghazw* ("raiding"), followed by "and."

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nassābah

His name is Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Tamīmī and he is one of the people of al-Baṣrah. He is a genealogist, still living in our own time. Among his books there are:

The Historical Traditions and Genealogies of Persia; Genealogies and Historical Traditions; History of the Courses of the Nations;²⁴⁰ Disputes between the Tribes and Chiefs and the Clans, with the judgments of the Rulers in Connection with Them.

Al-Ushnānī, the Judge

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn 'Umar ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Mālik al-Ushnānī. Among his books there were:

The Slaying of Zayd ibn 'Alī, for Both of Whom [father and son] May There Be Peace; Horses; The Virtues of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib;²⁴¹ The Slaying of al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, for Both of Whom [father and son] May There Be Peace.

Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī 'Umar Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf

Among his books there were:

The Strange in the Ḥadīth, which he did not finish;²⁴² Relief after Adversity.

Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī²⁴³

He was 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Haytham al-Qurashī, a descendant of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, as well as a poet, author, and man of letters. He quoted some authorities, and most of his productions were compositions based on books written in well-known handwritings and on works from other reliable sources. He died some time after the year three hundred and sixty [A.D. 970/71]. Among his books there were:

²⁴⁰ This title is lacking in the Flügel text and the one following is not found in the Beatty MS.

²⁴¹ This and the following title are not in the Beatty MS.

²⁴² The Flügel text adds the notation, "a large [book]."

²⁴³ The Beatty MS calls him *ibn al-Iṣbahānī*. In the Bibliography his books are listed under Iṣbahānī, although he is known by Arabic scholars as Abū al-Faraj.

Al-Aghānī (Songs), a large book about five thousand leaves in length;²⁴⁴ Summary of "Al-Aghānī"; Poems of the Handmaids and Slave Girls; Men and Women Dealing with Drink;²⁴⁵ Places of Abode; Description of Hārūn;²⁴⁶ Assassinations of Members of the Family of Abū Ṭālib;²⁴⁷ Exalting Dhū al-Hijjah [the last Muslim month and time of the pilgrimage]; Historical Traditions and Rare Anecdotes; The Etiquette of Listening; Accounts of Uninvited Guests; The Culture of Foreigners Who Are Well Bred and Refined; Compendium of Reminiscences and Historical Traditions; Difference and Measures (Al-Farq wa-al-Mi'yār), which is an epistle in connection with Hārūn ibn ['Alī ibn] al-Munajjim about al-awghār and al-aḥrār;²⁴⁸ The Genealogy of the Banū 'Abd Shams;²⁴⁹ The Slaves.

Al-Jalūdi

He was Abū Aḥmad 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Yahyā al-Jalūdi, one of the people of al-Baṣrah. He was a scholar of historical traditions and biography, also quoting [other authorities]. He died some time after three hundred and thirty [A.D. 941/42]. Among his books there were:

Account of Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān; Account of al-'Ajjāj and Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajjāj; Compendium of the [Qur'ānic] Readings of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁴ For this famous book, see the Bibliography, Iṣbahānī. The Būlāq edition with the Leiden supplement contains 3979 pages, with 31 lines to the page. If the old manuscript had 5000 leaves, it must have had 10,000 pages.

²⁴⁵ For this and following titles, cf. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 151-52.

²⁴⁶ Almost certainly Hārūn al-Rashīd.

²⁴⁷ In this list, this title and all those following excepting the last two are not found in the Beatty MS. As Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī died only about twenty years before *Al-Fihrist* was probably transcribed, the books may not have been well enough known to be included.

²⁴⁸ Khallikān, II, 314, gives the translation of this title as "difference between the noble and the rabble and appreciation of their relative worth." The terms used, however, can also mean the following: *Al-awghār* can refer to fiefs entitling the holder to deal directly with the sovereign, free from provincial taxes, and *al-aḥrār* can refer to privileged lands, free from tithes.

²⁴⁹ This title and the one following are in the Beatty MS with a marginal note, "appended in the handwriting of the composer." These two titles are not in the Flügel edition.

²⁵⁰ This title is not found in the Beatty MS.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate, for nought befalls me apart from Allāh

The Second Section of the Third Chapter

comprising accounts of the kings, secretaries, preachers, letter writers, tax administrators, and public recorders,¹ with the names of their books.

Account of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī ibn al-Manṣūr ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the first genius among the Banū al-'Abbās and the children of the caliphs to become prominent. He wrote correspondence and poetry, also composing books. His mother, *Shiklah*, originated from Ṭabaristān and was said to have been the daughter of the king of Ṭabaristān.

He was a Negro, blackest² of blacks, with a large body and lofty character. Never before him was there seen a more eloquent stylist or greater poet among the sons of the caliphs. He also had a talent for singing, in which he surpassed everyone else, so that Ishāq [al-Mawṣilī] and Ibrāhīm [al-Mawṣilī] after him used to learn from him and summon before him the singers, to be judged for their performances.³ His birth was ———. Among his books there were:

¹ "Public recorders" is omitted by the Beatty MS. In Arabic the phrase is *aṣḥāb al-dawāwīn*, which might refer to members of government offices, councils, or tribunals.

² The Beatty MS gives *ḥanīk*, which must be an error, meant to be *ḥālīk* ("very black").

³ Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī was a contemporary of Ishāq, the younger Mawṣilī, and was about 25 years old when Ibrāhīm, the elder Mawṣilī, died. Perhaps the text means to indicate that while Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī was teaching the younger Mawṣilī, the father also learned what he could from him.

The Training of *Ibrāhīm*; Cooked Food; Perfume (*Al-Ṭīb*) (*or Pleasant [Al-Ṭayyib]*); Singing.⁴

Al-Ma'mūn

He was 'Abd Allāh ibn Hārūn ibn al-Mahdī ibn al-Manṣūr ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the greatest authority among the caliphs⁵ for the law and theology. He [also] was as good as⁶ his brother Muḥammad ibn Zubaydah [*al-Amīn*] in eloquence of literary style. We are too rich in famed traditions concerning him to go into detail when mentioning him. Among his books there were:

Answers to the Questions of the King of the Burghar⁷ Addressed to Him [*al-Ma'mūn*] about Islām and the Unity (Theology); his epistle, Proofs of the Virtues of the Caliphs, since the Time of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace; his epistle, Signs of Prophethood.⁸

Ibn al-Mu'tazz

He was 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz ibn al-Mutawakkil ibn al-Mu'taṣim ibn al-Rashīd ibn al-Mahdī, one of the men of letters and poets of his period. He emulated the Arabian stylists, learning from them. He met grammarians and historical traditionalists. He heard much and was prolific in making quotations. His life also is too well known to require details. He wrote many books, among which there were:

Al-Badī' (The Discoverer) [also, a kind of rhetoric]; Flowers and Gardens; Beasts of Prey and Hunting; Plagiarisms; Poems of the Kings; Literary Pursuits; Adornments (Distinguishing Features) of Historical Traditions; Correspondence of the Brothers about Poetry (in Poetry);⁹ Generations (Categories) of Poets; The Collection, about singing; his poem in the *rajaz* meter about the evil of drinking in the morning,

⁴ Omitted in the Beatty MS. The *Ibrāhīm* referred to in the first title was probably *al-Mawṣilī*, but it might also have been *Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī*.

⁵ The Beatty MS has "jurists," which may be more correct than Flügel's word, "caliphs."

⁶ "As good as" (*dūn*) can also have the meaning "worse than."

⁷ The Burghar were probably the Bulgarians; see Mas'ūdī, II, 14; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 568.

⁸ Omitted in the Beatty MS. An epistle might be a letter or essay.

⁹ This title and the three which follow are not in the Beatty MS.

Abū Dulaf

Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim ibn 'Isā ibn Ma'qil ibn Idrīs al-'Ijlī was a lord and emir¹⁰ of his people, one of the illustrious men of letters and brilliant poets, who also composed songs. His life is famous. Among his books there were:

Falcons and Hunting; Purity of Soul (Al-Nazh) (or Amusements [Al-Nuzah]); Weapons;¹¹ Policies of the Kings.

Al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān

He was al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān ibn Aḥmad, the most extremely brilliant, intelligent, and cultured person among the sons of the kings. [The Caliph] Al-Mutawakkil adopted him as a brother, preferring him to all of his children and relatives. He had a library which 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā the astrologer collected for him and which was as great in quantity and quality as any other ever seen. The masters of literary style among the Arabians and the scholars of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah used to frequent his house.

Abū Hiffān said:

I have never seen or heard of anyone who loved books and studies more than three men: al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān, and Ismā'īl ibn Ishāq, the judge. Whenever a book came into the hand of al-Jāḥiẓ he read through it, wherever he happened to be. He even used to rent the shops of *al-warrāqūn*, remaining in them for study. As for al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān, he used to attend the audiences of al-Mutawakkil, but if for any reason he wished to leave the audience, he used to take out a book from his sleeve or shoe and read it away from the audience of al-Mutawakkil, so that this became a habit, even in the latrine.¹² Then with regards to Ismā'īl ibn Ishāq, I never visited him without seeing him looking into a book, or rummaging through books, or dusting them.

Al-Faṭḥ died during the evening when al-Mutawakkil was assassinated, being killed with swords along with him. Among his books there were:

¹⁰ He was a man of noble lineage, a general, and a governor.

¹¹ This title and the one which follows are not in the Beatty MS.

¹² The Beatty MS has *min majlis* ("from the audience"), whereas the Flügel text has *fī majlis* ("in the audience"), so that the true meaning of this passage is not clear.

The Garden, which was attributed to him, though the man who really wrote it for him was a person known as *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd Rabbih, with the nickname of "Mule's Head"; The Hunt and the Prey; The Disagreement of Kings;¹³ The Garden and the Flowers.

The Family of Ṭāhir

'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir

He was a poet, writer of epistles, and master of literary style, as was his father, Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, also. Both of them were authors of collections of letters. The correspondence of Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn with al-Ma'mūn, at the time of his [Ṭāhir's] entry into Baghdād, is famous and of an excellent quality.¹⁴

Manṣūr ibn Ṭalḥah ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn

[His uncle] 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir called him the savant of the Ṭāhir family, admiring him for all his wonderful traits. He was the governor of Marw (Merv), Āmul, Zamm, and Khwārizm.¹⁵ He also wrote some famous books on philosophy, among which there was *The Agreeable in Music*, after reading which al-Kindī said, "It is as agreeable as its author named it." There were also among his books:

Manifest (Al-Ibānah), about the actions of the heavens; Existence; his epistle, Numbers and the Reckoned; Guidance and Deduction.

'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir

He was a poet, writer of epistles, and governor, who succeeded *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir¹⁶ as chief of the guard at

¹³ This title and the one following are not in the Beatty MS.

¹⁴ When the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd died, his son al-Amīn became his successor. But the younger brother al-Ma'mūn sent his general, who was Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, with an army from Khurāsān to seize Baghdād. After 14 months, Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn entered Baghdād and al-Ma'mūn became caliph, A.D. 813. See Mas'ūdī, VI, 436-87.

¹⁵ For these districts, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 68; II, 480-946; IV, 507. The Flügel edition omits Zamm.

¹⁶ The translation follows Flügel. The Beatty MS has *Muḥammad* ibn Ṭāhir ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir. In the sentence which follows, *sayyid* refers to his position as chief of the Kudā' Tribe; see Khallikān, II, 79-80; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 244; "Ṭāhirids," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 614.

Baghdād. He was also a chief (*sayyid*), with whom ended the supremacy of his family, for he was the last of them to die as a chief. Among his books there were:

The Guide, about the selection of poetry; his epistle about the policies of the kings; his missives to 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz; Elegance and Eloquence [of literary style].

The Secretaries and the Sons of Their Kind

Naming of the secretaries who wrote missives and of each one of them who compiled a book as an anthology of his epistles.¹⁷

'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yahyā

He was the secretary of [the Caliph] Marwān ibn Muḥammad, but before that he was an instructor of boys, moving about among the towns. The writers of correspondence learned from him, adhering to his method. It was he who facilitated the use of literary style for correspondence. He was unique in his time, one of the people of Syria from the city of ———. There is a collection of about a thousand leaves from his epistles.

Ghaylān Abū Marwān

His name was ———. I deal with him in the discourse about the theologians in the passage about al-Murji'ah.¹⁸ There is a collection of about two thousand leaves of his epistles.

Sālim

He was surnamed Abū al-'Alā' and was the secretary of [the Caliph] Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik. He was related to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd by marriage and was also one of the masters of literary style and

¹⁷ The word *kātib* (pl. *kuttāb*) is usually translated "scribe," but here evidently refers to a government secretary. The secretary was as a rule trained in the use of flowery language in a government department. The viziers were often chosen from among the secretaries. See Flügel, in *ZDMG*, XIII (1859), 587; "Kātib," *Enc. Islam*, II, 819; also Grunebaum, *Islam: Essays*, p. 69. Qalqashāndī, *Subḥ al-A'shā*, Part I, deals with the technical knowledge required by a secretary. Part II deals with the rhetoric and literary perfection required, and the other parts give examples of letters. See also Rifā'i, *Asr al-Ma'mūn*. For a good description of the government departments in which the secretaries worked, and for the development of prose, see Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, pp. 76-81, 242-54.

¹⁸ Ghaylān does not seem to be mentioned again in connection with al-Murji'ah.

eloquence. He made a translation from the *Epistle of Aristotle to Alexander*, or else it was translated for him and he made corrections.¹⁹ There is a collection of about one hundred leaves of his epistles.

‘*Abd al-Wahhāb ibn ‘Alī*

He served as secretary to *Bilāl ibn Abī Burdah ibn Abī Mūsā al-Ash‘arī* and was one of the masters of eloquence and style, though his correspondence was not extensive.

Khālīd ibn Rabī‘ah al-Ifriqī

He was a writer of official letters, who had an eloquent literary style, and was connected with both dynasties [Umayyad and ‘Abbāsīd]. His collection of epistles was about two hundred leaves in length.

Yahyā and Muḥammad, the Two Sons of *Ziyād*, [Who Were Called] *Ḥārithīs*

They were descendants of *al-Ḥārith ibn Ka‘b*. Both of them were poets, writers of official letters, and masters of eloquent literary style. The epistles of both of them are in collections.

Jabal ibn Yazīd

He was the secretary of ‘*Umarah ibn Ḥamzah* and he translated some of the works of eloquent and skilled writers.

‘*Umarah ibn Ḥamzah*

He was the secretary of [the Caliph] *Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr* and also his protégé. He was proud, vain, generous, eloquent, and a master of literary style, though blind in one eye. *Abū Ja‘far [al-Manṣūr]* and *al-Mahdī* advanced him, overlooking his character, because of his excellence, his eloquent literary style, and his obligation to duty. Thus he administered important affairs for both of them. There is a collection of his correspondence, which includes the epistle on the army (*al-khamīs*) drawn up for the *Banū al-‘Abbās* [the ‘Abbāsīds].

¹⁹ The *Epistle of Aristotle* evidently refers to either an entire composition ascribed to Aristotle and entitled *Rhetoric of Alexander*, or else to the dedicatory epistle to Alexander the Great at the beginning of this composition; see “Aristotle,” *Enc. Brit.*, II, 515.

Muḥammad ibn Ḥujr ibn Sulaymān

Ḥujr was one of the people of Ḥarrān. He [Muḥammad] was a master of literary style. He wrote to the governors of Armenia and Syria in a personal way.²⁰ He also wrote well-known books.

He was the secretary of al-‘Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh, and was a master of eloquent literary style and a writer of official correspondence. He came from al-Anbār, and his letters form a collection.²¹

Account of ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa’

His name in Persian was Ruzbah,²² but he was called ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa’, though before he became a Muslim he was nicknamed Abū ‘Amr. When he embraced Islām he was surnamed Abū Muḥammad. Al-Muqaffa’ ibn Mubārak was shriveled (*muqaffa’*) because al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf dealt him such a hard blow that his hand shriveled up. This was at al-Baṣrah, [and was brought about] because of the properties which he took from the belongings of the sultan.²³

His origin was from Ḥawz,²⁴ a city of the regions of Persia. At first he was secretary to *Dā’ūd* ibn ‘Umar ibn Hubayrah, later serving ‘Isā ibn ‘Alī at Karmān. He was most accomplished as a master of literary style and eloquence, as well as being an author, poet, and stylist. It was he who composed the conditions addressed to [the Caliph] al-Manṣūr on behalf of ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī, making them so harsh and aggressive that Abū Ja’far [al-Manṣūr] did not forget them. So when *Sufyān* ibn Mu’āwiyah killed him by burning him in a fire, al-Manṣūr approved the action, not demanding revenge or blood compensation.

²⁰ This probably means either that he carried on a personal correspondence with these governors, independently of the government secretariat, or else that he served in a personal capacity as the secretary of these governors.

²¹ Flügel ascribes this last paragraph to an unnamed person. The Beatty MS, followed here, includes it with the account of Muḥammad ibn Ḥujr. Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 125, 280, mentions that al-‘Abbās ibn Muḥammad was in Armenia and Syria.

²² This seems to be from the Persian, *roz bih* (“happy days”).

²³ These accounts of al-Muqaffa’ and his son should be compared with the interesting article in Khallikān, I, 431.

²⁴ For this city, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 359.

He was one of those who translated from the Persian tongue into Arabic, as he was skilled and eloquent in both languages. He translated a number of Persian books, among which there were:

Book of Kings (Khudāy Nāmah), about biography;²⁵ Ayīn Nāmah, about al-ayīn (ordinances, customs);²⁶ Kalilah wa-Dimnah; *Mazdak*;²⁷ The Crown, about the life of *Anūshirwān* [Chosroes I]; the large book, Literary Pursuits;²⁸ the small book, Literary Pursuits; Al-Yatimah, about the epistles;²⁹ his epistles; Compendium of "Kalilah wa-Dimnah"; his epistles about al-Ṣaḥābah.³⁰

Account of Abān al-Lāḥiqī

He was Abān ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Lāḥiq ibn 'Ufayr al-Raqāshī, who along with a group of his people wrote poetry. He himself had a special position in the group, because he translated prose books into poetic couplets (*muzdawaj*). Among the books which he translated there were:

Kalilah wa-Dimnah; The Biography of *Ardashīr*; The Biography of *Anūshirwān*; Bilawhar wa-Būdāsāf;³¹ Epistles;³² Clemency of India (Ḥilm al-Hind) (or Dream of India [Ḥilm al-Hind]).

Qudāmah ibn Yazīd

He was the secretary of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ, an eloquent writer and a master of literary style. He served 'Abd al-Malik until the time of [Hārūn] al-Rashīd, when he was killed by the blow of an ax which struck his neck. Among his books there was *Epistles*.

²⁵ See Ḥajjī Khalīfah, Part IV, p. 13; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 107, 123.

²⁶ This could be "*Athīn Nāmah* (The Book of Aristocracy), about those with noble lineage." See Glossary for this famous book.

²⁷ *Mazdak* was the reform prophet killed by Chosroes I, A.D. 531.

²⁸ After this title the Flügel text gives the phrase "known as . . .," filling in the space with a guess which is probably incorrect. The Beatty MS has what appears to be "known as *Māhīr Jamshāsh* (The Sagacity of Solomon)," but the text is not clear enough to be sure.

²⁹ Here *al-yatimah* probably means "the unique."

³⁰ The last two titles are not in the Flügel text. *Al-Ṣaḥābah* probably refers to the Prophet's Companions, but perhaps to something in Persian history.

³¹ See Glossary for this famous book.

³² This title and that following are not in the Beatty MS.

Al-*Harīr* ibn al-*Ṣarīḥ*

He was the secretary of *Thumāmāh*³⁵ and was surnamed *Abū Hāshim*. He was one of the people of *Hādir Tayy*. He was a master of literary style and writer of correspondence. He wrote *Epistles*, which I have seen, and which contains about one hundred leaves.

Account of 'Alī ibn 'Ubaydah al-Rayḥānī

He was a master of elegant writing and style, attached in a special way to [the Caliph] al-*Ma'mūn*. In his literary works and compositions he followed the method of philosophy (*al-ḥikmah*), and was accused of unbelief. He was a distinguished secretary. About him and about al-*Ma'mūn* anecdotes were told.

One of them was that one time, while he was with al-*Ma'mūn*, one of the pages scratched a second one. When al-*Ma'mūn* saw them, he desired to know whether or not 'Alī had also observed them. So he said to him, "Did you see?" while he made a gesture to 'Alī with his hand, separating his fingers so as to indicate five, for "five" (*khamṣah*) can be changed to "he scratched him" (*khamashaha*). There were other anecdotes about brightness and wit in addition to this one. 'Alī ibn 'Ubaydah died ———. Among his books there were:

The Preserved (Protected); Al-*Barzakh*;³⁶ Searching for Love; The Party Addressed [second person in grammar]; New (Acquired) Property (Al-*Tārīf*);³⁷ Al-*Hāshimī*;³⁸ Meaning;³⁷ Al-*Khiṣāl* (Properties, Customs); Al-*Nāsi* [one who defers the pilgrimage];³⁸ The Acrostic (Al-*Muwashshah*); Union and Alliance; The Ancestor (Al-*Jadd*) (or Zeal

³⁵ The Flügel text has *Qumāmāh*, but *Thumāmāh*, in the Beatty MS, seems to be correct. *Hādir Tayy*, in the next sentence, was a place near to Damascus; see *Yāqūt*, *Geog.*, II, 186, l. 15; III, 863 l. 7.

³⁶ Flügel gives *al-barzakhī*, which is probably correct. This was the barrier or lapse of time between death and resurrection; see *Qur'ān* 23:100; 25:53; 55:20. The Beatty MS gives an indistinct word which might be *al-tadarruj* ("advancement") or *al-tadrus* ("pheasant").

³⁷ The Beatty MS has *Al-Tārīf*. Flügel gives the title as *Al-Tārīq*, meaning "the morning star" or "the visitor at night." It might also be a proper name.

³⁸ This title might refer to one of the several al-*Hāshimī*'s listed in the *Biog. Index*.

³⁷ This title is used for commentaries on poetry and the *Qur'ān*.

³⁸ This may be a proper name; see *Biog. Index*.

[Al-Jidd]); The Halter; The Free (Al-Mutakhallī); Patience; Brightness and Splendor; Cleverness of the Maiden (Muhr Azād) of Gustasb;³⁹ Kai Luhrāsp the King;⁴⁰ Surfaces of the Earth; The Brothers; Rūshanā Yadak;⁴¹ Description of Heaven; Categories; Al-Washj (The Ash Tree, Intermixture of Relationship); Cords and Ropes; The Training of Juwashtar;⁴² Explanation of Love and Description of Brotherhood; The Peacock; The Grieving;⁴³ The Disposition of Hārūn.

Categories; The Preacher (Al-Khaṭīb); The Rising Star (Al-Nājim); Description of Persia; Structure (Al-Binyah);⁴⁴ The Confused (Difficult to Solve); The Virtues of Ishāq; Description of Death; Hearing and Sight; Despondency and Hope; Description of the 'Ulamā' [legal and religious authorities]; The Son of the King; The Hoped For and Feared; Wurūd and Wadūd, the Dog Trainers (al-Mukallibayn);⁴⁵ Description of the Ant and the Gnat; Punishments;⁴⁶ Praise of Wine; The Camel; Pulpit Sermons; Marriage; Species; Qualities; The Testing of Providence; The Bountiful; The Sessions.⁴⁷

Account of Sahl ibn Hārūn

He was Sahl ibn Hārūn ibn Rahyūnī of Dastumīsān,⁴⁸ who after going to al-Baṣrah became dedicated to the service of [the Caliph] al-Ma'mūn. He was director of Khizānat al-Ḥikmah [the royal library], as well as a scholar, a master of literary style, and a poet. He was Persian by origin, one of the Shu'ūbiyah, strong in his partisanship against the Arabs, and the author of many books and epistles.

³⁹ The Flügel version is garbled. The Beatty MS gives clearly *muhr azād* with a proper name like Gustasb, the legendary character who was confused with Solomon.

⁴⁰ He was a legendary king of Persia; see Biog. Index.

⁴¹ The Flügel text is not clear. The Beatty MS has a title which might be Rūshanā, followed by *yadak* ("horse"), or *badhl* ("munificence"). Rūshanā was Roxana, the wife of Alexander the Great.

⁴² Juwashtar is perhaps meant to be Zoroaster.

⁴³ This may be, as translated, *al-mashjī* ("the grieving"), or meant to be *al-mashjar* or *al-mushjir* ("planted with trees"), or a proper name which cannot be identified. In the following title, the man referred to is probably Hārūn al-Rashīd.

⁴⁴ The Beatty MS repeats this title later in the list.

⁴⁵ Wurūd (Roses) and Wadūd (Lovers) were evidently characters in a story.

⁴⁶ The Arabic, *al-mu'āqabāt*, has other meanings.

⁴⁷ The Beatty MS omits this title.

⁴⁸ A town near al-Awwāz, northeast of al-Baṣrah. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 574.

As he was extremely concerned with miserliness, he wrote a letter to al-*Hasan* ibn *Sahl* [the vizier], in which he praised miserliness, inspiring him with a desire for it, but at the same time asking him for a gift. Then al-*Hasan* wrote a reply to him on the back of his letter: "Your letter has arrived and we are following your advice and have made on the back [of the page] a receipt and acknowledgment for you with salaams." So nothing came to him as a result.

Abū 'Uthmān al-*Jāhīz* showed him favor, ranking high his eloquence and literary style and quoting him in his books. Among the books of *Sahl* ibn *Hārūn* there were:

Collection of Epistles;⁴⁹ *Tha'lah wa-Afrā'*, similar to *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*;⁵⁰ The Tree of Intelligence; The Leopard and the Fox; The Maid of *Hudhayl* and the Youth of *Makhzūm*;⁵¹ The Lover and the Virgin; *Wurūd wa-Wadūd*;⁵² The Two Wives [of the same husband]; *Aspasius* on the Taking of Brothers; The Two Gazelles; The Culture of *Ashak* ibn *Ashak*, addressed to 'Īsā ibn Abān about judgment; The Administration of the Kingdom and Policy.⁵³

Sa'id ibn *Huraym*⁵⁴ al-*Kātib* (the Secretary)

He was an associate of *Sahl* ibn *Hārūn* in the Bayt al-*Hikmah*. He was eloquent, a master of literary style and a writer of correspondence who was quoted by al-*Jāhīz*. Among his books there was *Learning and Its Benefits*. He also had a collection of epistles.

Salm

He was the director of the Bayt al-*Hikmah* with *Sahl* ibn *Hārūn*, who made translations from Persian into Arabic.

⁴⁹ Not found in the Beatty MS.

⁵⁰ *Tha'lah* and *Afrā'* are names in a fable. *Tha'alah* (the ā is often omitted) is a female fox. *Afrā'* means wild asses. Perhaps the word should be in the singular, *al-farā'* ("wild ass"), or it might also be *al-farrā'* ("fur dealer"). See Mas'ūdi, I, 159, 400. *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* is a famous book of Indian fables; see Glossary.

⁵¹ For these two tribes, see "Hudhail," *Enc. Islam*, II, 329; "Makhzūm," III, 171.

⁵² This title may be the book of fables translated by 'Alī ibn 'Ubaydah (see n. 45). Flügel gives *Nudūd wa-Wadūd wa-Ladūd*. The Beatty MS has *Nudūd wa-Dudūd*. The form given is probably the correct one.

⁵³ Not found in the Beatty MS.

⁵⁴ This name is taken from the Beatty MS. The form given by Flügel, *Sa'id* ibn *Hārūn*, is probably incorrect. Flügel's form is also given in "Bait al-Hikma," *Enc. Islam* (1960), I, 1141.

'*Alī* ibn Dā'ūd

He was the secretary of Umm Ja'far *Zubaydah*, and one of the masters of eloquent literary style. In his composition [of official letters] he used the method of *Sahl* ibn Hārūn. Among his books there were;

Using a Loud Voice (*Al-Jarhīyah*), a book of singing;⁵⁵ The Freeborn and the Populace; The Beautiful.

Muḥammad ibn al-Layth al-Khaṭīb (the Preacher)

He was surnamed Abū al-Rabī', and served as secretary to *Yahyā* ibn Khālīd [the vizier]. He was a protégé of the Banū Umayyah and was known for his legal skill. He had an eloquent literary style and was a writer of correspondence, a secretary, legal authority, and theologian, distinguished and frugal. It is said that he was the ugliest of the creations of Allāh, but the Barmak family advanced him, favoring him although he was accused of heresy.⁵⁶ Among his books there were:

The Elliptic, about comparative computation; Refutation of Heretics (*al-Zanādiqah*); *Constantine's* Reply from *al-Rashīd*;⁵⁷ Penmanship and the Pen; The Admonition (Preaching) of Hārūn al-Rashīd, addressed to *Yahyā* ibn Khālīd about literary pursuits.

Another account about him was written in the handwriting of Ibn *Hafṣ*; "Muḥammad ibn al-Layth of the Banū Ḥiṣn Tribe⁵⁸ was gifted in language. He was among the protégés of the Banū Umayyah, with a dislike for Persia, for which the Barmak family hated him. He was a preacher through the agency of his letters."

⁵⁵ The translation is taken from the Beatty MS. Flügel is probably incorrect.

⁵⁶ The members of the Barmak family were viziers who organized the empire for the early 'Abbāsid caliphs. The word "heresy" is *al-zanādiqah*, which usually was associated with the dualistic tendencies of the Manichaeans and Zoroastrians. As Muḥammad ibn al-Layth wrote a book refuting this heresy and was a man who sympathized with the Arabs rather than the Persians, the accusation was probably false.

⁵⁷ Constantine VI was the boy emperor at Constantinople, A.D. 780-97. During his reign Hārūn al-Rashīd extracted tribute from the Byzantines.

⁵⁸ For this tribe, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 48 top.

I read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn *Thawābah*: "He was Muḥammad ibn al-Layth, the preacher and master (*ṣāhib*) of correspondence. He was a descendant of Adhabb (Azabb) Bād ibn Fīrūz ibn Shāhīn ibn Adhar Hurmuz ibn Hurmuz ibn Sarūshān ibn Bahman ibn Afrandār, reaching back in his lineage to *Dārā* ibn *Dārā* the King." He had an anthology of epistles.

Al-‘Attābī

He was Abū ‘Amr Kulthūm ibn ‘Amr ibn Ayyūb al-Tha‘labī al-‘Attābī, a Syrian living at Qinnasrīn,⁵⁹ who was a poet, secretary, and accomplished letter writer. He became associated with members of the Barmak family, devoting himself to them. Then, later, he served *Tāhir* ibn al-Ḥusayn and ‘*Alī* ibn Hishām.

It is related that when [the Caliph] al-Rashīd met him after the execution of *Ja‘far* ibn Yaḥyā and the waning of the Barmak fortunes, he [al-Rashīd] said to him, "What have you produced for me so far, oh, ‘Attābī?"⁶⁰ Then he [al-‘Attābī] composed extemporaneously some verses with excellent significance, among which there were:

Doth it please thee that there should befall me
What was accorded to *Ja‘far* of wealth and to Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd?
That the Commander of the Faithful should choke me
With their choking, with things exceeding cold.
Call me, leave me alone, tranquil, that my fate might come slowly,
Not afflicted with the horror of these happenings.
For confused are the events bound together
In the caverns of darkness.⁶¹

He was the best of the people, preeminent in his epistles and poetry, following the way of genius.⁶² Al-‘Attābī died ———. Among his books there were:

⁵⁹ For Qinnasrīn, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 184.

⁶⁰ For a brief history of the Barmak family, see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 294–96, an account which helps to explain this incident and the poem which follows.

⁶¹ Flügel, the Beatty MS, and Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part 12, p. 9, give different versions of this verse. The translation follows in general the Beatty MS.

⁶² The word translated as "preeminent" is *i‘tizāz* in Arabic, although it is written, probably inaccurately, as *i‘tidād* in Flügel and *i‘tidhār* in the Beatty MS. The Arabic word for "genius" is *al-nābighah*. This was the name of a famous poet, and may refer to him.

Literary Pursuits; The Arts of Government; The Delightful Book of the Horse; Pronunciations, which Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid quoted as passed down by al-Mubarrad and which was eloquent; Logic;⁶³ Things Beautiful.

Al-'Utbi

He was 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Amr ibn 'Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān of al-Baṣrah. Abū al-'Aynā' said that 'Amr ibn 'Utbah was of distinguished lineage.

He was one of the most eloquent of men, both al-'Utbi and his father being persons of a superior type, men of letters and masters of literary style. Al-'Utbi was also a poet, though this was not true of his father.⁶⁴

It is said that al-'Utbi stood at the doorway of Ismā'il ibn Ja'far ibn Sulaymān, asking for permission to enter, but the servant said that he [Ismā'il] was in the bath. Then he [al-'Utbi] recited:

When I desire a meal from the emīr
And his servant (*ghilmān*) says that he has gone to the bath,
Then my answer to the porter (*hājib*) is
That I sought nothing but greetings
And will not come to you at any time,
Except on each day that we are fasting.

Al-'Utbi died during the year two hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 842/43]. Among his books there were:

Horses; Poetry of the Nomads and Poetry of Women Who Were Loved and Then Hated; The Slaughtered [for Sacrifice];⁶⁵ Characters (Morals).

The Names of Writers of Correspondence Whose Epistles Were Collected as Anthologies

Al-Qāsim ibn Ṣabīḥ, a small amount;⁶⁶ Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd, a small amount; his son al-Faḍl (ibn Yaḥyā), a small amount; his son Ja'far (ibn Yaḥyā), a small amount; al-Fayḍ ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ, a large amount; Yūsuf ibn al-Qāsim, a small amount; Ya'qūb ibn

⁶³ This title and the one following are not in the Beatty MS.

⁶⁴ This paragraph follows the Beatty MS; Flügel differs.

⁶⁵ This title is omitted by Flügel.

⁶⁶ The words "a small amount" and "a large amount" are taken from the Beatty MS, as they are not given perfectly by Flügel.

Nūh, a small amount; Yūsuf Laqwah, a small amount; al-Faḍl ibn Sahl, a small amount; al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl, a small amount; Muḥammad ibn Bakr, a small amount; Aḥmad ibn al-Najm, a large amount; Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf the secretary of al-Ma'mūn and a vizier, a large amount.

*Ibrāhīm*⁶⁷ ibn al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn Šūl, the Secretary

He was one of the eloquent writers and poets who were masters of literary style, and he was in charge of the correspondence during the regimes of a number of caliphs, being a man both cultured and gifted. Abū Tammām said, "If Ibrāhīm had not turned his interests to the service of the sultan, he would not have left bread to a single poet, because of the excellency of his poetry." Among his books there were;

Epistles; The Government, a large book; Cooking; Perfume.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Wahb ibn Sa'id ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥuṣayn ibn Qays ibn Qanān ibn Mattā

Qanān served as secretary to Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān while he was administering Syria, and later to Mu'āwiyah. Mu'āwiyah passed him on to his son, Yazīd, during whose reign as caliph he [Qanān] died. Then Yazīd appointed his [Qanān's] son, Qays, to be his secretary. Qays later served as secretary to Marwān, 'Abd al-Malik, and Hishām, during whose [Hishām's] reign he died.

Hishām made his [Qays's] son, al-Ḥuṣayn, his secretary. Marwān [II] later employed him as a secretary. He went to Egypt, and when Marwān was killed he became attached to Ibn Hubayrah. When Ibn Hubayrah went over to Abū Ja'far [al-Manṣūr], he won safe conduct for al-Ḥuṣayn, who served al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī, until his death occurred on the road to al-Rayy.

Then al-Mahdī appointed his [Ḥuṣayn's] son 'Amr as a secretary and he served as secretary to Khālīd ibn Barmak. When he died, his son Sa'id was his successor, remaining in the service of the Barmak family, and being followed by his own son Wahb, who first acted as secretary to Ja'far ibn Yaḥyā and later in the entourage of Dhū

⁶⁷ The Flügel edition adds Abū Ishāq to the name of Ibrāhīm.

al-Ri'āsitayn [al-*Faḍl* ibn Sahl]. Dhū al-Ri'āsitayn said about him, "In view of his associates, I have wondered how Wahb refrained from self-seeking."⁶⁸

After that al-*Hasan* ibn Sahl made him [Wahb] his secretary, appointing him governor of Kirmān and Fars, in which provinces he made improvements. When he sent him on a mission to al-*Ma'mūn* via Fam al-*Ṣillḥ*,⁶⁹ he was drowned on the way to Baghdād from Fam al-*Ṣillḥ*. His son *Sulaymān*, when he was a boy fourteen years old, did secretarial work for al-*Ma'mūn*. Later he served as secretary to *Itākh* and *Ashnās*. After that he was head of the vizierate of al-*Mu'tamid*. This *Sulaymān* ibn Wahb had a book, a collection of his epistles.

The brother of *Sulaymān*, al-*Hasan* ibn Wahb, served as secretary to *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, also presiding over the bureau of correspondence. He was a poet, an eloquent writer, a composer of correspondence, a master of literary style, and one of the most excellent of the secretaries. His book was a collection of epistles.

Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt Was *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abān al-Zayyāt

Abān was one of the inhabitants of a village of al-Jabal called al-Daskarah, from which region he transported oil to Baghdād. [Muḥammad] was a poet and master of literary style, who served as vizier to three caliphs: al-*Mu'taṣim*, al-*Wāthiq*, and al-*Mutawakkil*. Forty days after appointing him as vizier, al-*Mutawakkil* humiliated him, killing him in his affliction. We give a detailed account of him elsewhere.⁷⁰ He died during the year two hundred and thirty-three [A.D. 847/48]. He had an anthology of epistles.

Al-Qāsim ibn Yūsuf

He was the brother of *Aḥmad* ibn Yūsuf. He was a poet and writer of correspondence. He had a book of epistles.

⁶⁸ For the caliphs mentioned, see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 193, 279, 297.

⁶⁹ This locality was on the Ṣillḥ River above al-Wāsiṭ; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 917.

⁷⁰ Perhaps the author of *Al-Fihrist* expected to mention Muḥammad in further detail in connection with the poets, but actually his name is only mentioned briefly.

'*Amr* ibn Mas'adah ibn Sa'id ibn ———

He was the vizier of al-Ma'mūn, and was a master of literary style, a poet, and writer of correspondence. There is a large book of his epistles.

Sa'id ibn Wahb

He was a secretary, but not from the family of *Wahb* ibn Sa'id, for his origin was Persian. He wrote:

Epistles; a collection of his poems.⁷¹

Al-Harrānī

He was Abū al-Ṭayyib 'Abd al-Rahīm ibn Aḥmad al-Harrānī, a poet, writer of correspondence, and master of literary style, who wrote:

Epistles; about eloquent literary style.⁷²

Abū 'Alī al-Baṣīr

He was a poet, master of literary style, and writer of correspondence. Between him and Abū al-'Aynā' there were exchanges of satires and excellent compositions, including a number of poems. He wrote:

Epistles; a collection of his poems.⁷³

Al-Yūsufī

He was Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, one of the descendants of Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Kātib, the secretary of al-Ma'mūn.⁷⁴ He was a writer of correspondence and a master of literary style. He wrote:

The Distinguished (Al-Faḍl), referring to his selected epistles; epistles about his personal affairs.

⁷¹ This second title not found in the Beatty MS.

⁷² This title is not found in the Beatty MS.

⁷³ Omitted in the Beatty MS.

⁷⁴ Flügel inserts the phrases "the secretary of al-Ma'mūn" and also "There were famous letters written by Abū al-Ṭayyib Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf." The second phrase is omitted from the translation because the names are evidently confused.

The Banū al-*Mudabbir*⁷⁵

Aḥmad, *Muḥammad*, and *Ibrāhīm*, all of whom were poets, writers of correspondence, and masters of literary style. *Aḥmad* wrote the book *Sessions and Conference*.

Hārūn ibn *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt

He was surnamed Abū Mūsā, and was one of the persons who collected historical anecdotes and quoted traditions. Among his books there were:

Historical Traditions of *Dhū* al-Rummah; his epistles.⁷⁶

Sa'id ibn *Ḥumayd*

He was surnamed Abū 'Uthmān and was a secretary, poet, and writer of correspondence, delightful in expression, preeminent in his work, but given to plagiarism and much [literary] plundering. If it should be said to the words and poetry of *Sa'id*, "Return to your true authors (*ahlik*)," there would be nothing of his own left. This was the expression of *Aḥmad* ibn Abī Ṭāhīr.

He claimed that he was descended from the offspring of the kings of Persia. Among his books there were:

Persia's Receiving Justice from the Arabs, also known as Equality; a collection of his epistles; an anthology of his poems. In connection with [his] quashing of *Aḥmad* and *Ibrāhīm*, a book of epistles was [addressed] to each of them.⁷⁷

Ibrāhīm ibn *Ismā'il* ibn *Dā'ūd*, the Secretary

He excelled in eloquence and literary style. He wrote *Epistles*.

Sa'id ibn *Ḥumayd* ibn al-Bakhtakān

He was surnamed Abū 'Uthmān and was a man of understanding, a theologian, and a master of literary style. Coming from ancient ancestry in Persia, he was strong in partisanship against the Arabs. Among his books there were:

⁷⁵ Ibn Khallikān states that the name should be written al-Mudabbir, although as a rule it is Mudabbar (see Khallikān, IV, 389). The title *Sessions and Conference* is omitted in the Beatty MS.

⁷⁶ Omitted by the Beatty MS.

⁷⁷ Probably *Aḥmad* ibn Abī Ṭāhīr and *Ibrāhīm* ibn *Ismā'il*.

The Persians' Superiority⁷⁸ over the Arabs, and Their Excellence; his epistles; about theology, which I mention in the proper place in this volume.

Ḥamd ibn Mihrān, the Secretary

He was from Iṣbahān and served as secretary to the members of the Barmak family while they were still alive.⁷⁹ He wrote *Epistles*.

Ibn Yazdād

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazdād ibn Suwayd was the vizier of [the Caliph] al-Ma'mūn, a master of literary style, a writer of correspondence, and a poet.⁸⁰ Among his books there were: *Epistles*; an anthology of his poems.

Muḥammad ibn Mukram

He was a secretary who was a master of literary style and a writer of correspondence. He wrote *Epistles*.

Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yazdād ibn Suwayd

He was one of the secretaries who were masters of literary style. His son was Abū Aḥmad ibn⁸¹ 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yazdād, who completed the book of history which his father was writing, to the year three hundred [A.D. 912/13]. Among his [Abū Aḥmad's] books there were:

History; his epistles.

Maymun ibn Ibrāhīm, the Secretary

He had special charge of the correspondence during the days of al-Mutawakkil. He was eloquent, a master of literary style and a writer of correspondence. He wrote *Epistles*.

⁷⁸ The Beatty MS omits "superiority," which omission is evidently an error.

⁷⁹ The reference to the Barmak family is omitted in the Beatty MS.

⁸⁰ The phrase "and a poet" and the second book title are not found in the Beatty MS.

⁸¹ The word *ibn* is not in the original Arabic but must be correct, judging from the dates of these two men's lives. Flügel gives the two book titles in this paragraph with Abū Ṣāliḥ. The translation follows the Beatty MS in giving them with the son, Abū Aḥmad.

Mūsā ibn 'Abd al-Malik

He had charge of the Bureau of al-Sawād and other matters during the days of al-*Mutawakkil* and was also a writer of correspondence. I have seen a few of his letters.

Ibn Sa'd⁸² al-Quṭrabbullī

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Sa'd ibn Mas'ūd al-Quṭrabbullī, one of the secretaries who were learned and preeminent. Among his books there were:

History, which he wrote up to his own lifetime; *Fiqar* (Rhymed Phrases, Rhymed Clauses) of the Masters of Literary Style;⁸³ Logic.

Naṭṭāḥah Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Ismā'il ibn al-Khaṣīb al-Anbārī

He was the secretary of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhīr, who turned him over to *Muḥammad* ibn Ṭāhīr.⁸⁴ He was a master of literary style, a correspondence writer, a poet, and a man of letters, preeminent in eloquent composition. He usually wrote in a personal way to his brothers, but there were also letters and replies exchanged between him and Abū al-'Abbās ['Abd Allāh] ibn al-Mu'tazz. He composed a collection (*diwān*) of letters, about a thousand leaves in length, comprising all of the good [passages] from different kinds of letters.

Cooked Food; Generations (Categories) of Secretaries; and also what he entitled the Compendium Copied from Notes, which included what he heard from the scholars and what was testified to in connection with anecdotes about important people; Description (Attributes) of the Soul; his letters to his brothers.⁸⁵

⁸² The Flügel text gives Ibn Sa'id. In the sentence below, Flügel gives Abū al-Ḥasan as part of his name; the Beatty MS omits it.

⁸³ This title and that following are omitted by the Beatty MS.

⁸⁴ The translation follows the Beatty MS, which seems to be correct. *Muḥammad* was the brother of 'Ubayd Allāh, so that it was natural for the secretary to go from one to the other. The Flügel version says that *Muḥammad* ibn Ṭāhīr killed *Naṭṭāḥah*, evidently an error.

⁸⁵ Lacking in the Beatty MS.

Ibn Fuḍayl al-Kātib

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Fuḍayl ibn Marwān, and was of Persian origin. Among his books there was *Idols and What the Arabs and Persians Used to Worship instead of Allāh, Blessed Be His Name*.

Abū al-'Aynā' Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Khillād⁸⁶

He was a master of literary style and eloquence, with a ready answer and a quick repartee. He was also a poet. During the latter part of his life he was blind. Letters and satires were exchanged between him and Abū 'Alī al-Baṣīr and also Abū Hiffān.⁸⁷

The people of al-'Askar⁸⁸ used to fear his tongue. He quoted al-Aṣma'i and other scholars. Abū al-'Aynā' died some time after the year two hundred and eighty [A.D. 893/94].⁸⁹ Among his books there were:

Accounts of Abū al-'Aynā', which was written by [Aḥmad] ibn Abī Ṭāhir; Poems of Abū al-'Aynā', about thirty leaves in length.

I have read something written in the handwriting of [Muḥammad ibn 'Alī] ibn Muqlah [surnamed] Abū 'Alī, of which this is a transcription. I am presenting it with its order and wording, as this book requires.

Names of the Preachers (Orators)

The Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī, for whom may there be peace; Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh; 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr; 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; Khālīd and Ismā'il, the two sons of 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī; Yazīd ibn Khālīd ibn 'Abd Allāh and Jarīr ibn Yazīd ibn Khālīd; 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ahtam; Khālīd ibn Safwān; Ibn al-Qirriyah;⁹⁰ Ṣa'sā'ah ibn Šūḥān; Muḥammad ibn Qays al-Khaṭīb; Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān; Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'ah; al-Walīd ibn Yazīd; Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr; al-Ma'mūn; Shabīb ibn

⁸⁶ "Ibn Khillād" is omitted by the Beatty MS.

⁸⁷ See Mas'ūdī, VII, 328, for mention of Abū 'Alī al-Baṣīr and Abū al-'Aynā'.

⁸⁸ *Al-'askar* may refer to the army, but probably refers to the quarter of Baghdād known as "Askar al-Mahdī" and often called "al-Askar." See Coke, *Baghdad*, p. 40.

⁸⁹ The Beatty MS leaves a gap in place of the date following "Abū al-'Aynā' died."

⁹⁰ The Beatty MS gives "al-Qisriyah," which seems to be an error.

Shaybalī; al-'Abbās ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Alawī and his son 'Abd Allāh; Muḥammad ibn Khālīd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī; Shabbah ibn 'Iqāl.

The Names of Those Who Were Eloquent⁸¹

Abū Marwān Ghaylān; Sālim, the secretary of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik and a kinsman of 'Abd al-Ḥamid; 'Abd al-Ḥamid ibn Yahyā, the secretary of Marwān [II]; Khalīd ibn Rabī'ah al-Ifriqī;⁸² 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Alī, who lived at the time of Bilāl ibn Abī Burdah; 'Umārah ibn Ḥamzah; Yahyā and Muḥammad, the sons of Ziyād, the two Ḥārithī descendants of al-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b; Hujr ibn Sulaymān, from Ḥarrān; Muḥammad ibn Hujr, the secretary of al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad; Jabal ibn Yazīd, the secretary of 'Umārah ibn Ḥamzah; Mas'adah ibn 'Amr;⁸³ 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn 'Adī and Mas'adah ibn Khālīd, the two secretaries of al-Manṣūr; Yūnus ibn Abī Farwāl, who served as the secretary of 'Isā ibn Mūsā; Sahl ibn Hārūn, director of the Bayt al-Ḥikmah of al-Ma'mūn; Sa'id ibn Huraym, the associate of Sahl ibn Hārūn at the Bayt al-Ḥikmah; 'Abd Allāh ibn Khāqān;⁸⁴ Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath; 'Ubayd Allāh⁸⁵ ibn 'Amrān, who served as a secretary to a number of persons, the last of whom was al-Faḍl ibn Yahyā; Ibn Adham, the secretary of Abū Nujūm.

Abū al-Rabī' Muḥammad ibn al-Layth; Ghassān ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Madīnī;⁸⁶ al-Khaṭṭāb mawlā Sulaymān ibn Abī Ja'far and his protégé;⁸⁷ Ibn A'yān, a secretary; Abū — al-Shāmī, the

⁸¹ In this translation the word *al-bulaghā* (here, "those who were eloquent") is often rendered "masters of literary style." In the following collection of names, there are some minor variations between the Flügel text and the Beatty MS; the translation follows the latter. In the Beatty MS, three dots separate each writer from the next.

⁸² For the last element of this name, Flügel gives "al-Sharqī" and the Beatty MS is garbled, but probably "al-Ifriqī" is the correct form.

⁸³ The Arabic text gives Abū 'Amr, but most sources give his name as ibn 'Amr. Perhaps he was both Abū 'Amr and ibn 'Amr.

⁸⁴ It is possible that the word for "secretary of" has been omitted between 'Abd Allāh ibn Khāqān and Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath.

⁸⁵ The name Allāh is given by Flügel but not by the Beatty MS.

⁸⁶ Flügel adds, "who served as secretary to Ja'far ibn Sulaymān at al-Madīnah."

⁸⁷ As the word *mawlā* ("protégé") is mentioned twice in the Beatty MS, the phrase may be "al-Khaṭṭāb ibn Mu'allā the secretary of Sulaymān ibn Abī Ja'far and his protégé." It is more likely, however, that the word for protégé is mentioned twice by mistake.

secretary of al-*Walīd* ibn Mu'āwiyah; *Khaṭṭāb* ibn Abī Khaṭṭāb, one of the Ahl al-Da'wah⁹⁸ who wrote on his own behalf; 'Ubayd ibn Khirāsh, one of the people of al-Shām and a secretary; Kulthūm ibn 'Amr al-'Attābī, a man of letters who wrote on his own behalf [and for] Abū Muslim al-Shāmī; *Qumāmah*, the secretary of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ; *Ishāq* ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the secretary of *Qumāmah* ibn Yazīd; al-*Harīr* ibn al-Ṣarīḥ, the secretary of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ; Abū *Rawḥ*, the secretary of 'Alī ibn 'Isā, following Yūsuf ibn Sulaymān; Ibn al-'Abādīyah;⁹⁹ *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥarb, who served as secretary to al-Makhlū'.¹⁰⁰

Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf; *Maslamah*, the secretary of *Khuzaymah* ibn Khāzim; *Ismā'il* ibn Ṣabīḥ; Abū 'Ubayd Allāh, the secretary of al-Mahdī; *Muḥammad* ibn Sa'id, a contemporary of al-Ma'mūn; *Bakr* ibn Fayd ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Tamīmī, a contemporary of *Bilāl* ibn Abī Burdah; al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad, also a contemporary of *Bilāl*; *Bishr* ibn Abī Bishārah; Abū al-Najm *Ḥabīb* ibn al-Najm, contemporary with al-Mahdī; *Muṭarrāf* ibn Abī Muṭarrāf al-Laythī; *Ibrāhīm* ibn Ismā'il, the teacher of *Muḥammad* ibn Mukram; Yūsuf ibn Sulaymān, the secretary of 'Alī;¹⁰¹ Abū *Ḥawf*, the secretary of al-*Harīr* ibn Ṣarīḥ; *Hamzah* ibn 'Afīf ibn al-Ḥasan, a secretary of *Tāhīr* ibn al-Ḥusayn; *Muslim* ibn Ṣadaqah, a Syrian; Abū *Hāshim* al-Ḥarrānī.

Ten Masters of Literary Style¹⁰²

'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa'; *Umārah* ibn Ḥamzah; *Jabal* ibn Yazīd; *Ḥujr* ibn Muḥammad; *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥujr ——— *Anas* ibn Abī Shaykh, who was relied upon by *Aḥmad* ibn Yūsuf the secretary; *Sālinu*; *Mas'adah*; al-*Harīr* ibn Ṣarīḥ; 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn 'Adī; *Aḥmad* ibn Yūsuf.

⁹⁸ This is the name by which the Ismā'īliyah designated their own members. It can be translated as "People of the Summons."

⁹⁹ The Flügel text gives Yūsuf ibn Sulaymān ibn al-'Abādīyah as one name. The Beatty MS is probably correct in breaking it into two.

¹⁰⁰ Al-Makhlū' ("the Rejected") was the nickname of al-*Anūn*, son of *Hārūn al-Rashīd*.

¹⁰¹ Probably 'Alī ibn 'Isā, the famous vizier.

¹⁰² In this paragraph, the Flügel text omits *Jabal* ibn Yazīd, though the Beatty MS includes it. Flügel gives *Anas* ibn Abī Shaykh as a separate name. In the Beatty MS, the text is garbled following *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥujr, but evidently *Anas* was connected in some way with this man, and was not among the masters of literary style.

Recent Masters of Literary Style

Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abbās al-Šūlī; al-Ḥasan ibn Wahb; Sa‘īd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik.

Books Mentioned Together because of Their Excellence

The Testament of *Ardashīr*;¹⁰³ *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*; the epistle of ‘*Umārah* ibn Ḥamzah; Al-Māhāniyah;¹⁰⁴ Al-Yatīmah, by Ibn al-Muqaffa’;¹⁰⁵ the epistle Al-Khamīs, by *Aḥmad* ibn Yūsuf al-Khaṭīb.¹⁰⁶

Various Subjects about Which Things Were Written¹⁰⁷

About the common people, about raids [early wars of Islām], about defeats (routs), about security, about submission, about laws, about recompense, about provinces, about treaties, about counsel, about partisanship, about rain, about earthquake, about acknowledgment of a ruler, about peace, about reviling, about necessities, about satisfaction, about love (affection), about reproaches, about apologies, about trusts, about congratulations, about gifts, about judicial jurisdiction, about condolence, about holy war, about season of the pilgrimage (harvest), about feasts, about passionate desires.

Responses of the raids (correspondence of the early wars of Islām): what was written by (from) the kings to the kings about the outlying regions, about the weak (impotent), about the conflagration, about war, about praying for rain, about union (friendly relations), about security (peace), about breaking through (pouring forth) of waters.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ The charge given by the dying king *Ardashīr* to his son *Shāpūr*; see *Firdawsī*, *Shahnama*, VI, 286; Rawlinson, *Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 63.

¹⁰⁴ This may have been written by *Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī* or *Ishāq al-Mawṣilī* about their ancestor *Māhān*; see *Huart*, *History of Arabic Literature*, p. 77.

¹⁰⁵ *Al-yatīmah* means “the rare” or “the unique.” Flügel, p. 118 bottom line, gives the phrase “about epistles” following this title.

¹⁰⁶ The title *Al-Khamīs* is taken from the Beatty MS, as Flügel has *Al-Ḥasan*, evidently an error.

¹⁰⁷ In the second paragraph, the text follows the Beatty MS, in which the phrase “Responses of the raids” seems to introduce the group of subjects which follows. There is a variation in the Flügel edition.

¹⁰⁸ The subject “breaking through of waters” is taken from the Beatty MS, as Flügel gives “passionate devotion,” which is a mistake.

Also What Occurs in Action

Seeing the new moon, festivals, about amatory poetry (conversation),¹⁰⁹ demand for necessities, cassation in justice.

Here ends what was written in the handwriting of Abū 'Alī ibn Muqlah [*Muḥammad* ibn 'Alī].

Ghassān ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd¹¹⁰

He served as secretary to *Ja'far* ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī. He was eloquent, using beautiful diction and refinement of meaning. Among his books there were:

Selected writings; a book of his epistles.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥarb

He served as secretary to al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah in Armenia. Then he was the secretary of *Yazīd* ibn Usayd and later of al-Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā. He wrote *Epistles*.

Bakr ibn Ṣurad

He was the secretary of *Yazīd* ibn Mazyad and a man with an excellent literary style, who was the author of several famous books. It was he who composed for (about) *Yazīd* ibn Mazyad his letter to al-Rashīd at the time of the death of *Yazīd*.¹¹¹ He wrote:

Epistles; The Epistle about Mazyad to al-Rashīd,

Abū al-Wizīr 'Umar ibn Muṭarrāf¹¹²

He was a secretary belonging to the 'Abd al-Qays Tribe and was one of the people of Marw (Merv). He directed the bureau of the eastern provinces for al-Mahdī, al-Hādī, and al-Rashīd. He served as secretary to al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī, during whose reign it is said that he died, but the truth is that¹¹³ he died during the days of al-Rashīd, who mourned for him. He was trustworthy, preeminent in

¹⁰⁹ The Arabic word is *al-ghazal*, which can be used for a kind of popular ode.

¹¹⁰ Instead of *Ghassān*, the Beatty MS has 'Īsān, which must be wrong.

¹¹¹ Flügel has Barmak, but the Beatty MS must be right in giving *Yazīd*.

¹¹² The Beatty MS lacks "'Umar ibn Muṭarrāf" in this heading. For the tribe which follows, see "'Abd al-Qays" ('Abd al-Qays), *Enc. Islam*, I, 45.

¹¹³ The Beatty MS lacks the phrase "during whose reign . . . truth is that."

his profession, eloquent, and a quoter of traditions. Among his books there were:

Habitations of the Arabs, Their Frontiers, the Place Where Each Tribe Was Located, and the Place to Which It Migrated from There; The Epistles of Abū al-Wizīr; The Glorious Deeds of the Arabs and the Competitions of Their Tribes in Connection with Genealogy.¹¹⁴

When al-Rashīd prayed for him [at his funeral] he said, "May Allāh show mercy to thee. For verily has not Allāh offered thee two alternatives, one for Allāh and one for thyself? And hast thou not sought what was for Allāh rather than for thyself?"

Al-Faḍl ibn Marwān ibn Māsarjis, the Christian

He was from a village known as Sullā on the shores of the River Būq,¹¹⁵ and he lived to the age of ninety-three. He served al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'tasim, acting as vizier. After these two, he also served several other caliphs. Although he had little grasp of learning, he showed great intelligence in the service of the caliphs. Among his books there were:

Things Observed and Traditions Known by Eye Witnesses, Seen and Quoted; his letters.¹¹⁶

*Al-Jahshiyārī*¹¹⁷

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdūs, a secretary, student of historical traditions, and writer of correspondence, among whose books there were:

The Viziers and the Secretaries; The Meter of Poetry and a Compendium of the Types of Prosody.

¹¹⁴ This title is lacking in the Beatty MS.

¹¹⁵ For the River Būq, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 836. Cf. *ibid.*, III, 129, for Sullā, although this name may be incorrect.

¹¹⁶ "His letters" is lacking in the Beatty MS.

¹¹⁷ This whole paragraph is omitted by the Beatty MS, but a space is left, evidently with hopes that it could be filled in later.

A Group¹¹⁸*Shaylamah*

He was Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl the secretary, Shaylamah being a nickname.¹¹⁹ At first he was with al-ʿAlawī¹²⁰ at al-Baṣrah, but later he went to Baghdād and became loyal [to the government]. Then he became involved in working with some of the Khawārij, so that al-Muʿtaḍid burned him fastened to a tent pole.¹²¹ Among his books there were:

Account of the Chief of the Zanj and His Battles; his epistles.¹²²

Ibn Abī Aṣḡagh

He was Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, among whose books there were:

Learning and Nobility of Writing, about fifty leaves; Epistles, not many of them.¹²³

Ibn Abī al-Sarj

He was Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Sarj, the secretary, among whose books there were:

The Pen (Penmanship) and What Accompanies It; Epistles.¹²⁴

*Ishāq ibn Salāmāh*¹²⁵

He was a Persian secretary. Among his books there were:

Superiority of the Persians over the Arabs; Epistles.

¹¹⁸ The usual Arabic spelling for the word translated as "group" is *tāʾiḡah*, but the Beatty MS here gives *tāyifah*.

¹¹⁹ *Shaylām* means either "a cruel-looking man" or "tares" which are known as darnel grass (*Lolium temulentum*), an herb which causes mild physical reaction.

¹²⁰ This almost certainly refers to ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad, called *Ṣāhib al-Zanj*.

¹²¹ The translation follows the Beatty MS. The word given as "fastened" cannot be identified with certainty. It could be *ka-zadanj*, "like sheep's intestines." In other words, as the intestines, a popular form of food, are cooked on a spit, so the caliph burned his victim on a tent pole over a fire. See Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, pp. 73, 74; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 2135-36, for differently worded accounts of this incident.

¹²² "His epistles" lacking in the Beatty MS.

¹²³ Second title lacking in the Beatty MS.

¹²⁴ Second title lacking in the Beatty MS.

¹²⁵ The name in the Beatty MS appears to be Ishāq ibn Sulmah. The second title is lacking in the Beatty MS.

*Mūsā ibn 'Isā al-Kīsrāwī*¹²⁶

Among his books there were:

Love of Fatherlands; The Contradictions of He Who Claims that Judges Are Not Obligated to Imitate the Imams and Caliphs in Connection with Their Food.

Yazdijird ibn Mihindādh al-Kīsrāwī

He lived at the time of [the Caliph] *al-Mu'taḍid*. Among his books there were:

The Excellencies of Baghdād and Its Characteristics; Guides to the Oneness [of God] from the Words of the Philosophers and Others besides Them, a large book which I have glanced through.

Another Group

Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāh

He was the grandfather of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Isā and served as the secretary of *al-Musta'in*.¹²⁷ Among his books there were:

The History and Historical Traditions of the Secretaries; Epistles.

Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāh

He was surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh. No one appeared during his time who was more illustrious than he. He served as vizier to 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz during the time when he was caliph. He was a learned man, who mingled with people, learning from scholars, masters of literary style, and poets. In his own handwriting he wrote more than can be computed, and he both read over and corrected whatever was written with his penmanship.

After the uprising of ['Abd Allāh] ibn al-Mu'tazz, he [Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd] was made known to *Mu'nīs al-Khādim*, who had early knowledge of his situation, but as Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Furāt feared him, he [Mu'nīs] counseled his execution. Accordingly, he was

¹²⁶ *Al-Kīsrāwī* indicates connection with the royal family of Persia and descent from Chosroes. The Beatty MS spells the name *al-Kasrāwī*. The second title among his books has been obscured in the Beatty MS.

¹²⁷ Both the name *al-Musta'in* and the title *Epistles* are omitted by the Beatty MS.

killed. [His body] 'was taken out and cast into a canal by the gate at al-Ma'mūniyah and later carried to his home.¹²⁸

Among his books there were:

The Leaf, about historical traditions of the poets;¹²⁹ the delightful book, Poetry and the Poets; Who among the Poets Was Named 'Umar during the Pre-Islāmic and Islāmic Periods;¹³⁰ The Four, modeled after the book of Abū *Hiffān*; The Viziers.

Alī ibn 'Isā ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāh

He was in a position of leadership, having power and rank, but he was especially famous and conspicuous for his professional skill and virtue.¹³¹ Three times he served as the vizier of al-*Muqtadir*. He traced his lineage back to al-*Hasan*.¹³²

He died on the day during the morning of which *Mu'izz al-Dawlah* crossed over, which was the day of the conflict in the middle of the night, during Dhū al-*Hijjah* [the twelfth Muslim month], in the year three hundred and thirty-four [A.D. 946]. He was buried in his house.¹³³ Among his books there were:

¹²⁸ To understand this passage it is necessary to know the history. 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz contested the right to be the caliph with al-Muqtadir and ruled for one day, after which he was killed; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 468. At this time *Mu'nis* Abū al-*Hasan* al-Muzaffar, called al-Khādīm, was an influential member of the government. He evidently knew of a connection between *Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd* and 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz, but was inclined to forgive him for his complicity with the plot. When, however, he learned that the powerful vizier Ibn al-*Furāt* was afraid of *Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd*, *Mu'nis* al-Khādīm did not want to lose the favor of his chief and so encouraged the execution of *Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd*. For the Ma'mūniyah Quarter, see Coke, *Baghdad*, pp. 65, 116.

¹²⁹ Flügel adds, "which he wrote for Ibn al-*Munajjim*," probably either *Hārūn ibn 'Alī* the authority on poetry, or Abū *Aḥmad Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī*, the court favorite.

¹³⁰ Flügel has 'Amr instead of 'Umar. Flügel also adds the clause "during the Pre-Islāmic and Islāmic Periods." The last title is not found in the Beatty MS.

¹³¹ The Flügel edition has "law" instead of "virtue."

¹³² At this point there is a space left in the Beatty MS, evidently meant to be filled in later with data about genealogy.

¹³³ The translation follows the Beatty MS. Flügel gives, "He died on the day in which *Mu'izz al-Dawlah* crossed over, which was Friday, at midnight during the month of Dhū al-*Hijjah*, in the year three hundred and thirty-four [A.D. 946]." *Aḥmad ibn Buwayh*, known as *Mu'izz al-Dawlah*, came from al-Ahwāz to Baghdād, and after a period of negotiations he deposed and blinded the Caliph al-*Mustakfi*, early A.D. 946. See "*Mu'izz al-Dawlah*," *Enc. Islam*, III, 705; *Miskawayh*, V, 87 (84); 88 (85); Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 470.

Collection of Invocations; The Meaning and Explanation of the Qur'ān, with which work Abū al-Husayn al-Khazzāz and Abū Bakr ibn Mujāhid helped him; The Secretaries, the Politics of the Kingdom, and a Record of the Caliphs.

His Son, Abū al-Qāsim 'Īsā ibn 'Alī

He devoted his time to logic and the ancient sciences. His birth was ———. Among his books there was a book about the Persian language.

Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ¹³⁴

He was known as the son of *Asmā*, who was a sister of 'Alī ibn 'Īsā. He was an excellent secretary and a writer of correspondence, among whose books there were:

The Benefit, about history; The Explanation and Correction of Speech (Tongue).

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Īsā

He was a brother of Abū al-Ḥasan ['Alī ibn 'Īsā], and an excellent man. He was a secretary who served as vizier to al-Muttaqī with the counsel of his brother. For the one who directed him and supervised his affairs was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Īsā. Among his books there were:

Record of the Family of al-Jarrāḥ—Traditions about Them and Their Genealogies, Both in Ancient and Modern Times;¹³⁵ History, from the year two hundred and seventy [A.D. 883/84] to his own day; large book about land tax (*al-kharāj*), which he did not finish.

Ibn al-'Aramram Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh

He held high positions¹³⁶ in the lowlands near 'Umrān. Among his books there was *The Land Tax (Al-Kharāj)*, which he named

¹³⁴ This paragraph is lacking in the Beatty MS.

¹³⁵ The translation follows the Beatty MS, which gives *āl al-Jarrāḥ* ("the family of al-Jarrāḥ"). Flügel has *ahl al-kharāj* ("people of the land tax"), which seems to be a mistake.

¹³⁶ The translation "held high positions" is taken from the Beatty MS. Flügel gives *wa-māt* ("and he died").

Al-Muṭawwaq 'Alī ibn al-Faṭḥ

He was surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. Among his books there was *The Viziers*, supplementing the book of Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ and brought up to the time of Abū al-Qāsim al-Kalwādhānī.

*Ibn al-Ḥarūn*¹³⁷

Among his books there were:

The Excellency of the Arrangement of the Qur'ān; Epistles.

Al-Marṭhaḍī

Abū Aḥmad ibn Bishr al-Marṭhaḍī the Elder was the man to whom Ibn al-Rūmī wrote verses about fish, for there was a joke between them. He served as the secretary of al-Muwaffaq in connection with his confidential affairs. Among his books there were:

Al-Anwā', a large and exceedingly good book; Poems of the Quraysh, upon which al-Ṣūlī depended for "*Al-Awrāq*," for he plagiarized him—I saw a copy written in the handwriting of al-Marṭhaḍī; Collection of Letters.¹³⁸

Mention of the Family of *Thawābah* ibn Yūnus

Their origin was Christian. It is said that Yūnus was known as Lubābah and that he was a cupper (barber-surgeon). It is also said that Lubābah was their maternal ancestor. Abū Sa'īd *Wahb* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭazādh said to me:¹³⁹

There was once a dispute between 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn and Abū al-'Abbās ibn *Thawābah* about an estate.¹⁴⁰ They met at the hearing of some high official; I think he was 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Sulaymān. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn delegated this case with Abū al-'Abbās to his brother, Abū al-Qāsim

¹³⁷ The account of Ibn al-Ḥarūn is not found in the Beatty MS.

¹³⁸ This title lacking in the Beatty MS.

¹³⁹ The versions of the following passage show numerous variations in Flügel, the Beatty MS, and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 36.

¹⁴⁰ The Flügel text gives Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Thawābah. This man and the wife of 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn were both descendants of Thawābah ibn Yūnus, the cupper, and for that reason claimed the right to inheritance of the same piece of property. When 'Alī proved his intimate relationship with the cupper, his opponent gave up the case.

Ja'far¹⁴¹ ibn al-Ḥusayn, who was a match for (became the rival of) Abū al-'Abbās. Abū al-'Abbās began accusing him of falsifying and mocking him. Finally, in summing up his remarks he said to him, "Who are you that you have so roughly twisted the truth?"

Then he [Wahb ibn Ibrāhīm] went on to say:

'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn turned to a boy accompanying him, as though he were the world to come, and took him by his hand, standing up in his place. Then he uncovered his head, saying with his loudest voice, "Oh, group of scribes, you have known me. This is my son, by so-in-so, the daughter of so-in-so. She shall be divorced from me by the divorce of invalidation and precedent (*al-jaraḥ wa-al-sunnah*) according to the usage of the law codes, if this cupping scar on the vein of my neck is not the scarification of his [the boy's] grandfather, so-in-so the cupper,¹⁴² and if he is not surnamed for a grandfather Ibn Thawābah."

He [Wahb ibn Ibrāhīm] continued, "Abū al-'Abbās gave up, neither answering [questions] nor making any remarks about the estate after that, capitulating without dispute or argument, so that the persons present respected this [outcome]."

Abū al-'Abbās was troublesome and spiteful. Words of his, which are recorded, are both shameful and overbearing. It is for me to wash the words of this cupper from my mouth with rose water. From him we have, "When the people saw the Commander of the Faithful, they became chiefs, they trimmed their pens, they advanced and became viziers, with hobbled jumps."¹⁴³ He died during the year two hundred and seventy-seven [A.D. 890/91]. Among his books there were:

Collected Epistles; Epistle on Writing and Script (Penmanship).

¹⁴¹ The Beatty MS leaves a blank, but Flügel fills in the name Ja'far.

¹⁴² The Flügel text has al-Baḥrayn, an obvious error. The Beatty MS gives *al-muzayyin* ("cupper" or "barber").

¹⁴³ In this sentence, the Beatty MS and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 36, place *t d* before each verb. This may be meant to show the heavy speech of Abū al-'Abbās. Probably, however, Flügel is correct in giving, instead of *t d*, *qad*, an Arabic expression of emphasis. Flügel omits the last word of the Arabic quotation, and Yāqūt does not make it clear. In the Beatty MS the letters look like *b r s f n*. As the long *a* is often omitted, the word may be, as translated, *bi-rasafan* ("with hobbled jumps"), which means with jumps like those of a fettered camel, a good description of the advances of upstarts, always bound by the caliph's whims.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Thawābah

He was a writer of correspondence, who had an excellent literary style and served as the secretary of al-Mu'taḍid.¹⁴⁴ He wrote a book of recorded letters.

Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Thawābah

He was the last one of the distinguished and learned men among those [descendants of Ibn Thawābah] whom we have seen. He wrote the book *Epistles*.

Qudāmah ibn Ja'far

He was Qudāmah ibn Ja'far ibn Qudāmah, whose grandfather was a Christian. He became a Muslim under the auspices of al-Muktafī bi-Allāh.¹⁴⁵ Qudāmah was one of the masters of literary style, one of the polished writers, and one of the distinguished philosophers. He was noted in connection with the science of logic, although his father Ja'far was one of those who were neither interested in nor had any knowledge of it. Among his books there were:¹⁴⁶

The Land Tax (Al-Kharāj), eight stages, to which he added a ninth;¹⁴⁷ Criticism of Poetry; The Cleanser¹⁴⁸ of Sorrow; Dismissal of Anxiety; his epistle about Abū 'Alī ibn Muqlah [Muḥammad ibn 'Alī],¹⁴⁹ known as The Brilliant Star; Withstanding (Making Clear) Grief; Wines of Thought;¹⁵⁰ Politics;¹⁵¹ Refutation of Ibn al-Mu'tazz; The Pleasure of Hearts and the Provision of the Traveler.

¹⁴⁴ The name of the Caliph al-Mu'taḍid is not in the Beatty MS.

¹⁴⁵ In the Beatty MS a space is left here; the name al-Muktafī bi-Allāh is lacking. The Beatty MS implies that the grandfather became a Muslim.

¹⁴⁶ The scribe who copied the Beatty MS made careless mistakes in this list of titles. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 203–5 quotes *Al-Fihrist* giving a more accurate list.

¹⁴⁷ On the margin of the Beatty MS there is the note, perhaps a correction, "seven stages to which he added the eighth." This line is followed by a longer explanation which has not been included in the translation, as it is evidently not part of the original.

¹⁴⁸ "Cleanser" is *ṣābūn*, the modern word for "soap."

¹⁴⁹ The Beatty MS omits *Abū*, evidently mistakenly.

¹⁵⁰ The Beatty MS is garbled, but both Flügel and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 36, give *daryāq* ("wines"). It can also mean "antidotes."

¹⁵¹ This title and those following are not in the Beatty MS.

Ibn Ḥammādah

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥammādah the secretary. He was highly cultured and one of the most illustrious of the secretaries. He wrote books and met with men of letters. Among his books there were:

Examination of the Secretaries and a Collection of the Works of Men of Understanding;¹⁵² The Epistles.

Al-Kalwādhānī

He was Abū al-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī al-Ḥasan ibn Khusraw Pirūz (Firūz) ibn Hurmuz (Urmi) ibn Bahrām (al-Mihrāwān) from the lineage of Ardashīr ibn Pāpak (Bābak) and [known as] al-Kalwādhānī.¹⁵³ He was the director of the Bureau of al-Sawād succeeding Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Isā, and he was head of the group of secretaries. Then he served as a nominal vizier, gaining increased authority in the bureau of Ibn al-Furāt. His birth was¹⁵⁴ ——— and he died ———. Among his books there was *Land Tax* (*Al-Kharāj*), two manuscripts, the first of which he wrote during the year twenty-six [A.D. 937/38] and the second during the year three hundred and thirty-six [A.D. 947/48].

Abū al-Ḥusayn Ishāq ibn Surayj, the Christian Secretary¹⁵⁵

Among his books there were:

Land Tax (*Al-Kharāj*), a thousand leaves; *The Designated Land Tax* (*Al-Kharāj al-Ma'rūf*), about two hundred leaves; his small book about the land tax, about one hundred leaves.

¹⁵² "And a collection of the works of men of understanding" and the title following are not in the Beatty MS.

¹⁵³ The names in parentheses are those given in the Beatty MS. The names preceding these are Persian, taken from Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, VII, 150–69, and VI, 254 ff. Instead of Hurmuz ibn Bahrām, Firdawsī gives Hurmuz ibn Yazdigird ibn Bahrām. For the town of al-Kalwādhān near Baghdād, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, V, 28.

¹⁵⁴ The Flügel text includes "before three hundred" (A.D. 912).

¹⁵⁵ This paragraph is not in the Flügel edition, but is in the Beatty MS.

Ibrāhīm ibn 'Īsā, the Christian

He was one of the secretaries with eloquent literary style and refined training. Among his books there were:

Account of al-Ḥawārī;¹⁵⁶ Epistles.

Abū Sa'īd *Wahb* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭāzādh, the Secretary of al-Muṭi'¹⁵⁷

He was one of the scholars whom we have known. He was distinguished, cultured, a writer of correspondence, a collector of valuable books, and a man who was spiritually good. He and Abū al-Ḥasan Ṭāzādh ibn 'Īsā were the last of the secretaries whom we saw in the service of Abū Ja'far ibn *Shirzād*. Abū Sa'īd died ———. Among his books there were:

Amplifications, about the book which his father *Ibrāhīm* wrote; a book in which he collected accounts of the group [of secretaries]; Epistles, [selected] from his elegant compositions.

*Ibn Naṣr*¹⁵⁸

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Naṣr the Christian, son of a physician, who died a few months ago and was one of the men of letters who were distinguished and were authors. He told me about a number of his books, but I imagine that he never finished most of them. Among his books there were:

Amalgamation of Qualities, about fifteen hundred leaves—he wrote it

¹⁵⁶ Flügel gives al-Khawārīj; the Beatty MS has al-Ḥawārī. Ṣābī, *Wuzarā'*, p. 246, calls an official by this name who died A.D. 923/24 and was named Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Muḥammad. Al-Ḥawārī might also refer to a Christian disciple. The Beatty MS omits the title which follows this one.

¹⁵⁷ The Beatty MS leaves a blank space where Flügel includes the name Ṭāzādh in the title of this account. The Beatty MS has a small note of no importance on the margin at the end of the paragraph. Flügel gives some variations, which do not seem to be accurate.

¹⁵⁸ As Ibn Naṣr had the name 'Alī, the term "Christian" in the first sentence must refer to his origin, before he joined Islām. On the margin of the Beatty MS there are notes saying that this paragraph was written in a different handwriting. As Ibn Naṣr died at the time when *Al-Fihrist* was written, it is reasonable to believe that the data about him was inserted after the original manuscript was composed. Shujā', VI, 434, sect. 408, gives the date of the death of Ibn Naṣr as A.D. 1001.

in his handwriting and formed it to include both government and belles lettres;¹⁵⁹ Training of the Sultan, more than one thousand leaves.

Ibn al-Bāzyār¹⁶⁰

He was Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Naṣr ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bāzyār, a court companion of Sayf al-Dawlah. His father, Naṣr ibn al-Ḥusayn, was one of the people who moved up to Sāmarrā. He lived at the time of al-Mu'taḍid, whom he served and amused. His origin was from Khurāsān and he adopted the sport [of hunting] with birds of prey, various kinds being given to him by al-Mu'taḍid.

Abū 'Alī died at Aleppo during the lifetime of Sayf al-Dawlah, during the year three hundred and fifty-two [A.D. 963]. Among his books there were:

Formation of Elegant Literary Style; Speech.¹⁶¹

Ibn Zanjī, the Secretary¹⁶²

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il ibn Zanjī. He was distinguished for beauty of penmanship. Among his books there were:

His epistles; The Secretaries and the Profession.

Al-Marzubānī

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Imrān ibn Mūsā ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh.¹⁶³ His origin was in Khurāsān and he was the last of the writers about historical traditions and composers of books whom I saw. He was a quoter of traditions, with a truthful tongue

¹⁵⁹ This first book listed is not in the Flügel edition, but Flügel adds a title, *Distinction* ("Al-Barā'ah"), which the Beatty MS lacks. Flügel omits mention of the number of leaves given by the Beatty MS with the second title. The Beatty MS gives the second title as *Training of the Sultan*, whereas Flügel gives *Association of (with) the Sultan*.

¹⁶⁰ The Beatty MS gives *al-bāziyār* ("the falconer") very clearly, but *bāzyār*, same meaning, is used more often. The Beatty MS does not make clear whether Naṣr ibn al-Ḥusayn or al-Ḥusayn was a falconer.

¹⁶¹ This last title is not in the Beatty MS.

¹⁶² The Beatty MS lacks this paragraph except for the words "Ibn Zanjī, the Secretary."

¹⁶³ The last two elements may be 'Ubayd Allāh instead of 'Abd Allāh.

and a broad knowledge of traditional authorities. He had also heard a great deal. His birth was during Jumādā al-Ākhirah [the sixth Muslim month] in the year two hundred and ninety-seven [A.D. 909/10], and he is still living in our time, which is the year three hundred and seventy-seven [A.D. 987/88], so we pray that Allāh, through His bounty and beneficence, may give him health and long life.¹⁶⁴ Among his books there are:¹⁶⁵

Pleasing (Kitāb al-Mu'niq), with accounts of the famous Pre-Islāmic poets, beginning with *Imru'* al-Qays and the members of his generation (category), and with a thorough investigation of the traditions about them. Then [he discusses the poets] who started before Islām and lived into the Islāmic period, with the Muslims following them and their generations. He deals with *Jarīr* and al-*Farazdaq*, with their generations (categories) among the early Muslims, citing the best of the traditions about them, until the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd regime, may Allāh strengthen, support, prolong, and extend it. He mentions Ibn *Harmah* and al-*Husayn* ibn Muṭayr, together with those who made their poetry known. The number of leaves [in this book] is over five thousand.

Illuminating (Kitāb al-Mustanīr), in which there are accounts of the recent poets who were famous and prosperous, with a selection of their poems according to their ages and periods. The first of them is *Bashshār* ibn Burd, the last one is Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz bi-Allāh, with both of whom may Allāh be well pleased. The number of leaves is six thousand, written in the handwriting of al-Marzubānī in sixty Sulaymāniyah volumes.¹⁶⁶

Profitable (Kitāb al-Mufīd), in which there are a number of sections. The first of these sections contains accounts of the Pre-Islāmic and Islāmic poets who were given surnames, with traditions as to which one of them

¹⁶⁴ The year of his death is given by different authorities as follows: Flügel—988/89; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 50—either 988/89 or 994; the Beatty MS, Khallikān, III, 67, and Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh*, Part III, p. 135 sect. 1159—994. The correct date is probably A.D. 994. On the margin of the Beatty MS there is a note, "From here to the end of the account of al-Marzubānī it is in a handwriting other than that of the author."

¹⁶⁵ The translation follows the sequence of titles as given in the Beatty MS. It is so different from the sequence in the Flügel edition that the transliteration of the Arabic is given to help identify the titles. The different editions have variations in the number of leaves given for each book.

¹⁶⁶ Evidently there was a leather cover for each volume (*mujallad*) of one hundred paper leaves. Sulaymāniyah most likely refers to the kind of paper used.

was identified with a surname and whether he was noted for his father's surname, or known in connection with his mother or the lineage of his grandfather, or related to his patrons, and also how these relationships were similar or were connected with the group as a whole.¹⁶⁷

In the second section there are mentioned the things quoted about the characteristics of the poets, together with the defects of their bodies and appearances, such as being Negroid, one-eyed, blind, weak-sighted, or leprous. There are also mentioned the things leaving traces on the body, from the hair of the head to the two feet, limb for limb. The third section is about the religious categories of the poets, such as the Shī'ah, the theologians, the Khawārij, al-muthimūn, the Jews, and the Christians, and those who followed their rites.¹⁶⁸

The last section mentions everyone who put aside the recitation of the poetry of Pre-Islāmic times so as to increase in importance and in Islām to become pious; also each one who left eulogy¹⁶⁹ so as to rise to a higher standard, or [put aside] satire to be complimentary, and [put aside] love poetry to be virtuous; also each one who devoted his poetry to some one subject, as did the Sayyid ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī and al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf, and those who followed their precedent.¹⁷⁰ It is a book of five thousand leaves.

The Alphabetical Book (Kitāb al-Muʿjam),¹⁷¹ in which are mentioned the poets alphabetically, starting with the ones whose names begin with *alif* (*a*), then those beginning with *bā* (*b*), to the end of the alphabet. It contains about five thousand names [of poets], with some poetry of each, a number of stanzas selected from his [each poet's] famous verse. It exceeds one thousand leaves.

The Acrostic (Kitāb al-Muwashshaḥ), in which there is a description of the points which have caused the authorities (al-ʿulamāʾ) to disapprove

¹⁶⁷ This is a free translation. The last phrase is literally, "or entered in its aggregate."

¹⁶⁸ The word "theologians" is *ahl al-kalām* ("people of the word") in Arabic. Richardson (*Dictionary*, p. 210) translates the term as "orators." The word written as *al-muthimūn* usually means "the suspected ones," but it might also mean "the agnostics." This is probably the word intended here, rather than the longer Arabic form *al-mutahhimūn* ("heated," "obsessed").

¹⁶⁹ "Eulogy" (*al-madīḥ*) may be instead "indecent" (*al-mudabbaj*).

¹⁷⁰ This sentence evidently deals with poets who gave up the habits and interests of Pre-Islāmic times so as to join Islām and to become respected by the Muslim community.

¹⁷¹ Sometimes this word has a different significance, but here it obviously means "alphabetical."

of some of the poets in connection with their poems [such as use of] *kasrah* [the vowel sign *i*], errors of pronunciation, inconsistent use of vowel signs in verses, repetition of the last syllable of a verse, irregular rhyming, changes, ambiguity, loose weaving of the composition, and other errors of poetry. It exceeds three hundred leaves.

Poetry (*Kitāb al-Shi'r*),¹⁷² a compendium of its excellencies, with a description of its benefits, its injuries and defects; also a description of its kinds and forms, measures, prosody, essential points, and selections; also the training of its composers and reciters, proof of its plagiarism and robbery, with other points about its varieties and forms. It exceeds two thousand leaves.

Poems of Women (*Kitāb Ash'ār al-Nisā'*), about five hundred leaves.¹⁷³ Poems of the Caliphs (*Kitāb Ash'ār al-Khulafā'*), with more than two hundred leaves. Things Quoted (*Kitāb al-Muqtabas*), with traditions about the grammarians of al-Baṣrah, mentioning the first person to speak about grammar and he who first compiled it, with traditions about al-*Farrā'* and the scholars of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, who quoted from others, and who among them lived in the City of Peace [Baghdād]; about three thousand leaves.

Guide to the Right Way (*Kitāb al-Murshid*). In it are traditions about al-mutakallimūn and the People of Justice and Oneness [the *Mu'tazilah*], with something about their meetings and doctrines; about one thousand leaves. Poems Attributed to the Jinn (*Kitāb Ash'ār Tunsab ilā al-Jinn*),¹⁷⁴ about one hundred leaves.

Gardens (*Kitāb al-Riyāḍ*),¹⁷⁵ in which are accounts of persons obsessed, arranged in categories. In it is a statement about [passionate] love and what results from it, with mention of its start and finish, together with the terminology and varieties connected with it, as recorded by the language scholars. [It also mentions] the derivations of these terms, with examples from the poems of Pre-Islām and of men who converted to Islām, as well as of Muslims, including the more recent ones; more than three thousand leaves.

¹⁷² The versions show variations; the translation follows the Beatty MS.

¹⁷³ In the Beatty MS the word for "book" (*kitāb*) is carelessly omitted in this title and the one following it.

¹⁷⁴ Flügel gives this title as follows: "*Poems of Those Imitating the Jinn*—in it he mentions' whoever made an imitation in poetry; more than one hundred leaves."

¹⁷⁵ The translation follows the Beatty MS in which the sequence and order of sentences is different from what is in the Flügel edition.

The Clear (*Kitāb al-Rā'iq*).¹⁷⁶ In it there is a description of the characteristics of song, of its qualities, forms, and methods, together with traditions about the male and female singers among the freeborn, the handmaids, and the slaves; more than one thousand six hundred leaves.

The Seasons (*Kitāb al-Azminah*), in which there are the characteristics of the four seasons: summer, winter, and the two temperate ones; and also a description of heat and cold, clouds and lightning, winds and rain, seeking for fresh pasturage,¹⁷⁷ prayer for rain, and other things included in general descriptions of the spring and autumn. Then there are mentioned the beauties¹⁷⁸ of the celestial sphere, the stations of the zodiac, the sun, and the moon with its stations, and also the characteristics ascribed to them by the Arabs and their poems about them.¹⁷⁹ Also mentioned are the planets and fixed stars, the characteristics of night and day, the Arab and Persian days, the months and years, periods and eras, together with what appears in every one of the sections of this book in connection with language, historical traditions, and poems, giving explanations. It is about two thousand leaves.

Flowers and Fruits (*Kitāb al-Anwār wa-al-Thīmār*). In it are some of the things said about the rose, the narcissus, and the other flowers in poetry, with what is said about them in the records and traditions. Then there are the fruits and mention of palms and all the fruits in general, with what there is for them of praise in poetry and prose; about five hundred leaves.

Traditions of the Barmak Family (*Kitāb Akhbār al-Barāmakah*),¹⁸⁰ in which there is a description [of the period] from their beginnings until the downfall of the regime, ending with their disgrace; about five hundred leaves.

¹⁷⁶ Flügel gives the title *Kitāb al-Wāthiq*, followed by the paragraph as given here. The Beatty MS gives the title used in the translation, but lacks part of the paragraph.

¹⁷⁷ In the Beatty MS "fresh pasturage" (*al-rawwād*) is clearly written, but it is given incorrectly by Flügel.

¹⁷⁸ Flügel has *ṭarafā*, but *ẓurafā* ("beauties") seems to be more correct. For an explanation of the stations of the moon and the zodiac, see "Astrology," *Enc. Islam*, I, 496.

¹⁷⁹ This is a very free translation but seems to give the meaning implied in the Arabic text. The sentence which follows is clearer in the Beatty MS than in the Flügel version.

¹⁸⁰ In the Flügel text this paragraph is much shorter than it is in the Beatty MS, which is translated here,

Distinguished for Excellence (Kitāb al-Mufaḍḍal or al-Mifḍal),¹⁸¹ about clear speaking, Arabic, and writing; about seven hundred leaves. Congratulations (Kitāb al-Taḥānī); about five hundred leaves. Submission and Pilgrimage (Kitāb al-Taslim wa-al-Ziyārah); four hundred leaves. Visiting (Kitāb al-ʿIyādah);¹⁸² four hundred leaves. Consolations (Kitāb al-Taʿāzī);¹⁸³ about three hundred leaves.

Elegies (Kitāb al-Marāthī); five hundred leaves. The Exalted Book (Kitāb al-Muʿallā), about the excellencies of the Qurʾān; two hundred leaves.¹⁸⁴ Fertilization of Minds (Kitāb Talqīḥ al-ʿUqūl),¹⁸⁵ with more than one hundred sections, the first of them being about the mind, culture, learning, and similar things. It has more than three thousand leaves.

The Noble Book (Kitāb al-Mushrif), about the rule of the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, his culture, his preaching, his Companions, with whom may Allāh be well pleased, and others, as well as about the testaments and the rule of the Arabs and Persians; one thousand five hundred leaves.¹⁸⁶ Traditions about Those Who Make Metaphors in Poems (Kitāb Akhbār man Tamaththal bi-al-Ashʿār); over one hundred leaves. Youth and Old Age (Kitāb al-Shabāb wa-al-Shayb); three hundred leaves. Crowned (Kitāb al-Mutawwaj), about justice and good living; over one hundred leaves. Brocaded (Adorned) (Kitāb al-Mudabbaj),¹⁸⁷ about banquets, invitations, and drink. Relief (Kitāb al-Faraj);¹⁸⁸ nearly one hundred leaves.

Gifts (Kitāb al-Hadāyā); about three hundred leaves. Gifts¹⁸⁹ (Kitāb al-Hadāyā), another manuscript in his own handwriting. Ornamented (Kitāb al-Muzakhrif), about the brothers (ikhwān) and companions (aṣḥāb); three hundred leaves. Traditions of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī, Giver of the Summons (Akhbār Abī Muslim al-Khurāsānī, Ṣāhib

¹⁸¹ Flügel gives "*Kitāb al-Mufaṣṣal*, about clear speaking and eloquence."

¹⁸² The Flügel text gives *Worship* ("*Kitāb al-ʿIbādah*").

¹⁸³ Flügel gives *Raids* ("*Kitāb al-Maghāzī*").

¹⁸⁴ This book is omitted in the Flügel version.

¹⁸⁵ The translation follows the Beatty MS; Flügel differs.

¹⁸⁶ The translation follows the Beatty MS; the number of pages and other details differ from Flügel.

¹⁸⁷ Flügel gives *Praise* ("*Kitāb al-Maḍīḥ*").

¹⁸⁸ The Arabic could also be *Al-Furaj* or *Al-Farj*. Flügel gives *The Young* ("*Kitāb al-Farkh*").

¹⁸⁹ This extra manuscript is mentioned in the Flügel text but omitted by the Beatty MS.

al-Da'wah);¹⁹⁰ one hundred leaves. Supplication (Invocation) (Kitāb al-Du'ā'); about two hundred leaves.

The Ancients (Kitāb al-Awā'il),¹⁹¹ in which are accounts of the ancient Persians and of the People of Justice and Oneness [the Mu'tazilah], with something about their sessions and point of view; about one thousand leaves. The Newly Acquired (Kitāb al-Mustaṭraf), about the foolish and unusual; over three hundred leaves. Traditions of the Children, the Wives, and the Family (Kitāb Akhbār al-Awlad wa-al-Zawjāt wa-al-Ahl), with praise and blame;¹⁹² two hundred leaves. Renunciation and Traditions of the Ascetics (Kitāb al-Zuhd wa-Akhbār al-Zuhhād); over two hundred leaves.¹⁹³ Blame of the World (Kitāb Dhamm al-Dunyā); over one hundred leaves.¹⁹⁴ The Shaming (Kitāb al-Munir), about repentance, good work, piety, abstention from the illegal, and similar things; over three hundred leaves. Warnings and Mention of Death (Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-Dhikr al-Mawt); over five hundred leaves.¹⁹⁵

Traditions about Those Near Death (Kitāb Akhbār al-Muṭṭaḍirīn); one hundred leaves.¹⁹⁶ The Chamberlains (Kitāb al-Ḥujjāb);¹⁹⁷ one hundred leaves. Al-Ḥātim (Kitāb al-Ḥātim).¹⁹⁸ Abū Ḥanīfah and His Associates (Kitāb Abī Ḥanīfah wa-Aṣḥābihi).¹⁹⁹ Traditions of 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn al-Mu'adhḥal (Kitāb Akhbār 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn al-Mu'adhḥal); about two hundred leaves.²⁰⁰ Traditions of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ḥamzah al-'Alawī (Kitāb Akhbār Abī 'Abd Allāh

¹⁹⁰ Abū Muṣlīm was called Giver of the Summons because he sounded the call to overthrow the Umayyad caliphs and to establish the 'Abbāsīd regime, A.D. 750.

¹⁹¹ For this book, the Beatty MS gives only the title and the words "about one hundred and fifty leaves."

¹⁹² Flügel adds a few words to this clause, but without changing the meaning.

¹⁹³ Flügel omits the number of leaves, but adds "in his own handwriting."

¹⁹⁴ As differences in the texts for this and a number of titles which follow are unimportant, they are not described in detail. The translation follows the Beatty MS.

¹⁹⁵ Flügel omits this title.

¹⁹⁶ This title is not clear in the Beatty MS; it may also be *Traditions about Settled People* ("Kitāb Akhbār al-Muṭṭaḍirīn").

¹⁹⁷ Instead of "chamberlains" (al-ḥujjāb), this word might be "curtain" (al-ḥijāb). Flügel gives *Chiding the Chamberlains* ("Kitāb Dhamr al-Ḥujjāb").

¹⁹⁸ The Flügel version has "*The Poetry of Ḥātim al-Ta'i* ("Kitāb Shi'r Ḥātim al-Ta'i"); about one hundred leaves." See Ḥātim, chief of the Tayy Tribe, in the Biog. Index.

¹⁹⁹ Flügel has "*Traditions of Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān ibn Thābit* ("Kitāb Akhbār Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān ibn Thābit"); about five hundred leaves."

²⁰⁰ This title and the ones which follow are in the Flügel version, but not in the Beatty MS.

Muḥammad ibn Ḥamzah al-'Alawī); about one hundred leaves. Traditions of the Kings of Kindah (Kitāb Akhbār Mulūk Kindah); about two hundred leaves. Traditions of Abū Tammām (Kitāb Akhbār Abī Tammām) by itself; about one hundred leaves. Traditions of Shu'bah ibn al-Ḥajjāj (Kitāb Akhbār Shu'bah ibn al-Ḥajjāj); about one hundred leaves. Cancellation of Contracts (Kitāb Naskh al-'Uhūd); about two hundred leaves, addressed to the judges.

He had many books about the *sawāʾ*²⁰¹ which he started to write and among which there were:

Essences of Poetry (Kitāb Anʿān al-Shiʿr), about praise and satire, glory and generosity.²⁰² Traditions about the Generous (Kitāb Akhbār al-Ajwād). Descriptions (Qualities) (Kitāb al-Awṣāf). Metaphors (Allegories) (Kitāb al-Tashbihāt).

From the sources written in his own handwriting there have come down to us more than twenty thousand leaves.

Ibn al-Tustarī²⁰³

He was Saʿīd ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Tustarī, surnamed Abū al-Ḥusayn, a Christian living near the present timé. Both he and his father worked for the Banū al-Furāt.²⁰⁴ He adhered to rhymed prose in his writings. Among his books there were:

The Shortened and the Lengthened, according to alphabetical sequence; Masculine and Feminine, according to the same sequence; Epistles, about the invasions, according to this sequence; his collected epistles about each skill of his workmanship.

Ibn Ḥājib al-Nuʿmān

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Nuʿmān ibn ʿAbd Allāh, the secretary.²⁰⁵ Abū al-Ḥusayn was one of the unique men of the period for virtue,

²⁰¹ Although the word *sawād* as a rule referred to central and southern Irāq, here it may mean "the populace" or "environs." This paragraph is not found in the Flügel edition.

²⁰² In the original the word *kitāb* is omitted before some of the titles, but it is understood.

²⁰³ The Beatty MS gives al-Tushtarī, which is evidently an error. Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 847, includes Tustar, but does not mention Tushtar.

²⁰⁴ The Banū al-Furāt were members of the family of the famous vizier Ibn al-Furāt.

²⁰⁵ A marginal note in the Beatty MS has Abū al-Ḥājib. Flügel has "ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Ibrāhīm, whose father was Ḥājib al-Nuʿmān Abū ʿAbd Allāh."

genius, and knowledge of writing in government offices. During the days of *Mu'izz al-Dawlah* he was in charge of the Bureau of al-Sawād. No library of books has been seen that was better than his collection, for it contained every book, either by itself or in a compilation, each one written in the handwriting of the scholar concerned. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Poems of the Secretaries; Traditions of Women, known as the book of Ibn al-*Dukkānī*; Intoxication of Daytime (Odor of the Day), about neighborhood traditions;²⁰⁶ Youth; Negligence (Hazard) and Gathering of Flowers; The Courtesy of Superiors, in Office and Retired.

Al-Ṣābī Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hārūn

He was a writer of correspondence, a master of literary style, a poet, a scholar of geometry, and a man engrossed in developing writing, literary style, and poetry. His birth was after the year three hundred and twenty [A.D. 932] and he died before three hundred and eighty [A.D. 990].²⁰⁷ He wrote:

Anthology of Epistles, written as late as this our own time—about a thousand pages; traditions of his family and the children of his father, which he wrote for some of his children; The Government of the Banū Buwayh, Traditions of the Daylam, and the Beginning of Their Rule, known as “Al-*Tājī*” and “Al-*ʿAḍudī*”;²⁰⁸ Missives of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī, [surnamed] Abū al-Ḥasan; Anthology of Poetry.

Al-Muhallabī Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad

He was the vizier of *Mu'izz al-Dawlah*,²⁰⁹ a poet, a master of literary style, the best of the period during his time. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Epistles and Edicts; a collection of his poems, which were only a few.

²⁰⁶ This title and the one which follows are lacking in the Beatty MS.

²⁰⁷ This sentence is not in the Beatty MS, which must have been copied before A.D. 990, or based on the original written before that time.

²⁰⁸ For Buwayh and Daylam, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 470. *Al-tājī* signifies “the crowned” and the second title honors the chief *ʿAḍud al-Dawlah*. The two titles following are not found in the Beatty MS. Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī died A.D. 998/99, after the death of al-*Nadīm*.

²⁰⁹ The name *Mu'izz al-Dawlah* and the mention of a collection of poems are in the Flügel edition, but not the Beatty MS.

Ibn al-*ʿAmīd*

He was Abū al-Faḍl. He wrote:

Collection of Epistles; The Method, about eloquent literary styles.²¹⁰

Al-*Ṣāhib* Abū al-Qāsim ibn ʿAbbād

He was unique in his time, singled out during his period for eloquence of literary style, clarity, and poetry. Among his books there were:²¹¹

Collection of Epistles; Sufficiency, about epistles; Al-Zaydiyah; Feasts and the Excellencies of al-Nawrūz (New Year's).

Another Group

Ḥafsuwayh

His name was ——— and he was the grandfather of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿAsjadī al-Marūzī the poet. From what his mother said he used to quote “——— as if you were from the womb of a mixed breed (dispersed), except for the mother of Father Adam.”²¹² He was one of the excellent tax officials, superior in his profession and the first to compose a book about the land tax. Among his books there were: Land Tax (Al-Kharāj); Epistles.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm

His name was Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Abī Sahl al-Aḥwal, surnamed Abū al-ʿAbbās. He was one of the outstanding and excellent men among the secretaries, well informed about the administration of the land tax and more capable in connection with that type of work than the other men of his time. He died during the year two hundred and seventy [A.D. 883/84]. Among his books there was *Land Tax* (Al-Kharāj).

²¹⁰ This title is not in the Beatty MS.

²¹¹ This sentence and the list of books are in Flügel, but not the Beatty MS.

²¹² The quotation is not in Flügel and a note on the margin of the Beatty MS says that this account is not in the penmanship of the author. The quotation lacks some words and is a joke, impossible to translate with certainty. The Beatty MS lacks the title *Epistles*.

Ibn al-Māshitah

He was Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan, nicknamed Ibn al-Māshitah by the persons whom he treated harshly.²¹³ He lived near our own time and was skillful and outstanding in connection with finances and the administration of the land tax. Among his books there were:

Answer of the Stubborn; The Excellent Book about the Land Tax (al-Kharāj); Instruction about Certain Consultations, which I have seen, written in his own handwriting.

Ibn Bashshār

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn Bashshār was the secretary and teacher of Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Kūfī, the vizier. He was one of the secretaries who excelled in eloquent literary style and professional skill. Among his books there were:

The large book, Land Tax (Al-Kharāj), a rough copy of which I saw written in his own handwriting—about one thousand leaves; Drink (Wine) and Court Companionship, written in his own handwriting.

‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥammād ibn Marwān, the Secretary

I know nothing more about his life. Among his books there was *The Meaning of White Hair, Its Refinements, the Excellency of Its Hues, the Arrangement of Its Front Parts, What Is Said about It in Prose and Poetry, and the Dyes.*

Another Secretary

He was known as Ya‘qūb ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī. Among his books there was *Dyes, the Reproach of White Hair, and Praise of Youth.*

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Khīyār, the Secretary

Among his books there was *Land Tax (Al-Kharāj).*

²¹³ This nickname meant “son of the woman hairdresser.” He was not as cruel as other officials, but evidently used harsh methods of collecting taxes, as the title of his book *Answer of the Stubborn* suggests.

*Ibn Surayj*²¹⁴

He is of our time, living in this our age. His name is Ishāq ibn Yahyā ibn Surayj the Christian, surnamed Abū al-Ḥusayn. He has an excellent knowledge of the government departments, supervision of public works, and the administration of the land tax. He is also preeminent and knowledgeable in the study of the stars.²¹⁵ His birth was during the year three hundred [A.D. 912/13], during Sha'bān [the eighth Muslim month]. Among his books there are: The large book, The Land Tax (Al-Kharāj), which he divided into two sections and six stages; the small book, The Technique of the Land Tax; The Work of Consultation in an Audience [presence of a high official]; Interpretation of the Ordinances about Births, about one hundred pages; Gatherings Together of History, which he collected.

Another Group

Bāḥ

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ghālib al-Iṣbahānī, whose nickname was Bāḥ. He was a master of literary style, a writer of correspondence, and a secretary, who was called "Bāḥ" because he said in one of his verses: "He revealed (*bāḥ*) what was in the soul, making it known."

He came to Baghdād, where he stayed with al-Nighyānī, the secretary, for whose children he composed his book about epistles. Among his books there were:

Collection of Epistles, in eight sections. He wrote an additional ninth, which he called The Book of Correlating Prose and Poetry; Al-Tawshikh wa-al-Tarshīh, about some of the dualists among the Shu'ūbiyah;²¹⁶ Oratory and Eloquence; Poverty (Al-Faqr).

²¹⁴ This man should be compared with Abū al-Ḥusayn Ishāq ibn Surayj. As his son's name was al-Ḥusayn, the family must have become converted to Islām.

²¹⁵ The Flügel version has "grammar" (*al-naḥw*), but the Beatty MS clearly gives the word for "stars" (*al-nujum*).

²¹⁶ This title is given as it is written in the Beatty MS, perhaps meaning, "Fouling and Administering Well." But the first word is perhaps meant to be *al-tawshīh* ("arranging verses") or *al-tawshij* ("binding together"), while the last word may mean "rearing" or "educating." The word "dualists" is taken from the Beatty MS, which differs from the Flügel text. The term seems to be logical, as there were many Manichaeans and Zoroastrians among the Shu'ūbiyah, or non-Arabs. The Beatty MS gives *Al-Fiqar* for the last title, which is very likely an error.

Abū Muslim

He was Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Baḥr al-Iṣbahānī, a secretary, writer of correspondence, master of literary style, theologian, and debator. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Isā used to have connections with him, and desired his company. Among his books there were:

A Collection of Explanations for the Interpretation of the Revelation According to the School of Thought of the Mu'tazilah, about exegesis of the Qur'ān—a large book;²¹⁷ a collection of his epistles.

Ibn Ṭabāṭabā al-'Alawī

He is mentioned in connection with poetry and the poets. Among his books there were:

Support of the Exalted; Standards (Examining) of Poetry; Poetry and the Poets, his selections; an anthology of his poetry.²¹⁸

Al-Diymartī

His name was ———. Diymart is in the region of Iṣbahān. He was a master of literary style, an author, and a grammarian, among whose books there was *Training of Character*.

Ibn Abī al-'Awādhil

He was ———. Among his books there was *Excellence and Eloquence*.

Abū al-Ḥuṣayn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Iṣbahānī al-Diymartī

Among his books there were:

The Faults of Thaḳīf and the Rest of the Arabs; Al-Ḥamāsah.²¹⁹

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Isā al-Hamadhānī

He was the secretary of *Bakr* ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abī Dulaf. He was a poet and secretary, among whose books there was *Pronunciations (Dialects)*.

²¹⁷ The Beatty MS omits "a large book."

²¹⁸ The anthology is not mentioned in the Beatty MS.

²¹⁹ For the Thaḳīf Tribe, see "Thaḳīf," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 734. *Al-Ḥamāsah* is omitted by the Beatty MS. It means "valor" and is often used as the title of an anthology of poetry.

Ibn 'Abdakān

His name was Muḥammad ——— and he was a secretary of the Ṭulūn family. He was eloquent, a writer of correspondence, and a master of literary style, who wrote a large collection of epistles.

Ibn Abī al-Baḡhl

His name was Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī al-Baḡhl, surnamed Abū al-Ḥusayn.²²⁰ He was summoned from Iṣbahān to be promoted to act as vizier during the days of al-Muqtadir. He was eloquent, a writer of correspondence, and a master of literary style, one of the people of Marwān.²²¹ He was also a poet of excellent quality, with natural talent, who wrote a collection of epistles. His epistles were about the conquest of al-Baṣrah.²²²

Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Karkhī²²³

He was one of the secretaries who were transferred to the vizierate. He was a writer of correspondence and a master of literary style, who wrote:

Anthology of Epistles; Anthology of Poetry.

Al-Bāḡhath 'an Mi'yāṣ²²⁴

His name was Muḥammad ibn Sahl ibn al-Marzubān al-Karkhī, surnamed Abū Maṣṣūr. He was one of the people of al-Karkh and one of the masters of eloquence and literary style. A man who saw him told me that he had a paralyzed hand.²²⁵ Among his books there was *The Limit of Perfection (Al-Muntahī fī al-Kamāl)*, comprising twelve books (chapters), which were:

²²⁰ The Flügel text does not give "Aḥmad ibn." The translation follows the Beatty MS. A father and a son have probably been confused. See Ibn Abī al-Baḡhl for the members of this family.

²²¹ Flügel has *al-marwāt*, but al-Marwān, a part of Marw (Merv), seems to be the word meant.

²²² The reference to his epistles is not found in the Beatty MS.

²²³ Flügel gives al-Maḡsam instead of al-Karkhī. The second title is lacking in the Beatty MS.

²²⁴ The name means "searching for the difficult in learning," and is given in the Beatty MS. Flügel has a different form, almost certainly incorrect.

²²⁵ In the Flügel edition, this statement is given incorrectly.

Praise of Culture; Description of Rhetoric (Eloquence); Prayer and Glorification; Passionate Love and Separation; Love of Fatherlands; Congratulations and Consolation; Hope and the Hoped-For; Youthful Amatory Praises and Beseechings; Praise and Blame; Apologies (Excuses); Pronunciations (Dialects); Values of the Government.

Abū Sa'id 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Iṣbahānī²²⁶

He wrote *Epistles*.

Al-Abharī al-Iṣbahānī

Nothing more is known about him [except that] among his books there were:

Formation of Literary Style; Training of the Secretary; The Court Companion.²²⁷

Al-Jayhānī

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr al-Jayhānī, the secretary, vizier of the lord of Khurāsān, among whose books there were:

Roadways and Kingdoms; Usage of Examples of Writing the Contracts of the Caliphs and Governors;²²⁸ Additions to the book of al-Nāshī about discourses;²²⁹ *Epistles*.

Abū Zayd al-Balkhī

His name was Aḥmad ibn Sahl and he was distinguished in connection with both ancient and modern sciences. In his compositions and compilations he followed the usage of the philosophers, but, as he resembled the men of letters and was closest to them, I have included him in this section of the book.

²²⁶ The Beatty MS has Abū Sa'd instead of Abū Sa'id. The translation follows Flügel, which is probably correct. The Beatty MS, however, corrects Flügel by giving Al-Abharī as a separate heading rather than running it into the preceding paragraph.

²²⁷ Last title not in the Beatty MS.

²²⁸ The translation follows what seems to be indicated in the Beatty MS. The Flügel edition varies.

²²⁹ The Flügel edition is garbled, but the Beatty MS clearly gives al-Nāshī, although which one of the men with this name is not explained. The final title is not in the Beatty MS.

It is said of Abū Zayd that he said:

Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Marwarrūdhī, the brother of Su'lūk, used to conduct familiar and continuous prayers for me, but when I dictated my book about investigation by methods of interpretation, he discontinued these [prayers] for me. Then Abū 'Alī²³⁰ al-Jayhānī, the vizier of Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, had slave girls with whom he used to favor me, but when I dictated my book *Offerings and Sacrifices*, he withheld them from me.

Al-Ḥusayn [al-Marwarrūdhī] was a Qarmatī, al-Jayhānī a dualist, and Abū Zayd was accused of heresy. But it has been related that al-Balkhī²³¹ said, "This man," meaning Abū Zayd, "is suffering an injustice, for he is a believer in the oneness [of Allāh]. I know it from other people and also because I was brought up with him. Although it [heresy] might have come from logic, we studied logic together and thanks be to Allāh did not become heretics."

Among the books of Abū Zayd there were:²³²

The Ordinances of Religions; The Categories (Divisions) of the Sciences; Choice of Conduct (Choice of Journeys); the large book, Politics; the small book, Politics; Perfection of the Faith;²³³ Excellency of the Art of Writing; Advantages of Bodies and Souls;²³⁴ The Names of Allāh, Exalted and Sublime, and His Attributes; The Making of Poetry; The Excellency of the Science (Knowledge) of Historical Traditions; Names, Surnames, and Nicknames; Names of Things; Grammar and Conjugation; The Picture and the Pictured; his epistle about the definitions (limits) of philosophy; What Is Correct about Judgments of the Stars; Refutation of the Worshippers of Idols; Excellence of the Mathematical Sciences; about divulging²³⁵ the sciences of philosophy; Offerings and Sacrifices; Infallibility of the Prophets, for Whom May There Be Peace.²³⁶

²³⁰ "'Alī" may be a mistake, as he is usually called Abū 'Abd Allāh.

²³¹ This was probably Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl ibn al-'Abbās al-Balkhī, who died in A.D. 931, three years before the death of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī.

²³² The list given here should be compared with Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 141-44.

²³³ See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 149 bottom. There is a note on the margin of the Beatty MS implying that this was an explanation of the perfection of religion.

²³⁴ Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 142 l. 7, adds, "known as *The Two Discourses*."

²³⁵ Flügel gives *ifshā* ("divulging"), Yāqūt *aqṣām* ("dividing"), and the Beatty MS *iqtinā* ("acquiring").

²³⁶ The pious phrase is not found in the Beatty MS.

Arrangement of the Qur'ān; Qawāri' al-Qur'ān;²³⁷ The Bold and Those Devoted to God (Al-Futtāk wa-al-Nussāk); a book in which he collected what was difficult to understand among the strange things in the Qur'ān; about how the "Sūrah al-Ḥamd"²³⁸ is representative of the Qur'ān as a whole; Replies of²³⁹ Abū al-Qāsim al-Ka'bī; Rarities among Various Sciences (Rarities in Various Forms); Replies of the People of Persia; Explanation of the Figures in the Book, "Heaven and the World," by Abū Ja'far al-Khazin; Replies of Abū 'Alī ibn Abī Bakr ibn al-Muẓaffar, known as Ibn Muḥtaj; Replies of Abū Ishāq al-Mu'addab [Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī]; Verbal Nouns (Origins); Replies to the Questions of Abū al-Faḍl al-Sukkarī; Chess and Backgammon; The Superiority of Makkah over Other Places; Reply of the Epistle of Abū 'Alī ibn al-Munīr al-Ziyādī; Awakening of the Secretaries;²⁴⁰ the large book, Investigation of Interpretations; the clarifying epistle to the person reproached;²⁴¹ his epistle praising the profession of the warrāq; his will (testament).

Al-Bushī²⁴²

He was Abū al-Qāsim ———, Although I never saw any book of his, information was given to me by Abū 'Alī ibn Sawwār,²⁴³ the secretary, to whom may Allāh show mercy, who established the library of the endowment (*al-waqf*) at al-Baṣrah, and who was devoted to the sciences and strong in his passion for them. He told me, "There are some of his [al-Bushī's] books in my library at al-Baṣrah."

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: I am doubtful about "al-Bushī"; is it written with a *shīn* (*sh*) or a *sīn* (*s*)? "Bust" is known to be a place in Sijistān, but we do not know "Bush." That which made Abū 'Alī [ibn Sawwār] feel that the pronunciation

²³⁷ Verses recited for protection against men and demons.

²³⁸ The opening sūrah of the Qur'ān.

²³⁹ The phrases translated as "replies of" may really refer to the replies of al-Balkhī in his disputes with other authors, in which case "replies to" would be the accurate translation.

²⁴⁰ The words given both in Flügel and the Beatty MS are not entirely clear.

²⁴¹ The word translated as "clarifying" is *al-sālifah*, which usually means "previous" or "former."

²⁴² In the Flügel edition the heading is "Al-Bustī."

²⁴³ The Beatty MS spells the name as Suwār (meaning "cavalier").

was with *shīn* (*sh*) was the dotting [of the consonants].²⁴⁴ We shall inquire about this man and his books and, if Allāh so wills, make a supplement to his section. Abū 'Alī said that his books were;

Trees and Plants; Description of the Climate of Jarjān; his reply about the antiquity of the world; The Weakness of a Double-Faced Vizier; Preservation of Learning and Control of the Soul; his epistle about the ordinances of the principal organ of man's body.

Hamzah ibn al-Ḥasan

He was from the people of Iṣbahān, a man of letters and an author, among whose books there were;

Iṣbahān and Its Historical Traditions; Similitudes (Allegories); Kinds of Prayer; Mispronouncing (Al-Taṣhīf); Examples of Af'ala, into which both poetry and prose are introduced;²⁴⁵ Examples Derived from Proofs of Poetry; Information about al-Muṣhīf;²⁴⁶ Epistles; Illustrations, about tidings of joy.

Ḥukmwayh ibn 'Abdūs

He was from the region of the Mountain (al-Jabal). Nothing more is known about his life. Among his books there were:

Unusual Expressions (Al-Shawārid) in the Epistles; Literary Pursuits.

Samakah

He was the teacher of Ibn al-'Amīd and his name was Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Sa'īd. Among his books there was *Historical Traditions of the 'Abbāsids*.

*Kushājim*²⁴⁷

He was Abū al-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusayn, whose literary work and poetry are famous. Among his books there were:

The Training of a Court Companion; Epistles; an anthology of his poetry.

²⁴⁴ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 612, for Bust; p. 628 for Busht near Nisābūr. No place called Bush is mentioned.

²⁴⁵ *Af'ala* is a verb form. This title and the four which follow are not in the Beatty MS.

²⁴⁶ *Al-Muṣhīf* means a "written book," but is as a rule used for the Qur'ān, as is evidently the case in this title.

²⁴⁷ The paragraph about Kushājim is in the Flügel edition, but not the Beatty MS.

Khushkanānjah, the Secretary

He was from among the people of Baghdād, but spent most of his life at al-Raqqah and then moved to al-Mawṣil. His name was 'Alī ibn Waṣīf. The meaning of the name 'Alī was derived by the language authorities.²⁴⁸ He composed a number of books, which 'Abdān, the chief of the Ismā'īliyah, attributed to himself. He was friendly and agreeable to me. He died at al-Mawṣil, a Shī'ī.²⁴⁹ Among his books there was *Explaining and Making Straight*, about the institution of the land tax (*al-kharāj*) and its usages.

His Son, Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn 'Alī²⁵⁰

He was a secretary, poet, and master of literary style. He died in the City of Peace [Baghdād], there being among his books:

Prose Joined to Verse (Prose Connected in Sequence); The Production of Literary Style (The Art of Rhetoric); Benefits; an anthology of his poetry.

Ibn Kathīr al-Aḥwāzī

He was Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl. Among his books there was *Virtues of the Secretaries*.²⁵¹

Abū Namlah al-Numaylī

He was also called al-Namlī, but we know nothing about his life. Among his books there was *Precious Things* (*Al-Shudhūr*), about the counseling of the caliphs and governors (*umara'*).

²⁴⁸ The Flügel text apparently confuses this phrase and the Beatty MS does not make clear exactly what the author meant. Literally the passage is "His name was 'Alī from the masters of literary style in its meaning."

²⁴⁹ "A Shī'ī" is not in the Beatty MS.

²⁵⁰ This paragraph with its list of book titles is given very clearly in the Beatty MS but badly confused in the Flügel version. The Beatty MS does not mention the anthology of his poetry.

²⁵¹ Flügel has *manāqib* ("virtues"), which is probably correct. In the Beatty MS the only word which at all fits the letters is *muta'wik* ("defective").

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Third Section of the Third Chapter

*of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, including accounts of the court companions, associates, men of letters, singers, buffoons, slap-takers, and jesters, with the names of their books.*¹

Account of Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, His Father and Family

Ibrāhīm was born during the year one hundred and twenty-five [A.D. 742/43]. He was Ibrāhīm ibn Maymūn [al-Mawṣilī]. Maymūn's name was Māhān, but they changed it to Maymūn. Abū al-Faḍl Ḥammād ibn Ishāq said, "My father gave me the genealogy of my grandfather Ibrāhīm, saying that he was Ibrāhīm ibn Māhān ibn Bahīnan (Bahmān) ibn Nusk."²

Yazīd al-Muhallabī said, "Ishāq told me, 'We are Persians from among the people of Arrajān. Our protégés (patrons) are the Ḥanzalah, who have lands among us!' But still he was called al-Mawṣilī."³

Al-Ṣūlī⁴ said, "Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm had as sons Ḥamīd, Ḥammād, Aḥmad, Ḥāmid, Ibrāhīm, and Faḍl. Among the offspring of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī the only singers were Ishāq and Ṭayyāb."⁵

¹ This passage gives a good idea of the men who provided companionship, counsel, culture, music, and amusement for the ruler. For these categories of persons attending at the court, see the Glossary.

² The Flügel edition omits "my father."

³ Flügel has Arrajān, an area south of Shīrāz, whereas the Beatty MS has Arkān, probably an error. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 194, 210. For Ḥanzalah, see "Ḥanzala," *Enc. Islam*, II, 261.

⁴ Probably Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Abbās, rather than al-Ṣūlī described in the *Biog. Index*.

⁵ Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm was also Abū Muḥammad, but this first-born son must have died in childhood.

Ibrāhīm was born during the year one hundred and twenty-five [A.D. 742/43] and he died at Baghdād in the year one hundred and eighty-eight [A.D. 804], when he was sixty-four years old. Ishāq was born during the year one hundred and fifty [A.D. 767/68] and died in the year two hundred and thirty-five [A.D. 849/50], when his age was eighty-five. He was Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Māhān ibn Bahman ibn Nusk,⁶ whose origin was in Persia, but he fled from the oppressive taxation imposed upon him by the Banū Umayyah, coming to al-Kūfah, where he dwelt among the Banū Dārim.⁷

Ishāq used to say, "I do not want to die until the month of Ramaḍān goes by, so that I can profit by observing its fast and it [my death] will be when my balance is favorable."⁸ It is said that he fasted for some days at the start and, if the fast was not observed on any day, he gave a hundred gold coins (s., *dīnār*) as alms. At the end, his illness became so serious that he could not endure the fast. The illness resulted from a purge given to him, *Idris* ibn Abī Ḥafṣah composed an elegy for him, saying:

May Allāh, oh, Ibn al-Mawṣilī, with a shower
Of rain, water the tomb in which thou art a sojourner.
Gone thou hast, making the noble lonely and fearful;
No wonder an intimate weeps over thee!⁹

Ishāq was a quoter of poetry and great deeds. He met with the Arabian masters of literary style, both men and women, who when they entered the sultan's presence sought him out, remaining with him. He was also a poet who was skilled in the art of singing and trained in many sciences. He gained his livelihood from the sultan's multitude of gifts honoring his perfection and superiority.

⁶ Khallikān, I, 20 gives Nusk and the Beatty MS has Nusak; see Spicgel in ZDMG, IX (1855), 191.

⁷ As Ishāq lived after the end of the Umayyad regime, the last part of the sentence, "whose origin . . . among the Banū Dārim," probably refers to his grandfather. For the Banū Dārim, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 37.

⁸ The Beatty MS has *mīzānī* ("my balance," "my scales"), which evidently refers to weighing the soul on the Day of Judgment. Flügel gives *mabarrātī*.

⁹ This passage refers to the last month of the life of Ishāq, which was during Ramaḍān, when pious Muslims gain special merit by fasting, acts of charity, and studying the Qur'ān. Compare the rendering of the poem with Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, p. 130 top, which has a different wording.

The literary works which he himself composed were the following, not counting *Kitāb al-Aghānī al-Kabīr* (The Great Book of Songs) about which there was a disagreement, the circumstances of which we are going to explain:

His songs, which he sang; Traditions of 'Azzat al-Maylā'; Songs of Ma'bad; Traditions of Ḥammād 'Ajrad; Traditions of Ḥunayn al-Ḥirī;¹⁰ Traditions of Dhū al-Rummah; Traditions of Ṭuways; Traditions about the Singers of Makkah;¹¹ Traditions of Sa'id ibn Miṣjah; Traditions of al-Dallāl; Traditions of Muḥammad ibn 'Ā'ishah; Traditions of al-Abjar;¹² Traditions of Ibn Ṣāhib al-Waḍū'; Selections from the Songs [Addressed] to al-Wāthiq; Observations and Indications; Drinks, in which he quoted from al-'Abbās ibn Ma'an, Ibn al-Jaṣṣās, and Ḥammād ibn Maysarah.¹³

Legacies of the Learned; Jewels of Speech (Al-Kalām); Al-Raqs wa-al-Zafn [types of dancing]; Melodious Singing and Cadence;¹⁴ Light-Footed (Al-Hadhlabin); Epistle to 'Alī ibn Hishām; Qiyān al-Ḥijāz;¹⁵ Al-Qiyān; Selected Rare Forms; Traditions and Rare Forms;¹⁶ Court Companions;¹⁷ Convivial Pleasantries; Intimate Association of Brothers and Evening Conversation of Close Friends; Traditions of Ma'bad and Ibn Surayj and Their Songs; Traditions of al-Gharīd; Preference for Poetry and a Refutation of He Who Forbids It and Opposes It.

Information about *Kitāb al-Aghānī al-Kabīr* (The Great Book of Songs)¹⁸

I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd ibn al-Zubayr al-Kūfī al-Asadī:

¹⁰ Flügel has al-Khayrī instead of al-Ḥirī, evidently an error.

¹¹ This title is given incorrectly in the Flügel version.

¹² The Beatty MS has al-Abkhar, which is a mistake. The Flügel version gives the next title incorrectly.

¹³ The Flügel text incorrectly combines the first two names as one. The title which follows, *Legacies of the Learned*, is not in the Beatty MS.

¹⁴ The translation of this title and the following follows the Beatty MS, which differs from Flügel.

¹⁵ *Qiyān* here almost certainly refers to slave girls trained to sing and dance. Al-Ḥijāz is the holy land of Arabia.

¹⁶ Flügel gives "selections" instead of "traditions."

¹⁷ This title and the ones which follow are not in the Beatty MS.

¹⁸ Flügel includes this title in the list of books above. The Beatty MS has a separate heading.

Faḍl ibn Muḥammad al-Yazīdī related to me saying, "I was at the home of Ishāq [Abū Muḥammad] ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī when a man came to him saying, 'Oh, Abū Muḥammad, give me *Kitāb al-Aghānī*.' Then he [Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī] replied, 'Which book, the one which I myself composed, or the one composed for me?' By the one he himself composed, he had in mind the *Book of Traditions about the Singers* (*Kitāb Akhbār al-Mughanniyīn*), one by one, while the book compiled for him [referred to] the *Great Book of Traditions about the Songs* (*Kitāb Akhbār al-Aghānī al-Kabīr*), which is in use by the public."

Another Statement about This Subject

Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī related to me, saying:

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Khalaf Wakī' told me, "I heard Ḥammād ibn Ishāq say, 'My father never composed this book, that is, *Kitāb al-Aghānī al-Kabīr*, and never saw it. The proof of this is that most of its poems attributed [to my father] have been collected from traditions about them and from what has been sung from them as late as this our own time. Furthermore, most of the genealogies of the singers are erroneous. What my father did compile from the collections of their songs points to the falsity of this book. For truly a *warrāq* of my father's wrote it after his death, except for "Al-Rukhṣah,"¹⁹ which is the first part of the book and which my father did compose. All of its traditions, however, are from our quotations."

Abū al-Faraj also said to me:

I heard this from Abū Bakr Waki' as a statement, which I memorized, but putting it into words I may add or subtract something. Moreover, Jaḥẓah told me that he knows the *warrāq* who wrote it, his name being Sandī ibn 'Alī. His shop is at Ṭāq al-Zibl (the Dung Arch) and he served as a *warrāq* for Ishāq [al-Mawṣilī]. He and a partner who was with him agreed about writing it. This book was known in former times as *Kitāb al-Sarāh* (Book of the Best).²⁰ It has eleven sections, each section being called by its beginning [line]. The first section of the book is "Al-Rukhṣah," which is the composition of Ishāq, about which there is no doubt or disagreement.

¹⁹ Here *rukḥṣah*, probably meaning "indulgence," very likely implies that although singing was not encouraged by religion, it was granted indulgence by God.

²⁰ Perhaps this title is meant to be *Kitāb al-Shudāh* ("Book of Singing" or "Book of Chanting Songs").

Order of the Sections of the Book [*Kitāb al-Aghānī al-Kabīr*],
Quoted until the Present Time

- First:²¹ Passion I plucked from her as a child,
And her love did not cease in strength to grow and increase.
- Second: I do not bear the ancient grudge against them,
For the chief of the people is not one who harbors malice.
- Third: Spend some time with Zaynab, for he has ransomed the riders.
Little will there be of condolence, if tomorrow is the move.
- Fourth: Stop, let us weep for the memory of a beloved,
And an abode at the bottom of the sands between al-Dakhūl
and Ḥawmal.²²
- Fifth: Has he complained because²³ wealth comes and goes,
What remains of wealth being tradition and remembrance?
- Sixth: Oh, mistress of the camel litter, bend towards us,
For if thou dost not do so, wrong wilt thou do.
- Seventh: Oh, dwelling of 'Ātikah, where free I am from concern for
the enemy
And where my heart is in safe keeping.
- Eighth: Passion your inflamed soul has aroused;
In the early morn at Tūḍīḥ, behold the camel litters.²⁴
- Ninth: For thou art as the night, which overtakes me,
As though I imagined that the road from you was a highway.
- Tenth: If her people wronged her dwelling.

Ishāq composed accounts of a group of poets. Among them there were:

Traditions of Ḥassān [ibn Thābit]; Traditions of Dhū al-Rummaḥ
[Ghaylān ibn 'Uqbah]; Traditions of al-Aḥwaṣ ['Abd Allāh ibn Mu-
ḥammad]; Traditions of Jamīl [Abū 'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh]; Traditions

²¹ This list of ten sections does not include "Al-Rukhṣah," mentioned above. On p. 57 at the beginning of his volume, Flügel gives a note on this passage. But it is based on his text, whereas the translation is from the Beatty MS, which differs in many details. For the connection of some of the following phrases and names with the poets *Farazdaq* and *Jarīr*, see Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 288. This is a free translation.

²² For these desert names, also mentioned in a poem of *Imru' al-Qays*, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, '559.

²³ A more literal translation is "has he blamed that."

²⁴ The camel litters were covered seats on the camel's backs in which the women sat.

of *Kuthayyir* [ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān]; Traditions of *Nuṣayb* [Abū al-Ḥajnā]; Traditions of 'Aqīl ibn 'Ullafah; Traditions of Ibn *Harmah* [Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī].²⁵

Ḥammād ibn *Ishāq* [ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī]

[Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Abbās] al-Ṣūlī said, "Ḥammād was a man of letters, who quoted [poetry and traditions]. He shared with his father *Ishāq* much of what he heard. He also met the great men among his elders.²⁶ He heard [lectures by] Abū 'Ubaydah and al-*Aṣma'i* and composed books about literature, absorbing most of his father's learning."

Another person said Ḥammād was nicknamed "al-Bārid" (the Cold One) and *Yahyā* ibn 'Alī related, "I said to my father, 'Why is Ḥammād called 'al-Bārid'?' He replied, 'My son, they have done him wrong. He used to sit by his father, *Ishāq*, and *Ishāq* was like a kindled fire, brilliant with impulsiveness of temperament.'"²⁷ Ḥammād died ———. Among his books there were:

Drinks; Traditions of al-*Ḥuṭay'ah*; Traditions of *Dhū* al-Rumnah; 'Urwah ibn Udhaynah; a selection of the songs of his grandfather, Ibrāhīm [al-Mawṣilī]; Traditions of *Ru'bah* [ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Ajjāj]; Traditions of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Qays al-*Ruqayyāt*; Traditions of the Court Companions.²⁸

Traditions about the Family of al-*Munajjim*, in Order of Sequence

The name of Abū *Manṣūr* was Abān Ḥusnus ibn Warīd ibn Kād ibn Mahāndādh Ḥusnus ibn Farīkhzādih ibn Ashtād Ziyār ibn Meher Ḥusnus ibn Yazdijird.²⁹

²⁵ This title is not in the Beatty MS.

²⁶ This probably refers to persons who were authorities for Arabic poetry and literature, although they might also have been tribal chiefs, government officials, learned scholars, or the elderly men of his father's acquaintance.

²⁷ The son was, therefore, called "the Cold One" because he seemed cold alongside his impulsive father.

²⁸ This last title is not in the Beatty MS.

²⁹ It is impossible to know how to spell these Persian names, as the Arabic texts lack most of the vowel signs and are imperfect. In the Beatty MS there are vowel signs for Ḥusnus, but no consonant points. The word is therefore probably written incorrectly. The names are mentioned in *Khallikān*, IV, 84-85, but are probably not accurate.

Yahyā his son, surnamed *Abū 'Alī*, was a protégé of *al-Ma'mūn*. At first he was associated with *al-Faḍl* ibn *Sahl*, working on his hypothesis of the judgments of the stars. Then, when the happening befell *al-Faḍl*,³⁰ *al-Ma'mūn* chose him [*Yahyā*], seeking him for *Islām*. Whereupon, he became a Muslim under the patronage [of *al-Ma'mūn*] and devoted himself to him. *Yahyā* died when he was setting forth to *Tarsus* (*Tarsūs*), and he was buried at *Aleppo* in the cemetery of the *Quraysh*, where there is an inscription on his grave. His sons were *Muḥammad*, *'Alī*, *Sa'īd*, and *al-Ḥasan*.

Muḥammad was highly cultivated, a master of literary style, eloquent in expression. He composed anthologies and famous traditions, there being among his works the *Traditions of the Poets*. He also understood singing and astrology.

'Alī ibn *Yahyā* became associated with *Muḥammad* ibn *Ishāq* ibn *Ibrāhīm* *al-Mus'abī* and later with *al-Faḥḥ* ibn *Khāqān*, for whom he made a library of learning.³¹ He transcribed for it [sections] from his own books and from things *al-Faḥḥ* asked him to write, more than enough to form a library of learning. He died during the last days of *al-Mu'tamid*, being buried at *Sāmarrā*. His sons were *Aḥmad* *Abū 'Isā*, *'Abd Allāh* *Abū al-Qāsim*, *Yahyā* *Abū Aḥmad*, and *Hārūn* *Abū 'Abd Allāh*. *Hārūn* wrote many books.

Another Account of Them [the Family of *al-Munajjim*]

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn *Yahyā* ibn *Abī Maṣṣūr al-Munajjim* was a court companion of *al-Mutawakkil* and not only one of his intimate associates, but the foremost among them. He was attached to him and the caliphs following him until the time of *al-Mu'tamid*. He was a quoter of poems and traditions, as well as a good poet, who learned from *Ishāq* [*al-Mawṣilī*], quoting him. As his work among the caliphs was outstanding, he sat among their kinsmen [leaders] and they told him their secrets, entrusting him with their news. He died during the year two hundred and seventy-five [A.D. 888/89]. Among his books there were:

³⁰ *Al-Faḍl* ibn *Sahl*, vizier of *al-Ma'mūn*, known for his interest in astrology as well as for his high government positions, was murdered in his bath at the age of 48. See *Khallikān*, II, 472-73. See Glossary for "judgments of the stars."

³¹ "Library of learning" (*khizānat al-ḥikmah*) was probably a term derived from the *Bayt al-Ḥikmah*, the famous library at *Baghdād* founded by *al-Ma'mūn*.

Poetry and Poets, Ancient and Islāmic, in which he quoted Muḥammad ibn Sallām [al-Jumāhī], Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Jarjānī, and others besides them; Traditions of Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm [al-Mawṣilī]; Cooked Food.

His Son, Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Manṣūr³³

He was born during the year two hundred and forty-one [A.D. 855/56] and died on Monday night, the thirteenth night of the month of Rabī 'al-Awwal [the third Muslim month] during the year three hundred [A.D. 912/13]. He was a court companion of al-Muwaffaq and the caliphs following him. He was also a theologian of the Mu'tazilī school of thought and the author of many books. He had, moreover, a class (session), which was attended by (*bi-al-ḥaḍrah*) a group of theologians. Among his books there was *Splendor* (*Al-Bāhir*), about the traditions and poems of the poets who lived during the two regimes [the Umayyad and the 'Abbāsīd]. He began with *Bashshār*, Ibn *Harmah*, Ṭurayḥ [al-*Thaqafī*], Ibn *Mayyādah*, Muslim [ibn Walīd], Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm [al-Mawṣilī], Abū *Hiffān*, and Yazīd ibn al-*Tathriyah*. The last one he wrote about was *Marwān* ibn Abī Ḥaḥṣah. He did not finish this [book], but his son, Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī, did complete it, with the decision to add to his father's book the lives of the modern poets. From among these he wrote about Abū *Dulāmah*, Wālibah ibn al-Ḥubāb, Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād, Muṭī' ibn Iyās, and Abū 'Alī al-Baṣīr.

Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī³⁴

He was a theologian and an authority for the law according to the code of Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī. I saw a portion of a book by Abū Ja'far about the law written in his handwriting.³⁴ Abū al-Ḥasan also wrote books which he composed independently of previous works, among which there were:

Traditions of his family and their genealogy in Persia; Consensus of Opinion, about the law according to the code of al-Ṭabarī; Introduction

³³ The Beatty MS runs this heading into the text. The Flügel text has only the words "His Son."

³⁴ The Arabic versions have no separate heading here. The Beatty MS does not give the full name as Flügel does.

³⁴ This sentence is in the Beatty MS, but lacking in Flügel.

to the Code of al-Ṭabarī and the Triumph of His School of Thought;³⁵ The Times (Seasons).³⁶

Abū 'Abd Allāh Hārūn ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr³⁷

He died during the year two hundred and eighty-eight [A.D. 900/901], while he was still young. Among his books there were: The Distinguished (Al-Bārī), which was a selection of the poetry of the modern³⁸ poets, without comment on them; Traditions of the Poets, a large book which he did not finish—the persons included in it were *Bashshār*, Abū al-'Atāḥiyah, and Abū Nuwās; Women: What Fell to Them of Fame and Good Qualities and What Was Said of Them in Poems and Beautiful Speech.

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Hārūn ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā

We [al-Nadīm] have seen and heard him. He was a quoter [of poetry], a poet, man of letters, master of literary style, theologian, man of good character, and the court companion of a number of caliphs. He said to me, "My birth was during the year seventy-seven [A.H. 277: A.D. 890/91]." He kept on dyeing [his beard with henna] until he passed away during the year three hundred and fifty-two [A.D. 963/64] at the age of seventy-six.³⁹ Among his books there were:

The Month of Ramaḍān, which he wrote for [the Caliph] al-Rāḍī; The Nawrūz and the Mihrajān;⁴⁰ Refutation of al-Khalīl, in connection with "Prosody" (Al-'Arūd);⁴¹ his epistle about the difference between *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-Mahdī and Ishāq al-Mawṣilī, with reference to singing; a book which he started about the genealogy of his kinsmen—he was writing it for al-Muḥallabī, but he never finished;⁴² Comprehensive

³⁵ *Madhhab* is translated here as "code" and "school of thought," rather than as "sect," which is a more usual rendering.

³⁶ Probably referring to times of prayer or feasts; not in the Beatty MS.

³⁷ This heading, and the three which follow, are made part of the text, rather than set off as separate headings, in the Beatty MS.

³⁸ The poets named as "modern" in the book *Splendor* ("Al-Bāhir") of Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī, begun by Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī, belong to the eighth and ninth centuries. This probably refers to this same group of poets.

³⁹ Reckoned in lunar years.

⁴⁰ Persian feasts for New Year's and the September equinox, respectively.

⁴¹ A book on prosody by al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad.

⁴² His kinsmen were the family of al-Munajjim. Al-Muḥallabī was Abū Muḥammad, the vizier of Mu'izz al-Dawlah.

Statement (Al-Lafz al-Muḥit), in refutation of a statement of al-Laḡī—it is contradictory to a work of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, entitled "The Difference between the Free and the Slaves and Their Relative Worth."⁴³

Abū 'Isā Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā

He was one of their distinguished members, who lived earlier than 'Alī ibn Hārūn. Among his books there was *History of the Years*⁴⁴ of the World.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Hārūn ibn 'Alī ibn Hārūn

He was from the stock of his kinsmen and forefathers,⁴⁵ a poet, man of letters, and a man with a knowledge of singing. He was also skillful and eminent in theology. He was born during the year ——— and died ———. Among his books there was *Selection of Songs*.⁴⁶

The family of Ḥamdūn

He was Ḥamdūn ibn Ismā'īl ibn Dā'ūd the secretary, the first member of his family to be a court companion. His son, Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdūn, quoted [others] and was a scholar of historical traditions, quoting al-'Adawī. Among his books there was *Court Companions and Associates*.⁴⁷

Abū Hifḡān al-Mihzamī

Mention of him will be made in connection with a group of modern poets. He was a scholar of historical traditions, who quoted [others] and was an author. Among his books there were:

The Four, with traditions about the poets; The Art of Poetry, a large book, part of which I have seen.

⁴³ For this title, given more accurately, see Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 152 top. This book of 'Alī ibn Hārūn is not in the Beatty MS but is included in the Flügel text. Instead of "contradictory," the Arabic *mu'āraḡah* may mean "complimentary."

⁴⁴ The Beatty MS gives what appears to be *sunī*, which can be a plural form for *sinīn* ("years").

⁴⁵ The family of al-Munajjim.

⁴⁶ This title is not in the Beatty MS.

⁴⁷ This title also is not found in the Beatty MS. For the terms, see the Glossary.

Yūnus al-Katīb (the Secretary)

He was known as Yūnus the Singer, but was [really] Yūnus ibn Sulaymān, surnamed Abū Sulaymān. He was from among the people of Persia, living until the 'Abbāsīd regime. From what was written in the handwriting of al-Sukkārī, "He was one of the slaves, a slave of al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām."⁴⁸ He wrote famous books about songs and singers, it even being said that Ibrāhīm [al-Mawṣilī] learned from him. Among his books there were:

The Unique (Mujarrad) of Yūnus; Al-Qiyān; Melodious Singing.

Ibn Bānah

They called him "the son of Bānah" after his mother. He was 'Amr ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn Rāshīd, a protégé of Yūsuf ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī. Bānah was the daughter of Rawḥ, the secretary of Salamah al-Waṣīf. Among his books there was *The Unique (Mujarrad) of 'Amr ibn Bānah*.

He was devoted to al-Mutawakkil, being on intimate terms with him. As he learned from Ishāq [al-Mawṣilī] and other [teachers], he was skilled in singing. He lived until the days of al-Mu'tadid and, although his home was at Baghdād, at times he visited Sāmarrā.⁴⁹ He died during the year two hundred and seventy-eight [A.D. 891/92].

Al-Ṣinī

His name was Ḥubaysh ibn Mūsā⁵⁰ and he was the author of the book of songs arranged in alphabetical order which he composed for al-Mutawakkil. In this book he recorded things about the songs which were not mentioned by Ishāq [al-Mawṣilī] and 'Amr ibn

⁴⁸ In the Beatty MS this sentence is written on the margin, but it is contained as part of the Flügel text. The word *mawlā* has been translated "slave" rather than "protégé" as Mas'ūdī, IV, 254, says that when he died al-Zubayr left a thousand male and female slaves ('abd). *Al-Qiyān*, the second title which follows below, refers to slave girls trained to sing and dance.

⁴⁹ The caliphs lived at Sāmarrā south of al-Mawṣil from 836 to 892. Ibn Bānah had singing girls of his own and probably took them to give private performances in different places. See Rosenthal, *Alḥmad B. al-Tayyib as-Sarāḥī*, p. 97.

⁵⁰ Flügel gives this man's name as Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Naṣbī. The translation has been taken from the Beatty MS. It has been impossible to identify the individual in any other sources.

Bānah. Moreover, from the names of the male and female singers of the Pre-Islāmic and Islāmic periods he mentioned all that was unusual and strange. He wrote:

Book of Songs (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*), in alphabetical order; *Abstractions of the Singers (Spiritual Beings among the Singers, *Mujarradāt al-Mughannīyīn*).

Abū Ḥashshishah

His name was Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Umayyah, surnamed Abū Ja‘far. He was a descendant of Abū Umayyah al-Kātib.⁵¹ He was a tanbur player who was skilled in his art and from whom Jaḥḥah believed that he learned [how to play]. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Illustrious Singer (the illustrious book, The Singer); Traditions of the Tanbur Players.

Jaḥḥah

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Ja‘far ibn Mūsā ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd ibn Barmak, a poet and singer, with a genius for poetry, and skill in the art of singing to the tanbur. Well-trained and excellent in expression, he met with scholars and quoters [of poems and traditions], learning from them. Facts about him are too well known and self-evident to mention in our book, as he lived so close to our time.

But in spite of what we have described in connection with him, he was far from having a moral character and was also foul[-minded]. In his religion, he did not have only some of the imperfections, but all of them. Abū al-Faṭḥ ibn al-Naḥwī recited to me saying, “Jaḥḥah recited to me about himself.”⁵²

⁵¹ The Arabic wording does not make it entirely clear whether *al-kātib* (“the secretary”) goes with Abū Ḥashshishah or Abū Umayyah. Flügel’s index connects it with the latter name, which is probably correct, as a secretary was not likely to be a tanbur player.

⁵² It is important to note that the Tonk MS begins with the following verse of poetry.

If I do not desire my mouth to water,
 Wine I make its substitute.
 And wine is [different] from saliva,
 For with heart aflame I keep on drinking."⁵³

Jahẓah died at Wāsiṭ, where he had gone to be with Abū *Bakr* ibn Rā'iq⁵⁴ during the year three hundred and twenty-six [A.D. 937/38], because of illness with diarrhea. Among his books there were:

The Delightful Book of Cooked Food; The Tanbur Players; Excellencies of Sikkāj;⁵⁵ Al-Tarannum; what he witnessed of al-Mu'tamid; Speculations; what he collected from what the astrologers preserved and verified from among the predictions (Judgments).

After the account about him [Jahẓah] there should be the account of Qariṣ the Singer, but it comes seventeen leaves after this leaf, as the author of the book has arranged the sequence, so now we return to the famous singers.⁵⁶

We Have Returned to the Famous Authors

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: If I record an author, [then as a rule] I mention following him someone who was associated with him and similar to him. If, however, someone's turn is put off for an interval, so as to come after somebody else, whom I place before him, this is [due to] the method which I use in the book as a whole and it is Allāh who by his mercy determines [the sequence].

⁵³ For the word translated as "aflame," Flügel has a form of *ghalīl* ("burning with love"), whereas the Beatty and Tonk MSS have a form of *'alīl* ("distressed").

⁵⁴ The Beatty MS has "ibn Wāthiq," but Flügel gives "ibn Rā'iq," which is probably correct, as he was a high official at the time of the death of Jahẓah. See Šābi, *Wuzarā'*, p. 360.

⁵⁵ *Sikkāj* is a dish of meat, flour, and vinegar. *Al-tarannum*, which follows, means the modulation of the voice or of an instrument. It is given by the Beatty MS and is probably correct, although Flügel has "*Al-Nadīm*."

⁵⁶ This last paragraph is in the Flügel version but not in the Beatty MS. The last sentence of the paragraph says "we return to the famous singers," but the heading which follows refers to famous authors. Either there is a mistake and the word "singers" was intended to be something different, or else the men listed in the following pages were singers as well as authors. The second-to-last account in this section of *Al-Fihrist* concerns al-Qariṣ.

Account of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir

He was Abū al-Faḍl *Aḥmad* ibn Abī Ṭāhir, the name of Abū Ṭāhir being Ṭayfur. Although he was the son of a family of government employees from Khurāsān, he was born at Baghdād. *Ja'far* ibn Ḥamdān, the author of the book *Splendor (Al-Bāhir)*, said, "He was first a teacher in a common school, but later did private work, being established at the Paper Workers' Bazaar (Sūq al-Warrāqīn) on the East Side."⁵⁷ He went on to say, "I have never seen anyone who became known so quickly as he became known for compiling books and reciting poetry, most of which he corrupted. In fact, there never was anyone more stupid intellectually or more erroneous in pronunciation than he was. He once recited a poem for me, informing me about *Ishāq* ibn Ayyūb, in which he made mistakes in about ten places. He was the most prone of men to steal a half or a third of a verse." He continued, "This is what al-Buḥturī told me about him, but at the same time he had a praiseworthy character, with a pleasant social manner, mellowed by maturity." He was born during the year two hundred and four [A.D. 819/20], the year in which al-Ma'mūn entered Baghdād from Khurāsān,⁵⁸ and he died during the year two hundred and eighty [A.D. 893/94]. Among his compiled books there were:

Prose and Verse, in fourteen sections, thirteen of which are in the people's hands; Plagiarisms of the Poets; Baghdād;⁵⁹ Jewels; Composers;⁶⁰ Gifts; The Derivative Varying from That with Which It Is Associated (The Derivative Varying from What Is Familiar); Names of the Poets Who Were Forefathers (Foremost); Nicknames of the Poets and Who Was Known by a Surname and Who by His [True] Name; Adornments and Garments;⁶¹ The Known among the Poets; The Embellished;

⁵⁷ The Paper Workers' Bazaar was a group of a hundred shops between the Harrānī Arch and the Šarāt Canal of Baghdād. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 92; Coke, *Baghdad*, p. 63.

⁵⁸ After the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd, there were six years of conflict to determine the succession. Finally, in A.D. 819 al-Ma'mūn brought an army from Khurāsān and established himself in Baghdād as the caliph. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 304.

⁵⁹ This title is given by Flügel but omitted by the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

⁶⁰ This might be a word meaning "owners of camels," but it is much more likely "composers" (of books).

⁶¹ At this point in the Beatty MS there are two titles badly written, probably duplications of what follows carelessly copied in the wrong place. They are omitted in the translation.

Apology for *Wahb* [ibn Sulaymān], because of his breaking wind; He Who Recites Poetry and Is Answered by Words; *Hurmuz* ibn Kisrā Anūshirwān's High Rank; Information (Experience) of the Proud King in Connection with the Administration of the Kingdom, about politics; The Righteous King and the Designated Vizier.

The Babylonian King, the Egyptian King, the Tyrants, and the Magnanimous Greek (Byzantine) King; Vehement Emotion and Passion (Al-Ghullah wa-al-Ghalil);⁶² Those Making Excuses; Temperament and Reproaches;⁶³ The Glory of the Rose and the Narcissus; The Chamberlains (The Veil); Adversaries⁶⁴ of the Horsemen; Adversaries of the Poets; the large book, Horses; Banishment (Pursuit, Al-Ṭard); The Plagiarisms of al-Buḥturī from Abū Tammām;⁶⁵ Assembling the Genealogy of the Banū Hāshim;⁶⁶ his epistle to *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-Mudabbir;⁶⁷ his epistle about restraint of lusts; his epistle to 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā; The Compendium, about the poets and their traditions (traditions about them); Superiority of the Arabs over the Persians; Speech of the Eyes; Traditions of Women Affecting Elegance.⁶⁸

It is said that his son, Abū al-Ḥusayn [*Ubayd Allāh* ibn Aḥmad], wrote these [last] two books.

His Books with Selections of the Poems of the Poets⁶⁹

Selections from the Poetry of *Bakr* ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ; Selections from the Poetry of *Di'bil* ibn 'Alī; Selections from the Poetry of *Muslim* [probably Ibn al-Walīd]; Selections from the Poetry of al-'Attābī; Selections from the Poetry of Maṣṣūr al-Namarī; Selections from the Poetry of Abū al-'Atāhiyah.

⁶² Flügel has *Disease and the Diseased*, but the Beatty and Tonk MSS indicate the translation as given.

⁶³ This title and the one following are only in the Flügel edition.

⁶⁴ Instead of "adversaries" (*al-muqābil*), this might be "slayers" (*al-muqātil*).

⁶⁵ Flügel gives "the grammarians," but the Beatty and Tonk MSS give instead the name al-Buḥturī.

⁶⁶ The Banū Hāshim were the ancestors of the Prophet and also of the 'Abbāsids. The translation follows the Beatty MS; Flügel omits "genealogy" and the Tonk MS gives "Abū Hāshim" as the last two words.

⁶⁷ The Flügel version gives al-Walīd, but the other manuscripts have al-Mudabbir.

⁶⁸ For the phrase "women affecting elegance" the translation follows Flügel and the Tonk MS, as the word in the Beatty MS does not seem to be correct.

⁶⁹ Unlike the other versions, the Flügel edition does not give this as a separate heading.

Account of *Bashshār* and Selections from His Poetry; Account of *Marwān* [ibn Sulaymān], with Selections from His Poetry and Traditions of the Family of Marwān; Account of Ibn *Mayyādah*; Account of Ibn *Harmah* with a Selection of His Poetry; Account of Ibn al-*Dumaynah*; Selection from the Poetry of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Qays al-*Ruqayyāt*.⁷⁰

His Son, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhīr, surnamed Abū al-Ḥusayn

He followed the example of his father in compiling and writing, but he quoted less than his father did and *Aḥmad* [his father] was more skillful and brilliant in technique and composition. The books of Abū al-Ḥusayn supplemented his father's books about the traditions of Baghdād, His father wrote until the end of the period of al-*Muhtadī*, while Abū al-Ḥusayn added traditions about al-*Mu'tamid*, traditions of al-*Mu'tadid*, traditions of al-*Muktafī*, and traditions about al-*Muqtadir*, which he did not complete. Among his books there were:

Al-Sikbāj and Its Excellencies;⁷¹ Women and Men Affecting Elegance.

The Family of Abū al-Najm

The name of Abū al-Najm was Hilāl and he was a secretary, one of the people of al-Anbār. His son, Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī al-Najm, was, however, one of the inhabitants of Baghdād. Abū al-Najm was a protégé of the Banū Sulaym.⁷²

Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Najm was a poet, surnamed Abū al-Zumayl, who it is said recited to Abū al-Shīṣ this saying of his; "As though there were on the circling heavens⁷³ the voice of the caller to prayer." Abū al-Shīṣ replied, "Allāh is your combatant,⁷⁴ oh, company of the Banū Sulaym, with the saying of al-*Khansā*': 'As though he were a standard, with fire at its top (on its head),' and this you say ———." ⁷⁵

⁷⁰ This book is in the Flügel text, but not in the Beatty or Tonk MSS.

⁷¹ *Sikbāj* is a dish of meat, flour, and vinegar.

⁷² For this tribe, see "Sulaim," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 518.

⁷³ The word in the Flügel edition means "spindle," which does not seem to be as correct as "circling heavens."

⁷⁴ The Beatty MS has "Allāh is your speaker."

⁷⁵ This line of poetry refers to the brother of the poetess al-*Khansā*' and is part of a lament for him. See "al-*Khansā*," *Enc. Islam*, II, 901; Quataybah, *Shi'r*, p. 201, top.

Abū 'Awn Aḥmad ibn al-Najm, the secretary, was the son of the brother of these two [Ṣāliḥ and Aḥmad].⁷⁶ He was a theologian, writer of correspondence, and poet, among whose books there were:

Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd) and the Philosophical Doctrines Which Concern It; The Towns (Regions), with information about the earth—it is said that this was written by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Abī 'Awn.

Ibn Abī 'Awn

He was Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Abī 'Awn Aḥmad ibn al-Najm, one of the associates of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Shalmaghānī, who was known as Ibn Abī al-'Azāqir. He [Ibrāhīm] was one of his faithful supporters who were fanatical about his cause, in connection with which he [al-Shalmaghānī] claimed to be the deity, Allāh Almighty. When Ibn Abī al-'Azāqir was arrested, he [Ibrāhīm] was taken with him and beheaded after him. When he was subjected to showing contempt for him and spitting on him, he refused, being seized with trembling and terror, trepidation and distress.⁷⁷ He was one of the men of letters who wrote books, but he lacked intelligence. We explain his story when we mention al-'Azāqirī [al-Shalmaghānī]. Among his books there were:

The Towns (Regions), with information about the countries; Silencing Replies; Similitudes (Allegories); The Treasury of Joy; Al-Dawāwīn;⁷⁸ Epistles.

Account of Ibn Abī al-Azhar

He was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Mazīd, the grammarian and historical traditionalist, called al-Busanjī as his origin

⁷⁶ Hilāl Abū al-Najm had three sons: al-Najm, Ṣāliḥ, and Aḥmad. The eldest son was the father of Abū 'Awn Aḥmad ibn al-Najm ibn Hilāl. He in turn had a son, Ibrāhīm ibn Abī 'Awn Aḥmad, described in the following account.

⁷⁷ He was ordered to recant by striking al-Shalmaghānī, but because he regarded this fanatic as divine, his hand trembled and he kissed him instead of striking him; see Khallikān, I, 436.

⁷⁸ Al-dawāwīn probably referred to the government departments or records, or else to anthologies. This title and the one following are only in the Flügel edition. In general, however, the translation follows the Beatty and Tonk MSS, which agree and seem to be more accurate than the Flügel edition in this passage.

was from Busanj.⁷⁹ He died at an advanced age. I have read what was written in the handwriting of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāh, who was known as Ibn al-'Aramram, that when he asked Ibn Abī al-Azhar about his age during the year three hundred and thirteen [A.D. 925/26], he replied, "Eighty years and three months of my life have passed by," and then he lived on after that.⁸⁰ Among his books there were:⁸¹

Disturbance and Confusion, with traditions of al-*Musta'in* and al-*Mu'tazz*; Traditions about the Intelligent among the Insane; Traditions of the Ancient Masters of Literary Style.

Abū Ayyūb al-Madīnī

His name was *Sulaymān* ibn Ayyūb ibn Muḥammad. He came from al-Madīnah and was one of the persons who affected elegance. He was also one of the men of letters, acquainted with singing and traditions about the singers, in connection with which he wrote a number of books. Among his books there were:

Traditions of 'Azzat al-Maylā'; Ibn Misjah [*Sa'id* ibn Misjah]; Qiyān al-Ḥijāz;⁸² Qiyān Makkah; Agreement (Harmony); The Generations of Singers; Melodious Singing and Cadence; Court Companions; Account of the Elegant at al-Madīnah; Ibn Abī 'Atīq; Traditions of Ibn 'Ā'ishah [Muḥammad ibn 'Ā'ishah]; *Hunayn* al-Ḥirī; Ibn *Surayj*; Al-*Gharīd*.⁸³

Al-Taghlibī⁸⁴

His name was *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥārith and he was attached to the entourage of al-*Faṭḥ* ibn Khāqān. Among his books there were: Characters of the Kings, which he composed for al-*Faṭḥ*; his epistles;⁸⁵ The Garden.

⁷⁹ Busanj was near Tirmidh on the Oxus River; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 758.

⁸⁰ Flügel and the Tonk MS give 30 years, but the Beatty MS has 80, which seems to be correct.

⁸¹ The first and second titles are in all the versions, but the last one is only in the Flügel edition.

⁸² *Qiyān* here almost certainly refers to slave girls trained to sing and dance. Al-Ḥijāz is the holy land of Arabia.

⁸³ Last title omitted by the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

⁸⁴ Flügel and Mas'ūdī, I, 12, call him by this name; the Beatty and Tonk MSS call him al-Tha'labī.

⁸⁵ The Beatty and Tonk MSS do not have "his epistles" and "The Garden."

Ibn al-Ḥarūn

His name was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Aṣbagh ibn al-Ḥarūn. He was an excellent author and compiler, highly cultured, and one of the people of Baghdād who were sons of secretaries. Among his books there were:

The Conformable and Homogeneous; The Truths, a large book; Poetry and the Poets; Literary Pursuits; The Gardens; The Secretaries; Good Actions (Merits); Meeting Together of the Chiefs.⁸⁶

Ibn 'Ammār al-Thaqafī

He was Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ammār al-Thaqafī, the secretary.⁸⁷ He was the agent of al-Qāsim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh and his son. He was also a friend of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāh, whom he quoted. He held sessions (classes) in which he related historical traditions.⁸⁸ He died during the year three hundred and nineteen [A.D. 931]. Among his books there were:

Al-Mubayyidāh, with traditions about the combatants of the family of Abū Ṭālib;⁸⁹ Al-Anwā'; The Faults of Abū Nuwās;⁹⁰ Traditions about Sulaymān ibn Abī Shaykh; Additions, with traditions about the viziers; Traditions about Ḥuḍr ibn 'Adī; Traditions about Abū al-Nuwās; Traditions about Ibn al-Rūmī, with Selections from His Poetry; his epistle about the Banū Umayyah; his epistle about the faults of Mu'āwiyah; his epistle about the affair of Ibn al-Mujadhdhar;⁹¹ Traditions about Abū al-'Atāhiyah; Traditions about 'Abd Allāh ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Ja'far;⁹² Contradictions;⁹³ his epistle about the preeminence of

⁸⁶ Another translation might be *Discussions of Intellectual Leaders*.

⁸⁷ The Flügel text has some errors in connection with the proper names in this passage. The translation follows the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

⁸⁸ The literal translation is, "To him sessions and traditions (*maḥālisāt wa-akhbār*)."

In the next sentence, the Beatty and Tonk MSS omit the date.
⁸⁹ This title means those who bring forth pure (literally, "white") children. It probably refers to the inherited purity claimed for the descendants of 'Alī. It was also the name of a sect [see Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker) Part I, pp. 173, 200], but it is not likely that the sect is referred to here.

⁹⁰ Flügel gives another name, probably an error.

⁹¹ The Beatty and Tonk MSS give this name, perhaps the son of Mujadhdhar ibn Dhiyād. Flügel has another name, probably that of Ibn Muḥriz, the singer.

⁹² Cf. Biog. Index, 'Abd Allāh ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far and Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 105, top.

⁹³ This title and the one which follows are only in the Flügel edition.

the Banū Hāshim and their chiefs, with a reproach for the Banū Umayyah and their followers.

Ibn Khurdādhbih

He was Abū al-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Khurdādhbih. Khurdādhbih was a Magian, who became a Muslim under the patronage of the Barmak family. Abū al-Qāsim administered the postal and intelligence departments in the regions of the Mountain (al-Jabal). He was also a court companion of al-Mu'tamid, to whom he devoted himself. Among his books there were:

The Training of Hearing; A Collection of the Genealogies of the Persians and of al-Nawāfil;⁹⁴ Roads and Kingdoms; Cooked Food; Amusement and Musical Instruments (Amusement and Diversions); Drinks; Al-Anwā'; Court Companions and Associates.⁹⁵

*Al-Sarakhsi*⁹⁶

Abū al-Faraj Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsi was a man of letters and master of literary style who quoted copiously. Among his books there were:

Government (Politics); Roads and Kingdoms; Training of the Kings; Guidance to the Secrets of Singing.

Ja'far ibn Ḥamdān al-Mawṣili

Abū al-Qāsim Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdān al-Mawṣili, the legal authority, was a good author and compiler, as well as a legal authority according to the code of al-Shāfi'i. He was also a poet, man of letters, and critic of poetry, who quoted copiously. He wrote a number of books about the law, which we shall mention when we discuss the legal authorities. His books about literary subjects were:

Splendor (Al-Bāhir), with selections from the more recent poets and some of the former ones, and also the plagiarisms;⁹⁷ the large book,

⁹⁴ The first two titles are given only by Flügel. The word translated as "Persians" might be "the horse."

⁹⁵ This title is in the Beatty and Tonk MSS, but not the Flügel edition.

⁹⁶ This paragraph about al-Sarakhsi is not included in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

⁹⁷ The phrase "and some of the former ones, and also the plagiarisms" is not found in Flügel, but is in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

Poetry and the Poets, which he did not finish; Plagiarisms, which he did not finish—if he had completed it, people would have been well equipped for an understanding of every book; the delightful book, The Good Qualities of the Poems of the More Recent (Modern) Writers.

Abū Ḍiyā' al-Naṣīb

Abū Ḍiyā' *Bishr* ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī al-Qutbī al-Naṣībī was one of the people of Naṣībīn.⁹⁸ He was a poet, who wrote a little poetry, as well as a man of letters, literary by nature, among whose books there were:

The Plagiarism of al-*Buhturī* from Abū *Tammām*; Jewels; Literary Pursuits; the large book, Plagiarisms, which he did not finish.

Ibn Abī Maṣṣūr al-Mawṣilī

He was Yaḥyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr, who had many relatives at al-Mawṣil. His books still exist and he represented the epitome of culture (literary quality). Among his books there were:

Songs (Al-Aghānī), arranged alphabetically;⁹⁹ Equivocal Speech (Al-Ma'ārīd); The Lute and Musical Instruments; the delightful book, Cooked Food.

Ibn al-Marzubān

He was 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn al-Marzubān. *Aḥmad* ibn Ṭāhir uses his method in preserving historical traditions, poetry, and anecdotes.¹⁰⁰ Among his books there were:

Those Enslaved by Love; Drinks, including a number of books (chapters); The Infallible;¹⁰¹ Remote (Absent); Gardens and Flowers; Associates and Court Companions; Poetry and the Poets; Gifts; Negroes and Their Superiority over the Whites;¹⁰² Nicknames and the

⁹⁸ Flügel gives al-Qaynī instead of al-Qutbī. See the tribe Banū Qutbah in Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 41, l. 17. The Beatty MS gives the last element of the name as al-Naṣībī. For Naṣībīn, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 787.

⁹⁹ The Tonk MS gives this meaning clearly.

¹⁰⁰ The Beatty and Tonk MSS give the form *ḥāfiẓ*, "preserving" or "memorizing."

¹⁰¹ This probably refers to the Shī'ī imams, who were credited as inheriting from 'Alī an infallible knowledge of the law.

¹⁰² If this referred to slaves, it did not express the common opinion about them; compare Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, Chap. XI.

Poets; Winter and Summer; Women and Amatory Poetry; The Compendium, a large book about the sciences of the Qur'ān, in twenty-seven sections;¹⁰³ Traditions of Abū Qays al-Ruqayyāt,¹⁰⁴ with a selection of his poetry; Traditions of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib, with Whom May Allāh Be Well Pleased; Censure of Chamberlains and the Sequestered;¹⁰⁵ Censure of the Heavy-Hearted (Censure of the Oppressed); Traditions of al-'Arjī.

Al-Kasrāwī

He is known as 'Alī ibn Mahdī, surnamed Abū al-Ḥusayn. He was a teacher, man of letters, and memorizer of traditions, who was acquainted in particular with the *Kitāb al-'Ayn*. He was tutor to Hārūn ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Nadīm, later becoming attached to Abū al-Najm Badr al-Mu'taḍidī.¹⁰⁶ Among his books there were:

Good Qualities; Contradictions of Those Who Think that It Is Not Necessary for the Judges to Eat the Same Kind of Food as the Imams and Caliphs—this book was also ascribed to al-Kasrāwī the Secretary; Feasts and New Years; The Missives of Brothers and Comings of Friends.¹⁰⁷

Ibn Bassām, the Poet

He was 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Bassām. 'Alī's mother was Umāmah, the daughter of Ḥamdūn, who was the intimate companion of his father and mother. He was a poet and man of letters, one of the brilliant secretaries, from whose tongue no one escaped.¹⁰⁸ He died ———. Among his books there were:

¹⁰³ This title and those following are not in the Beatty and Tonk MSS. The principal sciences of the Qur'ān are language, the Ḥadīth, readings, commentary, grammar, rhetoric, law, and theology.

¹⁰⁴ This name should almost certainly be Ibn Qays; see Biog. Index, *Ruqayyāt*.

¹⁰⁵ This might also be *Censure of the Veil and the Veiled*, but it more likely refers to chamberlains, who irritated the scholars because they refused them entrance to prominent men. The last name in the list should probably be al-'Arjī; see Biog. Index, Abū Mālik al-Naḍr.

¹⁰⁶ The translation follows the Beatty and Tonk MSS here, for Flügel says that he was tutor to the son of Hārūn. The manuscripts lack the book titles, although the Beatty MS leaves a space for them.

¹⁰⁷ As the text is not clear, this translation may not be correct.

¹⁰⁸ For this vernacular expression, see the Flügel edition, p. 150, n. 4.

Traditions of 'Umar ibn Abī Rabi'ah—I have never seen anything more eloquent in content; The Zanjīyūn Who Are Causing Conflict;¹⁰⁹ a collection of his letters; Inconsistencies of the Poets; Traditions of al-Aḥwāṣ.

Al-Marwazī

His name was Ja'far ibn Aḥmad al-Marwazī, surnamed Abū al-'Abbās. He was one of those who composed books about the sciences and his books were highly esteemed. He was the first person to write a book about the roads and kingdoms, but he did not finish it. When he died at al-Aḥwāz, his books were taken to Baghdād and sold at Ṭāq al-Ḥarrānī¹¹⁰ during the year two hundred and seventy-four [A.D. 887/88]. Among his books there were:

Roads and Kingdoms; the large book, Literary Pursuits; the small book, Literary Pursuits; History of the Signs of the Qur'ān, in confirmation of the books of the sultan;¹¹¹ Eloquence and Preaching; Al-Nājim.¹¹²

Al-Šūlī

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-'Abbās al-Šūlī was one of the brilliant men of letters and collectors of books. He was a court companion of al-Rādī, and before that was his tutor. He had also served as a court companion of al-Muktafī and al-Muqtadir during an unbroken period [of service]. His life is too conspicuous and well known and his period too recent for us to go into details with regards to him.¹¹³ He was one of the best chess players of his time and a person of manly bearing. He lived until the year three hundred and thirty [A.D. 941/42]¹¹⁴ and died hiding at al-Baṣrah,

¹⁰⁹ This book was evidently written when the Zanj slaves were revolting, A.D. 869–83. Ibn Bassām was about 25 years old when the revolt started. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 467. The last three titles are in the Flügel text, but not the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

¹¹⁰ An archway built by a man from Ḥarrān on the West Bank at the end of the bazaar where the paper dealers sold books. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 57 (map), 90, 91, 96; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 489.

¹¹¹ The Flügel text gives this title as *History of the Qur'ān*.

¹¹² This may be *The Rising Star*, or the man Sa'd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Nājim.

¹¹³ He must have been born A.D. 870 or earlier and died between A.D. 941 and A.D. 948.

¹¹⁴ The date is given in the Flügel text, but not in the Beatty or Tonk MSS. Other authorities give a later date.

because he quoted a passage about 'Alī, for whom may there be peace, which caused both the populace and the elite to seek him in order to kill him.

Among his books there was *Leaves (Folios, Al-Awrāq)*, with traditions about the caliphs and the poets, but which he did not finish. What resulted were traditions about all of the caliphs, with the poems and chronicles of the sons of the caliphs, from al-Saffāh to the time of Ibn al-Mu'tazz.¹¹⁵ There were also the poems of other members of the Banū al-'Abbās who were neither caliphs nor sons of caliphs in rank.

At the beginning [of the section] there was the poetry of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī and at the end the poetry of Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Isā ibn al-Manṣūr. Then followed the poems of members of the family of Abū Ṭālib: the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, the descendants of al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī, the descendants of 'Umar ibn 'Alī, and the descendants of Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib.¹¹⁶

Then followed the poems of the descendants of al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; after that traditions about Ibn Harmah, with a selection of his poetry; traditions about the Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī,¹¹⁷ with a selection of his poetry; traditions about Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, with a selection of his poetry; and traditions about Sudayf,¹¹⁸ with a selection of his poetry.

In composing this book he relied upon the book of al-Marḥadī about poetry and the poets, in fact he transcribed and plagiarized it. I have seen a copy of [the work of] this man which came from the library of al-Ṣūlī and by which he was exposed.

In addition to this, his books were:

The Viziers; Worship; Training of the Secretary, according to Standard;¹¹⁹ Superiority of the Aged, which he wrote for 'Alī ibn al-Furāt

¹¹⁵ This was the period between A.D. 750 and A.D. 908.

¹¹⁶ The Arabic word *walad* may mean either "descendant" or "son." For the members of the family of Abū Ṭālib, see Mas'ūdī, V, 148.

¹¹⁷ "Al-Ḥimyarī" is not included by the Beatty or Tonk MSS, but is given by Flügel and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 137.

¹¹⁸ Before "traditions about Sudayf" the Beatty MS has "traditions of Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm [al-Mawṣilī], with a selection of his poetry."

¹¹⁹ The Beatty and Tonk MSS have "secretaries", whereas Khallikān, III, 69, has "secretary."

[surnamed] Abū al-Ḥasan;¹²⁰ Youths; Varieties, which he did not finish; Questions about Answers of Ramaḍān to (of) Ibn al-Munajjim;¹²¹ Ramaḍān; The Compendium, about knowledge of the Qur'ān—he did not finish it, and although it contained rare forms for the scholars, this is not the place [to describe it]; The Virtues of 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Furāt; Traditions about Abū Tammām; Traditions about al-Jubbā'ī [surnamed] Abū Sa'id; Al-'Abbās ibn Aḥnaf, with a selection of his poetry; his epistle about collecting taxes;¹²² Traditions about Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā'; Al-Gharar.¹²³

The Poems of the More Recent Writers, Which Abū Bakr [al-Ṣūlī] Compiled Alphabetically

Ibn al-Rūmī, Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī, Abū Nuwās, al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf, 'Alī ibn al-Jahm, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī, [Sufyān] ibn 'Uyaynah, [Sawwār ibn] Abī Sharā'ah,¹²⁴

Al-Ḥakīmī

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Quraysh al-Ḥakīmī was a historical traditionalist, who heard a group [of scholars lecture]. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Adornment of Men of Letters, which contained historical traditions (anecdotes); The Casket of Jewels;¹²⁵ Youth, Preferable to Old Age; Joking and Jest.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ This title is not in the Beatty or Tonk MSS, while the title which follows is not in the Flügel edition.

¹²¹ The Beatty MS suggests that the word "Ramaḍān" was inserted here by mistake, duplicating the next title. It is not certain which member of the *Munajjim* family Ibn al-Munajjim was.

¹²² Flügel lacks this title.

¹²³ The word *al-gharar* means "peril," but may be the nickname of some poet. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 137, gives this word as a separate title. Flügel gives the word with another form following it, but questions the accuracy. The Beatty and Tonk MSS omit the word.

¹²⁴ The Flügel edition repeats the name Ibn al-Rūmī and misplaces al-Ṣūlī in the third-to-last name. Flügel alone mentions *Sufyān* ibn 'Uyaynah and *Sawwār* ibn Abī Sharā'ah.

¹²⁵ This translation is taken from Flügel and the Tonk MS, which give *Safaṭ al-Jawhar* ("The Casket of Jewels"). The Beatty MS has a word which looks like either *siqṭ* ("extremity") or *saqat* ("defeat"), probably an error.

¹²⁶ The Beatty and Tonk MSS lack this title.

Al-Burjānī

He was Abū 'Alī.¹²⁷

Another Group, Different from Those Already Mentioned

Abū al-'Anbas al-Şaymarī

His origin was from al-Kūfah, but he became judge of al-Şaymarah.¹²⁸ He was Abū al-'Anbas Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Abī al-'Anbas. Although he was one of the jesters and clowns,¹²⁹ he was also a man of letters, familiar with the stars, about which he wrote a book; I have observed that it was praised by the leading astrologers. Al-*Mutawakeil* included him in the group of his court companions, giving him special attention. Because of his position he had a well-known connection with al-*Buhturī*. He lived until the days of al-*Mu'tamid*, entering also into the group of his intimates. He satirized the cook of al-*Mu'tamid*:

Oh, delicious of my days, and what is passionately desired,
Though far from the market are we,
If for bread from Fars I make request,
Şāliḥ blows the trumpet for me.

Among his books there were:

Hindering (Postponing) Knowledge; The Lover and the Beloved; Refutation of the Astrologers; The Tanbur Players;¹³⁰ Kūr Iblā',¹³¹ Long-Bearded; Refutation of the Perfumed; 'Anqā' Mughrib;¹³² Relaxation and the Advantages of Running Away;¹³³ The Excellencies

¹²⁷ The translation here follows the Tonk MS, which seems to be more correct than the other versions.

¹²⁸ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 442, for al-Şaymarah.

¹²⁹ See Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 535, for this form, which in Arabic is *al-murāṭazāt* ("clowns").

¹³⁰ This word is so badly written in the various versions that it is impossible to be sure what is meant. It may also be a form for "drummers" or else *al-ṭanbalīn* ("those feigning idiocy").

¹³¹ This form cannot be identified, but may be connected with *al-kūr al-ibl* (see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 319), or as given in the Beatty MS might be *kurz ablā* ("dishonest estate managers").

¹³² This was a fabulous bird mentioned in old Persian and Arab stories; see "Anqa," *Enc. Islam*, I, 356.

¹³³ "Running away" is taken from the Beatty MS. The word given by Flügel seems to be wrong, and the Tonk MS has "al-Qur'an."

of the Nature of the Head;¹³⁴ The Structure of the Mind; Unusual Stories; The Excellencies of the Wine Flask;¹³⁵ Refutation of Abū Mikhā'il al-*Ṣaydanānī* in Connection with Alchemy; Reproaches (Errors) of the Common People and Traditions about the Barbarous Populace (Traditions about the Careless in Speech); Wonders of the Sea;¹³⁶ Silenced Replies; Aids to Digestion and Treacles;¹³⁷ Preference of the Ladder to the Stairway;¹³⁸ The Two Dynasties, about preference between the two caliphates [the Umayyad and the 'Abbāsīd]; Al-*Fās* ibn al-Hā'ik.

Destroying (Luciting) of Minds; Al-*Ṣaḥḥāqāt wa-al-Baghāyūn* [women used for unnatural sexual intercourse and whores]; Stirring (Al-Khaḍ-khaḍah), about masturbation; Traditions about Abū *Far'ūn* Kandar ibn Jaḥdar; Interpretation of Dreams; Rare Fornis of al-Ḥūṣā;¹³⁹ his [Abū al-'Anbas's] controversy with al-*Buḥturī*;¹⁴⁰ Transcribers (Al-Nuqalā) (or Heavy-Hearted [Al-Thuqalā]); Rare Anecdotes about Pimps (or Procureesses); Convocation (Pretension) of the Common People; Brothers and Friends; The Surnames of Animals;¹⁴¹ Judgments of the Stars; Introduction to the Art of Foretelling the Stars; Ṣāḥib al-Zanān;¹⁴² Repndiated (Al-Khalī 'in);¹⁴³ The Camel Seeking Aid from Its Master;¹⁴⁴ Superiority of the Rectum over the Mouth; his rare anecdotes and poems.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁴ Flügel has *al-insān* ("man") instead of "head," but questions its accuracy.

¹³⁵ Flügel gives *al-rizq* ("gain"), but the Beatty and Tonk MSS have *al-zīqq* ("wine flask").

¹³⁶ Flügel is uncertain about "sea," but it is clear in the Beatty MS.

¹³⁷ This translation is taken from Flügel, who seems to be correct. The Beatty and Tonk MSS have a variation.

¹³⁸ This title probably refers to special types of stairs used in medieval times.

¹³⁹ This title is in the Flügel edition alone, being given as *al-ḥūṣā*, which cannot be identified. It may be meant for a certain desert, see al-Ḥawḍā in Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 363. It may be a mistaken or slang form from *khaṣī* ("castrated"), in which case the translation would be *Rare Anecdotes about Eunuchs*.

¹⁴⁰ This title is only in the Flügel edition. The one which follows it is in the Beatty and Tonk MSS, but not in Flügel.

¹⁴¹ Flügel garbles the word for "surnames."

¹⁴² The Shī'ah give this name ("Lord of Time") to their last imam, who is some day to reappear.

¹⁴³ This title as translated is taken from the Beatty MS. It is perhaps meant to be *al-jalī'in* ("obscene"), but more likely is a form derived from *khuṭ'ah* ("divorce"). Another title follows here in the Beatty MS. It is omitted in the translation since it is apparently a repetition, badly copied.

¹⁴⁴ There is a variation in the Tonk MS which seems to be due to bad copying.

¹⁴⁵ This title is in the Flügel edition alone.

Abū Ḥassān al-Namālī

He was Abū Ḥassān Muḥammad ibn Ḥassān, one of the men of good spirits and culture. He lived during the days of al-Muta-wakkil, about whom and himself there are numerous anecdotes. Among his books there were:

The large book, Burjān and Ḥubāḥib, with stories of women and sexual intercourse;¹⁴⁶ a small book about the same subject; Adultery; Al-Suḥq;¹⁴⁷ Address of the Muleteer to the Slave Girl of the Vegetable Vendor.

Abū al-ʿIḥbar al-Hāshimī

He was surnamed Abū al-ʿAbbās and was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-ʿAbbās. *Jaḥẓah* said, "I never saw anyone who could remember better than he did, even every [letter] *ʿayn*, nor anybody better at poetry, nor is there in the world any art which he did not learn to do with his own hand. I have even seen him kneading dough and baking."

His father was nicknamed "al-Ḥāmiḍ." He [al-Hāshimī] was a man who remembered [anecdotes] and was cultured, but [because of] extreme opposition and cursing he was killed at Qaṣr ibn Hubayrah.¹⁴⁸ When he went out to get his belongings, a group of the Shīʿah¹⁴⁹ killed him, because they heard him slandering ʿAlī, for whom may there be peace. They threw things down on him from the roof of an inn (*khān*) where he was spending the night. Thus he died during the year two hundred and fifty [A.D. 864]. From his poetry there was:

¹⁴⁶ Burjān was a robber and Ḥubāḥib a miser; see Richardson, *Dictionary*, pp. 257, 552.

¹⁴⁷ The Flügel edition gives what might be *al-suḥq* ("remoteness"), or *al-saḥq* ("tearing," as of an old garment). The word is not written clearly in the Beatty MS, but the most reasonable way by which to decipher it there is as *al-sanjaq*. In former times this might mean "banner," "cornet," or "waistband," usually the first meaning. But as this author wrote books about sex, the word may imply homosexual practice, as *sahḥāqah* was used for a Lesbian; see Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1319.

¹⁴⁸ A fortress on the Euphrates near al-Kūfah; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 123.

¹⁴⁹ This first part of the sentence follows the Beatty and Tonk MSS. Flügel has variations, although the meaning is the same.

A visitor whose beauty was perfect;
 For how can the night hide when the full moon is rising?
 He spent time in vagueness until it became possible
 To (and) watch the guardian¹⁵⁰ until he went to sleep.
 Through terrors did he ride to make his visit,
 But no sooner did he give his greeting than he departed.

A book which he called, A Collection of Stupid Women and a Gathering Together of Foolish Ones;¹⁵¹ Court Companionship and the Characters of the Caliphs and Emirs; Epistles;¹⁵² his rare anecdotes and dictations; his traditions and poems.

Ibn al-Shāh al-Ṭāhirī

Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Shāh al-Ṭāhirī was one of the descendants of al-Shāh ibn Mikāl, who was a man of letters, refined, and witty, with extreme beauty and purity of literary style. Among his books there were:

Summons of the Seas;¹⁵³ The Glory of Combing at the Mirror; The Dream; The War of Cheese and Olives; The War of Meat and Fish; Wonders of the Sea;¹⁵⁴ Adultery and Its Enjoyment; his poetry, with a selection from "Yā Makānis";¹⁵⁵ Traditions about al-Ghilmān;¹⁵⁶ Traditions about the Women; Masturbation (Al-Khaḍkhaḍah);¹⁵⁷ The Food Vendor.

¹⁵⁰ Flügel gives *al-sāmīr* ("one conversing at night"), whereas the other versions have *al-ḥāris* ("guardian"). On the margin of the Beatty MS there is a note implying that these verses were interpreted in various ways.

¹⁵¹ Flügel gives "abode" (*mā'wa*), but the Beatty and Tonk MSS have "comprising" (*ḥāwi*).

¹⁵² This and the two titles which follow are in Flügel but not the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

¹⁵³ The Beatty and Tonk MSS give "seas" (*al-biḥār*), whereas Flügel has "merchants" (*al-tijār*).

¹⁵⁴ The Beatty and Tonk MSS have "sea" (*al-baḥr*). Flügel gives *al-baḥrah*, which means a tract of land, but is also used as a place name and as a nickname for al-Madīnah; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 506.

¹⁵⁵ "Yā Makānis" is quite clear in the Beatty MS. It apparently means "Oh, Brooms" and was probably the beginning of an amusing poem.

¹⁵⁶ Here *al-ghilmān* obviously refers to boys used for homosexual purposes.

¹⁵⁷ This word means "stirring," but here is used for "masturbation." This and the title which follows are only in the Flügel edition.

A Man Known as al-*Mubārakī*

His name was ———, Among his books there were:

The Uncultivated, the Rabble, and the Characters of the Common People;¹⁵⁸ Rare Anecdotes about Slave Boys (al-*Ghilmān*) and Eunuchs.

Al-*Kutanjī*

He was ——— and he belonged to the group of Abū al-*ʿAnbas* and Abū al-*ʿIbar* [al-*Hāshimī*]. It is said that he succeeded Abū al-*ʿIbar* as jester after his death. I have read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn Namandād,¹⁵⁹ that al-*Kutanjī* wrote to *Sulaymān* ibn *Wahb* or to [his son] *ʿUbayd Allāh*:

The confusion is mine, for truly of all your brothers the most foolish is like me and the most intelligent like you. We are at a time when the opinion of the intelligent is of little use for the mind, so leave it, but the opinion of the foolish has great usefulness for ignorance and is needed. Thus futile are those when they cease and those when they are needed, so we know not with what to live.¹⁶⁰

Among his books there were:

Compendium of Foolish Things and the Origin of Follies; Witticisms and Fools;¹⁶¹ Slap-Takers (Clowns, Al-*Ṣafāʿinah*); Al-*Makhraqah* [charlatanry, juggling, or a wreath used in dancing].

Jirāb al-Dawlah

His name was Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlawīyah al-Sijzī, surnamed Abū al-ʿAbbās. He was one of the people of al-Rayy but he was called Sijzī, and was a tanbur player who affected elegance and used perfumes. He was nicknamed "al-Rīḥ" (Odor, Wind)

¹⁵⁸ The translation follows Flügel in giving "characters" (*akhlāf*), which may be more correct than the word in the Beatty MS, "contrariness" (*ikhtilāf*).

¹⁵⁹ This name is too uncertain to be included in the Biog. Index. Flügel adds, "I think it was Mānī-Dād." In the Beatty MS is might be a compound name taken from *yāmin* ("happy") and the ending *dād*.

¹⁶⁰ The opening phrase of this quotation may be "do not accuse me." As this passage is humorous, containing colloquialisms, the translation is a free one and may not convey exactly what the author meant to say.

¹⁶¹ This title and the two which follow are in the Flügel edition but not the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

and known as "Jirāb al-Dawlah" (Scrotum of the Government).¹⁶² Among his books there was *Things Rare and Laughable*, about various arts and rarities. He also called the book *Perfuming the Winds and the Key to Joy and Gladness*. He wrote it as a miscellany of arts and it was a large book.

Al-Barmakī

He was the secretary of Abū Ja'far ibn 'Abbāsah, the friend¹⁶³ of Mu'izz al-Dawlah. His name was ———. He had a withered hand. Among his books there were:

The Compendium, about the poems of the distinguished poets;¹⁶⁴ *Things Rare and Laughable*.

Ibn Bakr al-Shīrāzī¹⁶⁵

He was gifted, well educated, and pleasing as a companion. He was the secretary of al-Muṭī'. He wrote good poetry. Among his books there were:

Methods (Necessities) and Arts; The Composition of Epistles; also, the writings which he took from al-Muṭī' li-Allāh.¹⁶⁶

Another Group Left Over¹⁶⁷ and Representing Miscellaneous Subjects

Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī

His name was Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad [ibn Ishāq] and he was a man of letters, but we do not know anything more about his life. Among his books there were:

The Towns (Regions), about one thousand leaves—he derived it from the people's books and plagiarism from the book of al-Jayhānī, [Roads

¹⁶² As the Beatty and Tonk MSS and the Flügel and Yāqūt texts all show variations, an attempt has been made to use what seem to be the most accurate forms for translation. Cf. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 62.

¹⁶³ "Friend" (*ṣāhib*) is taken from the Tonk MS. Flügel and the Beatty MS give *ṣāhib jamāl* ("possessor of beauty"), which does not seem to fit this passage.

¹⁶⁴ The translation follows Flügel. The Beatty and Tonk MSS do not give this title clearly.

¹⁶⁵ This account of al-Shīrāzī is found only in the Flügel edition.

¹⁶⁶ Probably meaning he took the writings down from dictation.

¹⁶⁷ *Muta'akhkhirūn* ("left over") more often means "late" or "recent."

and Kingdoms]; Mention of the More Recent Poets and the Eloquent and Illustrious among Them.¹⁶⁸

'Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik. ———, the Secretary

Among his books there were:

Intoxication during the Day and Incessant Wine Drinking;¹⁶⁹ The Preference of Morning Drink and Its Benefits, with the Faults and Defects of Drink at Night.

A Man Known as Ibn al-Mu'tamir or Abū al-Mu'tamir

He was Zayd ibn Aḥmad ibn Zayd the secretary, whose book was *Courage and the Fecundity of Eloquence*, in which he praised the family of Aḥmad ibn 'Isā ibn Shaykh.

Al-Mas'ūdī

This man, from among the people of al-Maghrīb (North Africa), was known as Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī. He was a descendant of 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd and a compiler of books about the history and traditions of the kings.¹⁷⁰ Among his books there were:

The book known as Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Jawhar (Fields of Gold and Mines of Jewels), about the pleasing things (gifts) of the nobles and kings, with the names of those in relationship with them;¹⁷¹ Treasures of Sciences and What There Was in the Passing of the Ages; Recollection of What Has Gone By in the Passing of the Ages; History, with traditions about the peoples, both Arab and foreign; Epistles.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ This title is not in the Beatty and Tonk MSS. Flügel seems to be in error in giving *al-muṣṭamūn*, signifying inability to repeat verses, rather than *al-muṣafḥḥamūn* ("illustrious").

¹⁶⁹ This title is in the Flügel edition but not in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

¹⁷⁰ Many authorities think that al-Mas'ūdī did not come from North Africa. As he died in Egypt only about thirty years before this passage was written, it is probable that the author of *Al-Fihrist* knew very little about him.

¹⁷¹ The word translated "pleasing things" or "gifts" is *ṭuḥaf*, which perhaps means here "favors" or "patronage." For this book, see Bibliography, Mas'ūdī.

¹⁷² This title is only in the Flügel edition. The title preceding it may be the book which Mas'ūdī himself refers to as *Akhbār al-Zamān*; see Mas'ūdī, I, 2.

Al-*Ahwāzī* Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, surnamed Abū Bakr

Among his books there were:

The Bee, Its Species and Its Bride;¹⁷³ Agriculture and Cultivation,

Al-*Shimshāfī*

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-'Adawī, whose origin was from Shimshāf in the land of Armenia on the frontier.¹⁷⁴ After tutoring Abū *Taghlib*, the son of Nāṣir al-Dawlah, and his brother, he became their court companion. He was a poet, compiler, and author, with a good memory, and [he memorized] many quotations, to which he used to add. Thus¹⁷⁵ I used to know him in former times, but it is said that he had greatly deteriorated¹⁷⁶ in character during his old age, for he is still living in this our own time. Among his books there were:

Lights, stringing together descriptions, anecdotes and similitudes (allegories)—first he wrote it and then afterwards added to it; the large book, Habitations; Traditions about Abū *Tammām*, with a selection from his poetry; Knowledge, the compiling of which he improved;¹⁷⁷ The True Triangle.¹⁷⁸

Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Sarrāj

He was one of the people of Naysābūr, who was quoted by a man known as al-*Muzakkī*. His name was Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Naysābūrī. Among his books there were:

Traditions, in which he recorded traditions about the authorities of the Ḥadīth, the viziers, governors, and other persons in various lands, citing each, man after man; The Agreeable Book of Epistles;¹⁷⁹ Selected Poems, Which of Them Were Genuine and Which Plagiarized.

¹⁷³ The "bride" is obviously the queen bee. The title which follows is in the Flügel edition alone.

¹⁷⁴ For Shimshāf, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 319. The name is given clearly in the Beatty MS, but incorrectly by Flügel.

¹⁷⁵ Before the word "thus" Flügel adds an extra word which is not in the Beatty or Tonk MSS.

¹⁷⁶ For the word translated as "deteriorated" Flügel gives *tarak* ("left"), but the Beatty and Tonk MSS have *nazal* ("lowered").

¹⁷⁷ The Tonk MS differs from the other versions by giving "pen" (*al-qalam*) instead of "knowledge" (*al-'ilm*).

¹⁷⁸ Only Flügel gives this title.

¹⁷⁹ This title and that following are in the Flügel edition, but not in the Beatty or Tonk MSS.

Ibn Khallād al-Rāmahurmuzī

He was Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khallād, a judge, good author, and excellent compiler, who followed the method of al-Jāḥiẓ. Ibn Sawwār, the secretary, told me that he was also a poet and that he studied (heard) and quoted the Ḥadīth. Among his books there were:

The Springtime of Those Enslaved by Love, with traditions about lovers; Defects in Selecting Historical Traditions;¹⁸⁰ Similes (Proverbs) of the Prophet, for Whom Be Peace; Al-Rayḥānatayn, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, for Whom and Their Families May There Be Peace;¹⁸¹ The Guide of Revelation, about the Qur'ān; Rarities and Anomalies of Speech; Training of a Speaker (Reasonable Being); Praising the Dead and Giving Condolence; Epistle of the Journey (Book); Old Age and Youth;¹⁸² Culture of the [Dinner] Tables (Table Manners); Places for Watering and Resting and Affection for the Homelands.

Al-Āmidī

His name is al-Ḥasan ibn Bishr ibn Yaḥyā, surnamed Abū al-Qāsim. He is one of the people of al-Baṣrah, contemporary with our time, I believe still alive. He is skillful in compiling and good in composing, drawing upon the school of thought of al-Jāḥiẓ for whatever writing of books he undertakes. Among his books there are:

The Intensity of Man's Need to Know His Own Power;¹⁸³ Disagreement and Agreement about the Names of the Poets; The Meaning of the Poetry of al-Buḥturī; Metrical Prose; Parallels between Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī; Refutation of 'Alī ibn 'Ammār in Connection with His Criticism of Abū Tammām; The Thoughts of Two Poets Are Not in Agreement; Correction of the Measures in the Poetry of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā;

¹⁸⁰ Flügel gives *al-'ilal* ("defects"), but the Beatty MS gives *al-falak*, probably meaning "astronomy," or "the celestial sphere."

¹⁸¹ When the Prophet spoke of one of his grandsons, he used the word *rayḥānāṭī* ("my bounties"). In the Beatty and Tonk MSS the form given seems to be the dual of this word, *rayḥānatayn* ("the two bounties"), signifying the two famous grandsons. Flügel does not give this title correctly.

¹⁸² Only Flügel gives this title and the two which follow.

¹⁸³ All of these titles are in the Flügel edition, but this is the only one of the list in the Beatty and Tonk MSS. The word "about" precedes some of these titles.

The Difference between the Particular and the Shared in the Meaning of Poetry;¹⁸⁴ Preference for the Poetry of *Imru'* al-Qays over That of the Other Pre-Islāmic Poets.

Chess Players Who Wrote about Playing Chess

Al-'Adli

His name was ——— and among his books there were: Chess, the first book written about chess;¹⁸⁵ Al-Nard, Its Elements and Play.¹⁸⁶

Al-Rāzī

His name was ———. He was the equal of al-'Adli and they both used to play in the presence of al-Mutawakkil. Al-Rāzī wrote *A Delightful Book about Chess*.¹⁸⁷

Al-Ṣūlī

He was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, who has already been mentioned. He wrote on the subject:

Chess, the first manuscript; Chess, the second manuscript.

Al-Lajlāj¹⁸⁸

He was Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh. I saw him at one time. He went to Shīrāz, to the King 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, and some time after the year three hundred and sixty [A.D. 970/71] he died at Shīrāz, where he had excelled [at chess]. His book on the subject was *The Stratagems of Chess (Maṣnūbāt al-Shiṭranj)*,

¹⁸⁴ This title is not given correctly by Flügel. The translation follows Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (3), 58, and Ḥajjī Khalīfah, IV, 415, No. 9026.

¹⁸⁵ The word for chess is *shiṭranj*, often written *shaṭranj*. It comes from the Indian *chaturanga*, corrupted by the Persians and Arabs. Its original meaning referred to military terms. The English word "chess" comes from *shāh* or *shaykh*. The book of al-'Adli was the first book written about the game in Arabic.

¹⁸⁶ *Al-nard* is a condensed form of *nardashīr*, usually used for games resembling our modern game of backgammon or checkers. For these games, see "Shaṭrandj," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 338. There is also an article in the *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, V (June, 1818), 121, which gives valuable information. This publication is not listed in the Bibliography, as unfortunately it is not ordinarily available for reference.

¹⁸⁷ The words "about chess" only appear in the Flügel text.

¹⁸⁸ Flügel gives the death date of al-Lajlāj, as well as his full name and the full name of Ibn al-Uqlīdāsī, in the paragraph which follows. The Beatty and Tonk MSS lack this information.

Ibn al-Uqlidasi Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Šālih

He was one of the most skillful [chess players], who wrote *A Collection of the Stratagems of Chess*.

Qariş al-Mughanni

Qariş al-Jarrāhī belonged to the group of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāh. His name was ——— and he was one of the most skillful of the singers and the learned among them. He should have been mentioned in the category of *Jahḡah*, following and attached to the statement about him, but I neglected to mention him there. *Jahḡah* said in rhyme:

We ate *qariş* and Qariş sang,
As we spent the night in the glory of the triumphant one.¹⁹⁹

Qariş died during the year twenty-four [A.H. 324: A.D. 935/36], in the same year *Jahḡah* died. Among his books there was *The Art of Singing, Traditions of the Singers, and Alphabetical Mention of the Refrains (al-Aşwāt) Which They Sang*. Although he did not complete it, what he did produce amounted to about one thousand leaves.

Ibn Tarkhān

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ḥasan, who had a good method of singing and some share of culture. He died ———. Among his books there were;

Rare Anecdotes and Historical Traditions; Accounts of the Singers and Tanbur Players; Genealogies (Pedigrees) of Pigeons; What Has Developed with Regards to Superiority of Birds Which Lead.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ *Qariş* is a dish made of fish, meat, and bread. It was evidently the nickname of the singer. The final word of the poem is *al-fālij*, which can be a proper name, but also signifies "the triumphant one," as translated, or "the paralyzed."

²⁰⁰ In Asia pigeons were used for carrying messages and it was also popular to fly one's own flock in such a way as to attract the birds from neighboring flocks.

The Fourth Part

*of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the ancient and modern scholars who were authors and the names of the books which they wrote. The composition of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, known as Abū al-Faraj ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Warrāq.*¹

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate, to whom I commit myself and whose aid I seek

The Fourth Chapter

*of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they wrote, comprising the poets, in two sections.*²

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: In [the first section of] this chapter we have aimed to make mention of the composers of the ancient poems, the names of those who quoted them, and their anthologies; also the names of the poems of the tribes and those who collected and compiled them.

In the second section of this chapter, which includes the poems of the more recent authors, we shall mention the amount of material in the poetry of each of the poets, indicating who among them was

¹ This much of the heading is not in the Flügel edition or Tonk MS, but is given on a separate page in the Beatty MS. Below it are the words, "Transcribed from his model and his handwriting." Still lower on the page there is the inscription, "An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His servant, Muḥammad ibn Ishāq." Below and to the right there is another inscription, "The Fourth Chapter about the Poets."

² This part of the heading also follows the Beatty MS, which is more complete than the Tonk MS and varies slightly from the Flügel version.

prolific and who wrote only a small amount. By His bounty and kindness Allāh will grant whatever our souls may need from Him for this task.

[The First Section]

The Names of Those Who Quoted the Tribes and the Poems of the Pre-Islāmic and Islāmic Poets to the Beginning of the Rule of the Banū al-'Abbās³

Abū 'Amr al-*Shaybānī*, who has already been mentioned; *Khālid* ibn Kulthūm al-Kūfi, already mentioned; *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥabīb, already mentioned; al-*Tūsi*, already mentioned; al-*Aṣma'i* 'Abd al-Malik ibn Qurayb, already mentioned; Ibn al-*A'rābi*, also previously mentioned.

In what has preceded we have recorded who among these scholars was among those who quoted [poems and anecdotes], or was a master of literary style, or was an Arabiān tribesman. There is, therefore, no need for repetition, since when there is a demand, each can be sought in his proper place, if Allāh so wills.

Imru' al-Qays ibn Ḥujr⁴

He was quoted by Abū 'Amr [al-*Shaybānī*], al-*Aṣma'i*, *Khālid* ibn Kulthūm, and *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥabīb. Abū Sa'īd al-*Sukkari* edited all of the things quoted from him, making improvements. Abū al-'Abbās al-*Aḥwal* also edited them, but without finishing, and Ibn al-*Sikkī* also worked over them.⁵

Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā

A number of persons quoted his poetry, abbreviating it, their quotations differing. Al-*Sukkari* edited it, improving its rendition.⁶

³ For well-known translations of some of these ancient poems, see Mufaḍḍal, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (Lyal) and Tammām, *Al-Ḥamāsah*.

⁴ Only the Flügel edition includes "ibn Ḥujr" in the poet's name.

⁵ The great language scholars studied early Arab poems, so as to understand the tribal dialects and gain a knowledge of unusual words in the Qur'ān. As some of these poems were heard orally or obtained in crude writing, it was necessary to work over them, edit them, and make improvements.

⁶ The Tonk MS adds, "Abū al-'Abbās al-*Aḥwal* worked over it, but without finishing." This may be an error by the copyist, a partial repetition of the last sentence in the preceding paragraph.

The Names of the Poets Whose Poems Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkārī Edited

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkārī, whose name was al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn, was the one among the scholars who edited the poems of the poets, improving and correcting them. As I have already dealt thoroughly with him in his proper place, I shall only mention at this point what he edited, to make it available for one desiring to get hold of it. In this place I shall also record he who did as al-Sukkārī did, abridging and improving, so that, if Allāh so wills, there will be no need for repetition.

Among Those⁷

Imru' al-Qays, already mentioned.

Al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī: al-Aṣma'ī also edited and condensed; Ibn al-Sikkīt and al-Ṭūsī improved it.

Zuhayr, already mentioned.

Al-Ḥuṭay'ah: edited by al-Aṣma'ī, Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī, al-Ṭūsī, and Ibn al-Sikkīt.

Al-Nābighah al-Ja'dī: edited by al-Aṣma'ī, Ibn al-Sikkīt, and al-Ṭūsī.

Labīd ibn Rabi'ah: edited by Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī, al-Aṣma'ī, al-Ṭūsī, and Ibn al-Sikkīt.

Tamīm ibn Ubayy ibn Muqbil: Abū 'Amr [al-Shaybānī], al-Aṣma'ī, al-Ṭūsī, and Ibn al-Sikkīt.

Durayd ibn al-Ṣimmaḥ: al-Aṣma'ī and Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī.

'Amr ibn Ma'dī Karib: Abū 'Amr [al-Shaybānī].

Muḥallil ibn Rabi'ah: al-Aṣma'ī and Ibn al-Sikkīt.

Al-A'shā al-Kabīr:⁸ Abū 'Amr [al-Shaybānī], al-Aṣma'ī, Ibn al-Sikkīt, al-Ṭūsī, and Tha'lab.

A'shā Bāhilah: al-Aṣma'ī and Ibn al-Sikkīt.

⁷ For the first part of this listing of poets the Beatty MS has two vertical columns, with the names of the editors placed under the poets' names. The other versions have horizontal lines. Beginning with al-Kumayt which is near n. 18, the Beatty MS returns to horizontal listing. Up to this point in the list, mention of a poet's name without any editor's name following evidently means that only al-Sukkārī worked over the poems of that man. When the poet's name is followed by a colon, the name or names following the colon are those of editors who in addition to al-Sukkārī edited the material. The order of the poets is different in the different versions. Compare this list with Aṣma'ī, *Fuḥūlat al-Shu'arā'*.

⁸ Almost certainly Maymūn ibn Qays, called al-Kabīr ("the elder" or "the great").

Mutammim ibn Nuwayrah:⁹ Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī and al-Aṣma'ī.

Bishr ibn Abī Kbāzim:¹⁰ al-Aṣma'ī and Ibn al-Sikkīt.

Al-Zibraḡān ibn Badr: al-Aṣma'ī, Abū 'Amr [al-Shaybānī], and others in addition to them.¹¹

Al-Mutalammiṣ: al-Aṣma'ī, and others, too.

Al-Musayyab ibn 'Alas: a group.

Ḥumayd ibn Thawr al-Rājiz:¹² al-Aṣma'ī, Abū 'Amr [al-Shaybānī], Ibn al-Sikkīt, and al-Ṭūsī.

Ḥumayd al-Arqaṭ: al-Aṣma'ī, Abū 'Amr [al-Shaybānī], Ibn al-Sikkīt, and al-Ṭūsī.

'Adī ibn Zayd al-'Ibādī: a group.

'Adī ibn al-Riḡā' al-'Āmilī: a group.

Suḥaym ibn Wathīl: al-Aṣma'ī and Ibn al-Sikkīt.

Al-Ṭirimmaḥ; al-Ṭūsī improved [his poetry] and a group [edited it].

'Urwah ibn al-Ward: al-Aṣma'ī and Ibn al-Sikkīt.

Shahīb ibn al-Barṣā'.

'Amr ibn Sha's: al-Aṣma'ī and Ibn Ḥabīb.¹³

Al-'Abbās ibn Mirdās al-Sulamī: al-Ṭūsī and Ibn al-Sikkīt.

Al-Namir ibn Tawlab:¹⁴ al-Aṣma'ī and Ibn al-A'rābī.

Al-Marrār al-Faq'asī.

Abū al-Ṭamaḥān al-Qaynī.

Sālim ibn Wābisah.¹⁵

Al-'Abbās ibn 'Utbah ibn Abī Lahab.

Al-Shammākh.

Ma'n ibn Aws.

Al-Rā'ī 'Ubayd.

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥassān and his son, *Sa'id* ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

'Ubayd Allāh ibn Qays al-Ruḡayyāt: al-Aṣma'ī and al-Ṭūsī.

Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī: Abū 'Amr [al-Shaybānī].

Jirān al-'Awd al-Nūmayrī.

Al-Ḥādirah: Ibn *Durayd* also [edited his poetry].

⁹ Flügel alone gives this name correctly.

¹⁰ The Beatty MS has *Bishr* ibn Ḥāzim.

¹¹ Omitted by Flügel.

¹² Flügel gives al-Rabbāḥī, but the Beatty and Tonk MSS have al-Rājiz.

¹³ The Beatty and Tonk MSS have Ibn Jundub, but as he was a poet rather than an editor, Flügel is probably correct in giving Ibn Ḥabīb, evidently meaning *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥabīb.

¹⁴ This name is given correctly by Flügel, but seems to be garbled in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

¹⁵ This name is correct in Flügel but garbled in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

Muḍarras ibn Rīb'i: al-Aṣma'i and others, too.

Khuraybah:¹⁶ a group.

Khidāsh ibn Zuhayr.

Muzāḥim al-'Uqaylī: a group.

Abū Ḥayyāh al-Numayrī: al-Aṣma'i.¹⁷

Al-Khansā': Ibn al-Sikkīt, Ibn al-A'rābī, and others besides them.¹⁸

Al-Kumayt: Al-Aṣma'i edited his poetry, Ibn al-Sikkīt made additions, and a group of scholars quoted his poetry from Ibn Kunāsah al-Asadī. Ibn Kunāsah quoted the poetry from Abū Jāzī,¹⁹ Abū al-Mawṣūl, and Abū Ṣadaqaḥ, who quoted it from the Banū Asad Tribe. Ibn al-Sikkīt quoted the poetry from his teacher, Naṣrān. Naṣrān, moreover, said, "I learned the poetry of al-Kumayt from Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn Bukayr." Al-Sukkarī also edited the poetry of al-Kumayt.

Dhū al-Rummaḥ: a group of scholars edited and quoted his poetry. It was Abū al-'Abbās al-Aḥwal who made an edition from all of these quotations. Al-Sukkarī also edited his poetry, adding to what was done by the group. Those who quoted the poetry of Dhū al-Rummaḥ were al-Ḥarīsh ibn Numayr, who learned it from his father; Hilāl ibn Mayyās;²⁰ al-Muntajī ibn Nabḥān, quoted by Abū 'Ubaydah; al-Layth ibn Ḍinnām,²¹ who learned it from Abū al-Marḍā; and al-Nusayr ibn Qāsim, who quoted Abū Jahm al-'Adawī.²²

Abū al-Najm al-'Ijlī: Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī quoted the poetry of Abū al-Najm from Muḥammad ibn Shaybān ibn Abī al-Najm and from Abū al-Azhar, who was the son of the daughter of Abū al-Najm. Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkarī also edited his work, improving it.

¹⁶ This name is written clearly in the Beatty MS. It is cited as a name in Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 276, but not as the name of a poet. Flügel gives Ḥarīthah. It is perhaps meant to be the poet Ḥarīthah ibn Badr, but this is very uncertain.

¹⁷ The Beatty MS inserts the word *nuhdath* ("beginner," "originator"), or *muhaddith* ("relator") at this point. It may be a mistake, or meant to be some other word.

¹⁸ With the next name the Beatty MS again takes up its customary horizontal lines, ending the double vertical columns of poets' names (see n. 7).

¹⁹ In the Beatty MS this name is given as Abū Hurrī, but Flügel suggests that perhaps Abū Jāzī is meant.

²⁰ In the Beatty MS this name is spelled Manās, probably a mistake. The name may be Mayyās, as translated, but this is too uncertain to identify and place in the Biog. Index. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 213.

²¹ This name seems to be given inaccurately in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

²² In the Arabic texts the name is given as Abū Jubmah al-'Adawī, although it is probably meant to be the name given in the translation. For al-'Adawī, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 130, l. 3.

Al-'*Ajjāj* al-Rājaz; al-Aṣma'ī and Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī [edited his poetry].

Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajjāj, who was one of the more recent poets: al-Aṣma'ī quoted the poetry of Ru'bah directly from him, as did also Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī and a number of other scholars. Abū Sa'id al-Sukkarī edited and improved his poetry.

Al-Akḥṭal: al-Sukkarī edited his poetry, improving it.

Al-Farazdaq: al-Sukkarī also edited his poetry and improved it.

Jarīr: al-Sukkarī did not edit his poetry. Those who did edit it belonged to a group of scholars, among whom were Abū 'Amr [al-Shaybānī], al-Aṣma'ī, and Ibn al-Sikkīt. The person who quoted the poetry of Jarīr directly from him with his contentions²³ was Miṣḥal ibn Kaṣīb ibn 'Ammār ibn Aṭṭā ibn al-Khaṭafā. This is what is written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī.

The contests between Jarīr and *Farazdaq* were edited by Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā, while al-Aṣma'ī quoted them from another source. Abū Sa'id al-Ḥasan ibn al-Iḥsayn [al-Sukkarī] edited and improved them. Abū al-Mughīth al-Awdī also edited them, and Tha'lab quoted them from him.

The Names of Those Who Contended with *Jarīr* and Whom *Jarīr* Opposed

Contentions of *Jarīr* and al-Akḥṭal; Abū 'Amr [al-Shaybānī] and al-Aṣma'ī [edited them].

Contentions of *Jarīr* and 'Umar ibn Lajā': Abū 'Amr and al-Aṣma'ī [edited them].

Contentions of *Jarīr* and al-Farazdaq.²⁴

The Names of the Children of *Jarīr* Who Were Poets, and Also of His Grandchildren²⁵

Nūḥ ibn Jarīr, a poet who composed only a small amount.

Bilāl ibn Jarīr, a poet who composed only a small amount.

²³ In the Beatty MS this word is "faults" (*naqa'is*), but because *Jarīr* was known for his arguing, "contentions" (*naqā'id*) must be the word meant. See "Djarīr," *Enc. Islam*, I, 1024; also Jarīr, *Naqā'id*.

²⁴ In this passage Flügel does not give the editors. The Beatty and Tonk MSS give the editors, but give the last title as simply *Contentions of Jarīr*.

²⁵ Jarīr had eight sons and two daughters; see Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, pp. 283-89. The translation follows the Beatty MS.

A daughter of Jarīr, whose name was ———, a poetess who composed only a small amount.

'Aqīl ibn Bilāl, a poet who composed only a small amount.

'Umārah ibn 'Aqīl, an excellent and prolific poet.

The Names of the Tribes Whose Poetry Was Edited by al-Sukkārī,
as in the Handwriting of Some of the Scholars²⁶

Poems of the:

[Tribe]	[Reference]
Banū Dhuhīl	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , pp. 48, 49.
Banū Shaybān	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 49.
Banū Rabi'ah ²⁷	Hitti, <i>Arabs</i> , pp. 280, 502, n. 1.
Banū Yarbū'	"Yarbu'," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , IV, 1159.
Al-Ṭayyī'	"Ṭayy," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , IV, 623.
Banū Kinānah	"Kināna," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 1017.
Banū Dabbah	"Dabba," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 884.
Fazārah	"Fazāra," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 93.
Bajīlah	"Badjila," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 558.
Al-Qayn ²⁸	Dirayd, <i>Geneal.</i> , p. 317; Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 51.
Banū Yasīkūr	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 47.
Banū Ḥanīfah	"Ḥanīfa," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 260.
Banū Muḥārib	"Muḥārib," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , III, 698.
Al-Azd	"Al-Azd," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 529.
Banū Nahshal	"Dārim," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 924.
Banū 'Adī	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 37.
Ashja'	Qutaybah, <i>Ma'ārif</i> , pp. 39, 40.
Banū Numayr ²⁹	"Numair," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , III, 951.
Banū 'Abd Wudd	Ṭabarī, <i>Annales</i> , Part I, p. 851; Part II, p. 479.
Banū Makhzūm	"Makhzūm," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , III, 171.
Banū Asad	"Asad," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , I, 474.
Banū al-Ḥārith	"Ḥārith," <i>Enc. Islam</i> , II, 268.

²⁶ The phrase "as . . . scholars" is lacking in the Flügel edition. For the sake of convenience, the references are given in the right-hand column after the tribes to which they pertain.

²⁷ The Beatty MS gives this form, whereas Flügel and the Tonk MS have Abī Rabi'ah.

²⁸ This name is in the Beatty and Tonk MSS; Flügel gives al-Find.

²⁹ This form is given in the Beatty and Tonk MSS, although Flügel has Banū Tamīm.

[Tribe]

[Reference]

Banū al-Ḍibāb "Ḍibāb," *Enc. Islam*, I, 967.Fahm and 'Adwān Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 38.Muzaynah Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 36.

Among the Poems of the Poets There Was Also:

The poetry of *Hudbah* ibn Khashram and *Ziyādah* ibn Zayd; of al-*Kumayt* ibn Ma'rūf; of al-*Ṣimmah* al-Qushayrī, edited by al-*Mufaḍḍal* ibn Salamah.³⁰

³⁰ This arrangement is taken from the Beatty MS, which differs from the other versions and which has a space between the two last names, evidently left for material to be added later.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Second Section of the Fourth Chapter

*of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they wrote, including the names of the more recent poets and some of the Islāmic ones, with the amount of their poetry, up to our own time.*¹

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]:² At the beginning of this chapter we stated that we do not favor going into detail in connection with the poets, for we have already mentioned the scholars and men of letters who have undertaken this. We ourselves aim to present the names of the poets and the amount of poetry written by each poet among them, especially by the more recent ones, and also the variations occurring in their poems, so that whoever desires to collect books and poems can have this information and an insight into the matter. If we say that the poetry of a certain man fills ten leaves, we mean Sulaymānīyah ones, holding twenty lines, I mean on each side of the leaf.³ We shall follow this designation in connection with all of the small and large amounts of poetry that are mentioned, giving approximate figures and basing our estimates on what we have observed during the course of years, but without verification or figures of final accuracy.

¹ Flügel inserts "up to our own time," but the other versions omit this phrase. This passage suggests that al-Nadīm wrote his account of the poets as a catalogue for the customers at his father's bookshop to use.

² The Tonk MS gives "the author," instead of the proper name.

³ Sulaymānīyah was evidently the name of a kind of paper. A leaf refers to a single sheet of paper, often inscribed on both sides.

Bashshār ibn Burd

He was nicknamed al-Mura'ath⁴ and was a protégé of the Banū 'Aqīl Tribe, said to be of Persian origin. No one has collected all of his poetry. It is not collected into any anthology, but I have seen about a thousand disconnected leaves of it and a number of people have compiled selections of his poems.

Ibn Harmah

He was Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī ibn Harmah, whose poetry by itself fills about two hundred leaves. In the edition of Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkārī, however, there are about five hundred leaves. Although al-Šūlī also worked over it, nothing came of it.

Abū al-'Atāhiyah

The situation with regards to his poetry is like that of [the poetry of] *Bashshār*. Parts of his poetry, which I saw at al-Mawṣil, filled more than twenty sections of half-size Ṭalhī [paper], written in the handwriting of Ibn 'Ammār, who was a scribe for the poetry of the more recent poets. But what I saw in separate portions⁵ indicated that [altogether] there were thirty sections. A number of persons have collected traditions about him and his poetry. We have mentioned what they wrote as we have discussed them.

Abū Nuwās

He is so celebrated that it is unnecessary to go into detail about his lineage and biography. Abū Nuwās died during the civil war in the year two hundred [A.D. 815/16], before al-Ma'mūn advanced from Khurāsān.⁶ Ibn Qutaybah said it was during the year one hundred and ninety-nine [A.D. 814/15].

One of the persons who edited the poetry of Abū Nuwās, without alphabetical order, was Yaḥyā ibn al-Faḍl, who quoted and edited his work according to ten subjects. Among the scholars, there was Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn al-Sikkīt, who commented on his work in

⁴ The Beatty MS spells this name Murghath, which is almost certainly incorrect. Cf. Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 476.

⁵ Only the Beatty MS contains the phrase "in separate portions."

⁶ This was the struggle between the heirs of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who died A.D. 809,

about eight hundred leaves, arranged also according to ten subjects. Abū Sa'īd al-*Sukkarī* edited his work, too, but did not finish it. The part which he did edit was two thirds [of the whole], filling a thousand leaves.

Among the men of letters [who edited his work]:

Al-*Ṣūlī* edited his work alphabetically, omitting what was falsely ascribed to him.

'*Alī* ibn Ḥamzah al-*Iṣbahānī* also edited his work alphabetically.

Yūsuf ibn al-Dāyah wrote an account about him and compiled a selection of his poetry.

Abū *Hifṣān* also wrote an account about him, with a selection of his poetry.

Ibn al-*Washshā'* Abū Ṭayyib, too, wrote an account about him and made a selection of his poetry.

Ibn '*Ammār* wrote an account about him and made a selection of his poetry, with also an epistle about his faults and plagiarisms.

In one of the books written by the family of al-*Munajjim* about the poetry of the more recent writers, there is an account about him [Abū Nuwās] with a selection of his poetry. Mention of that has already been made.

Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Sumaysāṭī* also wrote an account about Abū Nuwās, with a selection of his poetry, and [about] his triumph, with remarks on his excellencies.

Muslim ibn al-Walid

He is famous, his poetry filling about two hundred leaves arranged alphabetically. Al-*Ṣūlī* edited [his poetry], and also a man known as ———, who is living in our own time.

Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣah al-Rashīdī, His Family and Descendants Who Were Poets

Abū Ḥafṣah was the first. His name was Yazīd and he lived during the days of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, with whom may Allāh be well pleased.⁷

He wrote only a very small amount.

Yaḥyā ibn Abī Ḥafṣah lived at the time of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān and was a poet who wrote a small amount, about twenty leaves.

⁷ The pious phrase is found only in Flügel.

Marwān ibn Sulaymān ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Ḥaṣṣah, surnamed Abū al-Samṭ,⁸ was a poet whose poetry filled about three hundred leaves.

Abū al-Samṭ *Marwān* ibn Abī al-Janūb ibn Marwān Abū al-Samṭ was a poet whose poetry filled about one hundred and fifty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Marwān ibn Abī al-Janūb was a poet: about fifty leaves.⁹

*Fatūḥ*¹⁰ ibn Maḥmūd ibn Marwān ibn Abī al-Janūb was a poet: about one hundred leaves.

Abū Sulaymān *Idris* ibn Sulaymān ibn Abī Ḥaṣṣah was a poet: about one hundred leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Idrīs was a poet who wrote only a small amount.

Amīnah, the daughter of al-Walid ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Ḥaṣṣah, was a poetess who wrote a small amount.

Abū al-Samṭ *ʿAbd Allāh* ibn al-Samṭ was a poet: about one hundred leaves.

The Family of *Razīn* ibn Sulaymān, a Poet¹¹

ʿAlī ibn Razīn was a poet: about fifty leaves.

Dīʿbil ibn *ʿAlī*: about three hundred leaves, which were edited by al-Ṣūfī.¹²

Razīn ibn *ʿAlī* was a poet: about fifty leaves.¹³

Al-Ḥusayn ibn *Dīʿbil* was a poet. His poetry: about two hundred leaves.

Abū al-*Shīṣ* *Muḥammad* ibn *ʿAbd Allāh* ibn Razīn was the son of the paternal uncle of *Dīʿbil* and surnamed Abū Jaʿfar. He was a poet; his poetry: about one hundred and fifty leaves, edited by al-Ṣūfī.¹⁴

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī al-*Shīṣ* was a poet; his poetry: about seventy leaves.

⁸ The Beatty and Tonk MSS misspell this name here, but give it correctly in the rest of the passage. Some authorities spell the name "al-Simṭ."

⁹ The number of leaves following the poet's name here and elsewhere refers to the quantity of his poetry.

¹⁰ The Beatty and Tonk MSS have Mutawwaj for the first name. Flügel and Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, p. 1467, n. c, give *Fatūḥ*, which seems to be correct. *Muḥammad* may be meant instead of *Maḥmūd*.

¹¹ The Flügel edition does not give this title in its complete form. The number of leaves following each poet's name refers to the quantity of his work.

¹² Flügel adds another editor, al-Khuzāʿi, and also "Among his books there were: *Groups of the Poets*; *The Unique* (*Al-Wahīdah*)."

The Beatty and Tonk MSS omit these additions, as do also the authorities referred to in the Biog. Index under *Dīʿbil*.¹³

¹³ Flügel omits this name, but it is included in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

¹⁴ The Tonk MS confuses two of the lines and the Beatty MS garbles the word for "uncle," but the Flügel version gives the passage clearly.

The Family of Abū al-'Atāhiyah

Mention of Abū al-'Atāhiyah has already been made, but here we shall record those among his children and grandchildren who were poets. Among them there were:

Muḥammad ibn Abī al-'Atāhiyah, surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh, was a hermit nicknamed al-'Atāhiyah (the Foolish One). He was a poet whose poetry filled about fifty leaves.

'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-'Atāhiyah was a poet, the amount of whose poetry was fifty leaves.¹⁵

Abū Suwayd 'Abd al-Qāwī ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-'Atāhiyah was a poet whose poetry was fifty leaves.

The Family of Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn¹⁶

Abū al-Ḥusayn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn was a poet, the amount of whose poetry was fifty leaves.

'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn was a poet, the amount of whose poetry was fifty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir was a poet, the amount of whose poetry was seventy leaves.

Sulaymān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir was a poet: a small amount.

Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir was a poet: about thirty leaves.

'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir was a poet; his poetry: about one hundred leaves.

A Statement about the Quantities of the Poems, as Mentioned by *Muḥammad* ibn Dā'ūd in *Kitāb al-Waraqah* (The Leaf)¹⁷

At the beginning of this section there was mentioned a group of poets recorded by Muḥammad, and here, if Allāh so wills, there begins a statement of what he recorded other than what we have already mentioned.

¹⁵ This poet and the one following are not mentioned by Flügel but are included in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

¹⁶ This whole section is omitted by Flügel. This family was famous as the Ṭāhirid Dynasty in Khurāsān, A.D. 820-72.

¹⁷ It is probable that al-Nadīm used the book of *Muḥammad* ibn Dā'ūd when he gave accounts of the famous poets at the beginning of this section. Now he uses the same book to add the names of a group of less famous poets. This subsection up to the eleventh name, *Muḥammad* ibn Abī 'Uyaynah, is missing in the Flügel edition, perhaps due to the loss of a page in the manuscript used by Flügel.

Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajjāj, the composer of *rajaz* verse. His poetry was quoted by al-Aṣma'ī and edited by Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sukkārī in nearly one thousand leaves.

Al-Sayyid ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī, one of the poets of Ahl al-Bayt, among the men of wealth. I saw two sections, about three hundred leaves including only *Al-Rāṣībāt*¹⁸ by al-Sayyid. I also saw a section of about two hundred leaves containing only *Al-Kaysānīyāt*¹⁹ of al-Sayyid. Then I saw his poetry as a collection: about five hundred leaves.

Sudayf, a protégé of the Banū al-'Abbās: thirty leaves.²⁰

Ibn *Jundub* al-Hudhalī: thirty leaves.

'Alī ibn Thābit: one hundred and fifty leaves.

Ḥammād 'Ajrad: fifty leaves.

Abū *Nukhaylah* al-Rājiz: about fifty leaves.

Ashja' al-Sulamī: about two hundred leaves.

Salamah ibn 'Ayyāsh: about fifty leaves.

Ibn al-Mawlā: about thirty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Uyaynah: about one hundred leaves.²¹

Salm ibn 'Amr al-Khāsir: about one hundred and fifty leaves.

Sulaymān ibn al-Muhājir: about fifty leaves.

Al-Mu'ammal al-Raqqī: about fifty leaves.

Rabī'ah al-Raqqī: one hundred leaves.

Al-Sarī ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān: a small amount.

The Commander of the Faithful al-Mahdī: ten leaves.

Ṣāliḥ ibn Janāḥ: fifty leaves.

Al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad: twenty leaves.

Khalaf al-Aḥmar: fifty leaves.

Jahm ibn Khalaf: fifty leaves.

Al-Ḥusayn ibn Muṭayr al-Asadī: about one hundred leaves.

Abū *Dulāmah* Zand ibn al-Jawn: fifty leaves.²²

¹⁸ This is probably a book title. It could mean "rations" or "ranks," among several other things. It is probably correct as written, although there are no consonant marks.

¹⁹ This is also probably a book title. It refers to a sect. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VII, pp. 3, 5; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 34, 58; Khallikān, II, 241, n. 2.

²⁰ The number of leaves following each poet's name refers to the quantity of his work.

²¹ After omitting nearly a page, the Flügel account starts again at this point (Flügel, p. 162, top).

²² Flügel omits Abū *Dulāmah*, giving instead Zayd ibn al-Jahm. The Beatty and Tonk MSS give both names, each with fifty leaves. As Zayd ibn al-Jahm cannot be identified, it is likely that the original was a corrected combination of the two.

Dā'ūd [ibn Salm] al-Aswad: fifty leaves.

Ibn Ḥassān:²³ fifty leaves.

Sharā'ah ibn al-Zand Būdh: seventy leaves.

'Alī ibn al-Khalīl: one hundred leaves.

Muṭī' ibn Iyās: one hundred leaves.

Yahyā ibn Ziyād al-Ḥārithī: seventy leaves.

Munqidh al-Hilālī: fifty leaves.

Wālibah ibn al-Ḥubāb: one hundred leaves.²⁴

Sa'id ibn Wahb: fifty leaves.

Abū al-Tayyāḥān: fifty leaves.

Ādam ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was accused of *al-zandaqah*: twenty leaves.

'Abd Allāh ibn Muṣ'ab: fifty leaves.

'Ukāshah ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad: thirty leaves.

'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak al-Khayyāṭ: thirty leaves.

Musawīr al-Warrāq: fifty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Subbah: thirty leaves.

Abū Mālik al-A'raj: thirty leaves.

Abū al-Walīd al-Zindīq: thirty leaves.

Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir; an account of him will be given in the fifth chapter. This man was a poet, most of whose poetry was *musammat* and *muzdawij*.²⁵ He interpreted in poetry various ideas from books, as I am going to mention. Thus there were [among his books]:

Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); The Happening of Things; Refutation of the Magians;²⁶ The Proof to Confirm the Prophecy of the Prophet, for Whom May There Be Peace; Refutation of the Christians; Refutation of the Jews; Refutation of the Rāfiḍah; Refutation of the Murji'ah; Refutation of the Khawārij;²⁷ Refutation of Abū al-Hudhayl; Refutation of al-Nazzām; Refutation of Abū Shimr; against Ziyād al-Mawṣilī; against *Dirār* [ibn 'Amr]; against Abū Jildah;²⁸ against *Ḥafṣ* al-Fard; against *Hishām* ibn al-Ḥakam; against the adherents of Abū Ḥanīfah; Legal Interpretation by Personal

²³ In the different Arabic texts, this name is given in various ways, none of which seem to be correct. It may be Ibn Ḥassān, as given; see Biog. Index, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥassān ibn Thābit.

²⁴ This name and the one following are omitted by Flügel.

²⁵ These words denote forms of poetry.

²⁶ The Flügel text has *Refutation of the Grammarians*.

²⁷ For references to books which explain the sects, see the Glossary.

²⁸ Flügel gives Abū Khālidah, evidently an error.

Opinion;²⁹ *Aktham* ibn Ṣayfī;³⁰ against al-*Aṣamm*;³¹ The Strife between 'Alī, for Whom May There Be Peace, and Ṭalḥah, with Whom May Allāh Be Well Pleased;³² also, Against al-*Aṣamm*, concerning the Imamate; Refutation of the Polytheists.

Abū al-*Shadā'id* al-Fazārī: twenty leaves.

Ishāq ibn al-Faḍl and his brothers, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Muḥammad, and 'Abd Allāh: a small amount.

Ghālīb ibn 'Uthmān al-Hamadhānī: twenty leaves.

Abū al-*Tayyār*: fifty leaves.

Abū 'Aṣīm al-Aslamī: twenty leaves.

Al-*Dārimī* al-Madanī: thirty leaves.

'Alī ibn Ruwaym al-Kūfī: fifty leaves.

'Umar ibn al-Mubārak, a protégé of Khuzā'ah: a small amount.

Ibn Yāmīn al-Baṣrī: twenty leaves.

Abū *Hanash* al-Numayrī: thirty leaves.

The Family of Abū *Umayyah*, from [a Source] Other Than *Kitāb al-Waraqah* (The Leaf)³³

Umayyah ibn Abī *Umayyah*: fifty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Abī *Umayyah*: fifty leaves.

'Alī ibn *Umayyah* ibn Abī *Umayyah*: one hundred leaves.

'Abd Allāh ibn *Umayyah* ibn Abī *Umayyah*: fifty leaves.

Aḥmad ibn *Umayyah* ibn Abī *Umayyah*: thirty leaves.³⁴

Abū *Hashshishah*, the tanbur player, who has already been mentioned and who wrote no poetry that we know of.

Abū *Ḥayyah* al-Numayrī: fifty leaves.

Abū *Najdah* al-Numayrī: thirty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Dhu'ayb al-'Umānī, the composer of *rajaz* verse: fifty leaves.

Aḥmad ibn Abī 'Uthmān al-Kātib (the Secretary): fifty leaves.

²⁹ See Glossary.

³⁰ Flügel has al-Ḥusayn ibn Ṣaba'ī; the translation follows the Beatty MS.

³¹ This probably refers to al-*Aṣamm* Abū Bakr. But Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 119, suggests that it might refer to a heretical school of thought.

³² The Beatty and Tonk MSS omit the pious phrases.

³³ See u. 17. The number of leaves following each poet's name refers to the quantity of his poetry.

³⁴ The names which follow this one probably should be separated from those of the family of Abū *Umayyah*. There is an inch of space at this point in the Beatty MS, evidently left for material to be added later.

'Abd al-Ghaffār ibn 'Amr al-Anṣārī: a small amount.

Saqlahī ibn Muntahī al-Maḍīnī: a small amount.

'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr: a small amount.

Abū al-Mu'āfi al-Madanī: twenty leaves.

Al-Mukhayyas ibn Arṭāh al-A'rajī, the composer of *rajaz* verse: a small amount.³⁵

Al-Danqashī: a small amount.

Ibn Abī al-'Āsiyah al-Sulamī: fifty leaves.

Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan: a small amount.

Mūsā ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan: a small amount.

Ma'n ibn Zā'idah: a small amount.

Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Qaddūs, accused of being a *zandīq*: fifty leaves.

Salamah ibn 'Abbād ibn Manṣūr: a small amount.

Abū al-Ḥajnā' Nuṣayb: seventy leaves.

Yaḥyā ibn Bilāl al-'Ibādī: a small amount.

Sulaymān ibn al-Walīd, the brother of *Muslim*: a small amount.

Al-Ḥakam ibn Qunbur al-Māzinī: fifty leaves.

Abū Ḥāshim al-Ṭalībī: a small amount.

Abū al-Warrās al-Khuzā'i: a small amount.³⁶

Abān al-Lāḥiqī and His Family

Abān ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Lāḥiq ibn 'Ufayr was a prolific poet, most of whose poetry was *muzdawij* and *musammaʿ*.³⁷ He translated books of the Persians and other [peoples], which I record as follows:

Kalilah wa-Dimuah; Balawhar and Būdāsāf; Al-Sindbād; *Mazdak*; Fastings and Retreats.³⁸

'Abd al-Ḥamīd, his father, a poet: a small amount.³⁹

Lāḥiq, Abū 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, a poet: a small amount.

'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, the brother of Abān, a poet: a small amount.

³⁵ Al-Mukhayyas is taken from the Tonk MS. It is not clear in the Beatty MS, and is given as al-Muhsin in the Flügel edition. The next name, Al-Danqashī, seems to be the name intended, but none of the versions give it in exactly that form.

³⁶ Omitted by Flügel.

³⁷ *Muzdawij* and *musammaʿ* are technical terms, used for special types of poetry.

³⁸ The Beatty and Tonk MSS add a title which seems to be a repetition of *Mazdak*. For the first three titles, see the Glossary.

³⁹ Flügel gives a different series of names and confuses *ibn* with *abū* in several instances. The translation follows the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

Ḥamdān ibn Abān ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd: fifty leaves.⁴⁰

Sahl ibn Hārūn, a poet already mentioned: a small amount.⁴¹

Al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf, whose poetry al-Ṣūlī edited: about one hundred and fifty leaves.

Zanbūr al-Kātib (the Secretary), a poet: fifty leaves.

Bakr ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ, a poet: one hundred leaves.

Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī al-Najm: fifty leaves.

Abū *Shihāb* al-Khayyāt: twenty leaves.

Abū al-*Hawl* al-Ḥimyārī: fifty leaves.

Dā'ūd ibn Razīn al-Wāsiṭī: thirty leaves.⁴²

Kulthūm ibn 'Amr al-'*Atūbī*: one hundred leaves.

Maṣṣūr ibn Salamah al-*Namarī*: one hundred leaves.

Abū *Qābūs* al-Shaybānī: one hundred leaves.

Yūsuf ibn Ṣayqal: fifty leaves.

Al-'Abbās ibn Abī al-Sha'li: one hundred leaves.

Aḥmad ibn Sayyār al-Jurjānī: fifty leaves.

Al-'Abbās ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Abbāsī: fifty leaves.

'*Utbah* al-A'war al-Kūfī: a small amount.

'*Abd* Allāh ibn Ayyūb al-Taymī: one hundred leaves.

Ibrāhīm ibn Sayyābah: fifty leaves.

Al-*Ḥusayn* al-Khalī' ibn al-Daḥḥāk: one hundred and fifty leaves.

'*Amr* al-Warrāq: fifty leaves.

Ya'qūb ibn al-Rabī': seventy leaves.

Al-Faḍl al-Raqāshī: one hundred leaves.

Ibn al-Aswad al-Shaybānī: fifty leaves.

Abū al-'*Udhfir* al-'*Amī*: a small amount.

The brothers of al-Faḍl al-Raqāshī; *Aḥmad*, al-'*Abbās*, and 'Abd al-Mubdī' [ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad]: a small amount.

Abū al-*Musbi*' al-Madanī: a small amount.

'*Amr* ibn Naḍr al-'*Isāmī*: fifty leaves.

Al-*Butayn* ibn Umayyah al-Ḥimṣī: a small amount.

⁴⁰ Flügel seems to repeat the reference to the name 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. After this name the Beatty MS leaves an inch of space, evidently with hopes of adding other names. There is a note on the margin of this manuscript which looks like "bin bin (the son of the son of) 'Abd al-Ḥamīd," perhaps confirming the fact that Ḥamdān was a grandson. The amount or number of leaves following each poet's name refers to the quantity of his work.

⁴¹ Sahl starts a new list, not connected with Abān. Flügel omits the name of al-Ṣūlī in the next item.

⁴² Flügel confuses this name. On the lower margin of the Beatty MS a garbled note has been inserted.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Faq'asī: one hundred leaves.

Ibn Abī Ṣubḥ: a small amount.⁴³

Muḥammad ibn Munādhīr al-Ṣubayrī: seventy leaves.

Abū al-Naḍīr⁴⁴ and Abū al-Maḍraḥī: small amounts.

Abū al-Shamaqmaq: seventy leaves.

Sahl ibn Ghālib al-Khazraji: a small amount.

The Family of Abū 'Uyaynah al-Muhallabī

'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Uyaynah: one hundred leaves.

Abū 'Uyaynah ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Uyaynah: one hundred leaves.⁴⁵

'Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak al-Yazīdī: one hundred leaves.

[Hārūn] al-Rashīd: ten leaves.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī: one hundred leaves.

Abū al-Haydhām al-Murrī: a small amount.

'Alī ibn Ḥamzah al-Kisā'ī: a small amount.

Yaḥyā ibn al-Mubārak al-Yazīdī: a small amount.

Al-Aṣma'ī: a small amount.

Razīn al-'Arūdī: one hundred leaves.

Al-Faḍl ibn al-'Abbās ibn Ja'far al-Khuzā'ī: a small amount.

Women: The Free and the Slaves

'Ulayyah, the daughter of al-Mahdī: twenty leaves.

Zarzar al-Zarqā': ten leaves.

'Inān, the slave girl of al-Nāṭifī: twenty leaves.

Al-Dhālfā': a small amount.

Khansā': a small amount.

Malak: a small amount.

Ṣadūf: a small amount.⁴⁶

Mukhannithah: a small amount.⁴⁷

⁴³ Flügel gives Ibn Abī Shaykh.

⁴⁴ Flügel gives Abū al-Baṣīr, but the Beatty MS clearly indicates the name as translated.

⁴⁵ Flügel omits *ibn* before Muḥammad, but the Beatty MS correctly does not. The Beatty MS leaves an inch of space between this name and the one which follows it, evidently for material to be added later. 'Abd Allāh begins a new list, unconnected with the family of Abū 'Uyaynah.

⁴⁶ This name is omitted by Flügel and carelessly written in the Beatty MS. Ṣadūf is a guess.

⁴⁷ Flügel gives a different form, but in the Beatty MS the name might be as given, or Mukhannathah. This and the name following cannot be identified.

Mudām: a small amount.

Khashf: a small amount.

‘Ilm: a small amount.

Raym: a small amount.

Sakan: a small amount.

Danānīr, the slave girl of Ibn Kunāsah: a small amount.⁴⁸

Faḍl al-Shā‘ir: twenty leaves.

Baydūn al-Khādim: at least twenty leaves.

‘Abd al-Jabbār ibn Sa‘id al-Musāḥiqī: fifty leaves.

Al-Ḍamrī: a small amount.

Abū Fara‘ūn al-Shāshī: thirty leaves.

‘Amr al-Khārakī: fifty leaves.

Aḥmad ibn Ishāq al-Khārijī: fifty leaves.

Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Bahdalī: thirty leaves.

Abū al-Duhmān: a small amount.

Abū al-Bayda’ al-Riyāḥī: thirty leaves.

Abū al-Rumayḥ Jundub ibn Sūdab: a small amount.

Maymūn al-Ḥaḍramī: a small amount.

Al-Mustahall ibn al-Kumayt: fifty leaves.

Ismā‘il ibn Jarīr al-Ḥarīrī (al-Jarīrī): a small amount.

Muḥammad ibn Kunāsah al-Asadī: fifty leaves.

‘Abd al-Qadūs and *‘Abd al-Khāliq*, the two sons of *‘Abd al-Wahīd ibn al-Nu‘mān ibn Bashīr*: small amounts.

‘Amr ibn al-Ḥuwayy [al-Sukkārī]: a small amount.

Ṭālib and *Ṭālūt*, the two sons of *Azhar*: small amounts.

Abū al-Dīla’ al-Sindī: thirty leaves.

Al-Munajjim al-Rāsibī: thirty leaves.

Tawbah al-Baṣrī: a small amount.

Ma‘qil ibn Tawq: a small amount.

‘Abbād ibn al-Mumazzaq: fifty leaves.

Ismā‘il [ibn Mu‘ammar] al-Qurāṭisī: seventy leaves.

⁴⁸ In the Beatty MS there is a space below *Danānīr*, and below the space, the two names which follow in the translation, *Faḍl al-Shā‘ir* and *Baydūn al-Khādim*, are written together on the same line. There are two possible interpretations of this arrangement. The two names below the space may begin a new list of poets, this one male, since *Baydūn* was a man and *Faḍl al-Shā‘ir* may refer to some male poet such as *al-Faḍl ibn al-‘Abbās*. But it is more likely that the space was left to be filled in later with the names of other women poetesses, the list to be terminated with the name of the famous poetess *Faḍl al-Shā‘irah*. If this is the case, then the manuscript is written carelessly at this point, for nothing is inserted to indicate the end of the list of female poets and the beginning, with *Baydūn*, of a new list of male poets.

- Abū Ya'qūb al-Khuraymī: two hundred leaves.
 'Alī ibn Jabalah al-'Akawwak: one hundred and fifty leaves.
 Muḥammad ibn Ḥāzīm al-Bāhili: seventy leaves.
 Muḥammad ibn Bashīr: fifty leaves.
 Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf: fifty leaves.⁴⁹
 Al-Qāsim ibn Yūsuf: fifty leaves.
 'Awf ibn Muḥallim: thirty leaves.
 Al-Ghassānī Abū Muḥammad: a small amount.
 Al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭalḥah al-Qurashī: a small amount.
 'Alī ibn Abī Kathīr: fifty leaves.
 Al-'Ashannaq al-Ḍabbī: fifty leaves.
 Muḥammad and Ishāq, the two sons of Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī: small amounts.
 Waraqaḥ al-Asadī: a small amount.
 Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī: one hundred leaves.
 Ma'qil ibn 'Isā, the brother of Abū Dulaf: a small amount.
 Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm [al-Mawṣili]: fifty leaves.
 Al-Ma'mūn: twenty leaves.
 Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ḍabbī: thirty leaves.
 Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥamzah al-'Uqaylī: a small amount.
 Abū Ṣa'ṣa' al-Ḍarīr al-Kūfī: a small amount.
 Abū Bakr al-'Arūdī: fifty leaves.
 Al-'Alā' ibn 'Āsim al-Ghassānī: a small amount.
 Al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Bāhili: a small amount.
 Abū al-'Amaythal: one hundred leaves.
 Aḥmad ibn Hishām: fifty leaves.
 'Alī ibn Hishām: fifty leaves.
 Abū Ḥafṣ al-Shiṭranjī: fifty leaves.
 Abū al-Yanbughī: ten leaves.
 Ja'far ibn 'Affān al-Ṭā'ī, one of the poets of the Shī'ah, whose poetry amounted to two hundred leaves.
 Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Sukūnī: a small amount.
 Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥajjāj: a small amount.
 Al-Qāsim ibn Sayyār al-Kātib: fifty leaves.
 Ibn Abī al-Zawā'id: fifty leaves.
 Rawḥ ibn 'Abd al-Salām: a small amount.
 Abū Daffāfah Aḥmad ibn Manṣūr al-Baṣrī: a small amount.
 Al-Marāghī: a small amount.
 Muḥammad ibn Abī Badr al-Sulamī: fifty leaves.

⁴⁹ This man and his brother, who follows, were important secretaries serving al-Ma'mūn.

Abū Ziyād al-Kilābi: thirty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Maslimah al-Ḥiṣnī: one hundred leaves.

Ishāq ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ash'athī: a small amount.⁵⁰

Abū Rāsib al-Bajlī: fifty leaves.

Abū Mūsā al-Makfūf: fifty leaves.

Al-Akhfash al-Baṣrī: a small amount.

Al-Ḥirmāzī: fifty leaves.

Abū Hammām Rawḥ ibn 'Abd al-A'la: fifty leaves.

'Aṣā' ibn Almad al-Madīnī: a small amount.

Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Jawālīqī: fifty leaves.

Al-'Addā' al-Ḥanaḥī al-Miṣrī: fifty leaves.

Sa'īd ibn Damdam al-Kilābi: fifty leaves.

Abū 'Adnan al-Sulamī: thirty leaves.

Ismā'īl ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Yazīdī: fifty leaves.

Manṣūr al-Hindī, the pupil (servant) of Ḥaṣṣuwayh: a small amount.

Abū 'Imrān al-Sulamī: fifty leaves.

Abū Shunbul (Shanbul) al-'Uqaylī: a small amount.

Al-Ḥaytham ibn Maẓhar al-Fā'fā' (the Stutterer): a small amount.

Al-Faḍl ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥāshimī: one hundred leaves.

The Family of al-Mu'adhdhal

Al-Mu'adhdhal ibn Ghaylān ibn Muḥarib ibn al-Buḥtarī al-'Abdī, surnamed Abū 'Amr: fifty leaves.

'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn al-Mu'adhdhal, a poet: one hundred and fifty leaves.

Aḥmad, 'Isā, and 'Abd Allāh, poets already mentioned: small amounts.⁵¹

Abū Ḥizām al-'Uklī: fifty leaves.⁵²

Muḥammad al-Baydhaq: thirty leaves.

Al-'Arrāf ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Miṣrī: thirty leaves.

Al-Khaṭṭāb ibn al-Mu'allā: fifty leaves.

Abū al-Kalb al-Ḥasan ibn al-Najjāḥ: fifty leaves.

'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Makkī: thirty leaves.⁵³

⁵⁰ The final name is given as al-Shī'ī in the Beatty MS and differently by Flügel, but it is evidently meant to be al-Ash'athī.

⁵¹ The Beatty and Tonk MSS do not include the words "already mentioned." After this name there is an inch of space in the Beatty MS, evidently left for material to be added later. Apparently the names which follow begin a new list, not connected with the family of al-Mu'adhdhal.

⁵² Flügel gives variations for this name and the two which follow; the translation follows the Beatty MS.

⁵³ This was very likely 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Khayyāṭ (see Biog. Index), but may have been some less important author.

Yūsuf ibn al-Mughīrah ibn Abū al-Qusayrī: a small amount.⁵⁴

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥārith al-Miṣrī: fifty leaves.

Al-Jaml al-Miṣrī [*al-Ḥusayn*] *ibn 'Abd al-Salām*: fifty leaves.

Al-Khalīl ibn Jamā'ah al-Miṣrī: fifty leaves.

Hishām ibn al-Akhḍār al-Iyādī al-Miṣrī: thirty leaves.

Ishāq ibn Mu'adh al-Miṣrī: thirty leaves.

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mudabbir: seventy leaves.

Abū Sa'd al-Makhzūmī: one hundred and fifty leaves.

Al-Kisā'i 'Alī ibn Ḥamzah: ten leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Wuhayb: fifty leaves.

'Umārah ibn 'Aqīl: three hundred leaves.

Farwāh ibn Ḥumayḍ al-Asadī: fifty leaves.

Abū al-'Āliyah al-Shāmī: fifty leaves.

Muknif Abū Salamah al-Madanī: a small amount.

Abū Tammām Ḥabīb ibn Aws al-Ṭā'i, among whose books there were:

Al-Ḥamasah; Selections from the Poetry of the Poets; Selections from the Poems of the Tribes; The Great Poets (*al-fihṭūl*).⁵⁵

What amounted to two hundred leaves of his poetry remained unpublished until the days of *al-Ṣūlī*, who edited his work alphabetically in nearly three hundred leaves. *'Alī ibn Ḥamzah al-Iṣbahānī* edited it too, and improved it according to subjects rather than alphabetically.⁵⁶

'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-'Utbī: fifty leaves.

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-'Ā'ishī: fifty leaves.

Ishāq ibn Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī: seventy leaves.

Abū Nahshal, *Abū Naḍīr*, and *Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd*: small amounts.

Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il ibn Dā'ūd al-Kātib: seventy leaves.

His brothers, *Ḥamdūn* and *Dā'ūd*, poets: each one fifty leaves.

Al-Buḥturī, *al-Walīd Abū 'Ubādah*, whose poetry was not arranged alphabetically until the time of *al-Ṣūlī*, who edited and arranged it according to the alphabet. *'Alī ibn Ḥamzah al-Iṣbahānī* also edited it, improving it according to subjects. Among his books there were:

Al-Ḥamāsah, similar to "*Al-Ḥamāsah*" of *Abū Tammām*; Meaning of the Poets (*Ma'ānī al-Shu'arā'*).⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Flügel has *Yūsuf ibn al-Mu'tazz*.

⁵⁵ Only the Flügel edition includes these four titles.

⁵⁶ There is an inch of space at this point in the Beatty MS.

⁵⁷ These anthologies are not mentioned in the Beatty or Tonk MSS.

Ibn al-Rūmī, 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās,⁵⁸ His poetry was not arranged alphabetically, but al-*Musayyabī*⁵⁹ quoted it and then al-Šūlī edited and arranged it alphabetically. Abū al-Ṭayyib, the copyist of Ibn 'Abdūs, collected it from all of the manuscripts, adding what each of them contained, without reference to alphabetical order, to the extent of about one thousand verses.

Mithqal, the pupil of Ibn al-Rūmī: one hundred leaves. 'Alī ibn al-'Aṣb, surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan al-Milḥī, quoted Ibn al-Rūmī from *Mithqal*.⁶⁰

Ibn al-Ḥājib, a pupil of Ibn al-Rūmī: one hundred leaves.⁶¹

Aḥmad ibn Abī Fanan al-Kātib: one hundred leaves.

Khālid al-Kātib, whose poetry was edited and arranged alphabetically by al-Šūlī: two hundred leaves.

The Names of the Poets Who Were Secretaries, as Mentioned by Ibn Ḥājib al-Nu'mān in His Book in Which He Repeated What Came from the Book of *Muḥammad* ibn Dā'ūd⁶²

Al-Qāsim ibn Ṣabīḥ: fifty leaves.

Yahyā ibn Khālid: a small amount.

Al-Faḍl ibn Yahyā: a small amount.

'Alī ibn 'Ubaydah al-Rayḥānī: a small amount.

Ja'far ibn Yahyā: a small amount.

Al-Fayḍ ibn Abī Šālīḥ: a small amount.

Yūsuf ibn al-Qāsim: fifty leaves.

Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf: a small amount.

Ya'qūb ibn Nūḥ: fifty leaves.

Ibn al-Muqaffā': a small amount.

'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Ṣabāḥ al-Madā'inī: fifty leaves.

Al-Faḍl ibn al-Rabī': a small amount.

⁵⁸ Flügel adds a name evidently meant to be a transliteration of the Greek form for George.

⁵⁹ This name is given clearly in the Beatty MS, but is not made clear by Flügel.

⁶⁰ This reference to 'Alī is given by Flügel but not by the other versions.

⁶¹ This might be meant for Ibn Ḥājib, mentioned in the Biog. Index, as he was interested in literature and a boy when Ibn al-Rūmī was alive, but it is more likely a less important person.

⁶² Some of the following government officials who wrote poetry were men of secondary importance, whose names cannot be identified. The amount or number of leaves following each poet's name refers to the quantity of his work.

Ya'qūb ibn al-Rabī': thirty leaves.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl: a small amount.

Al-Faḍl ibn Sahl: a small amount.

Zunbūr ibn al-Faraj: fifty leaves.

Yūsuf Laqwah: fifty leaves.

Sandī ibn Ṣadaqah: fifty leaves.

Sahl ibn Hārūn: fifty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Bakr: fifty leaves.

Ḥamzah ibn Khuzaymah al-Kātib: a small amount.

Ḥammād ibn Najjāḥ al-Kātib: one hundred leaves.⁶³

Al-Qāsim ibn Yūsuf, the brother of *Aḥmad* ibn Yūsuf: fifty leaves.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazdād: a small amount.⁶⁴

Maslamah ibn Salm: a small amount.

Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī al-Najm: a small amount.

Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Shu'ayb: a small amount.

Dā'ūd ibn Jahwar: an anthology.

Abū al-Ḥārith Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥarrānī: an anthology of fifty leaves.

Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Abī 'Uthmān al-Kātib: thirty leaves.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī: twenty leaves, which al-Ṣūlī edited.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt: fifty leaves.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Wahb: one hundred leaves.

Sulaymān ibn Wahb: a small amount.

Abū 'Uthmān Sa'id ibn Ḥumayd al-Kātib: fifty leaves.

Sa'id ibn Wahb, not from the family of Wahb: fifty leaves.

Mūsā ibn 'Abd al-Malik: twenty leaves.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Rajā' ibn Abī al-Ḍaḥḥāk: fifty leaves.

Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il ibn Dā'ūd: seventy leaves.

'*Amr* ibn Mas'adah and his brother *Mujāshi'*: both together, fifty leaves.

Aḥmad ibn al-Mudabbir, surnamed *Abū al-Ḥasan*: an anthology of fifty leaves.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mudabbir: a small amount.

Abū al-Jahm Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf: fifty leaves.

Abū 'Alī al-Baṣīr: fifty leaves.

Abū al-Ṭayyib 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Ḥarrānī: twenty leaves.

Aḥmad ibn Abī Salamah, the secretary of al-'Ayyāsh:⁶⁵ fifty leaves.

⁶³ This is a known poet. The Beatty MS appears to have the name Khabbāz ibn Janāḥ, which is unidentified.

⁶⁴ Flügel gives "ibn Dā'ūd" instead of "ibn Yazdād," probably mistakenly.

⁶⁵ Flügel gives al-'Abbās, but the Beatty MS has al-'Ayyāsh. This official cannot be identified.

Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Jābir al-Balādhurī: fifty leaves.

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Aṭawī: one hundred leaves.

Jād al-Kātib:⁶⁶ a small amount.

Sulaymān ibn Abī Sahl ibn Nawbakht: fifty leaves.

Al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl: a small amount.

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Zaydūnah⁶⁷ al-Kātib: thirty leaves.

Abū Ḥakīm al-Rāshid ibn Ishāq al-Kātib: seventy leaves.

Abu Ḥārūn ibn Muḥammad, the secretary of al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd: fifty leaves.

Harthamah ibn al-Khalī': a small amount.

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Kātib: fifty leaves.

Ibrāhīm ibn 'Isā al-Madā'īnī: fifty leaves.

'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Karīm: thirty leaves.

Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Dā'ūd al-'Abartā'ī:⁶⁸ fifty leaves.

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Hārūn ibn Mukhlid ibn Abān: a small amount.

Abū 'Alī Yaḥyā ibn Hārūn ibn Mukhlid al-Kātib: a small amount.⁶⁹

Aḥmad ibn 'Isā, whose poetry I have read written in the handwriting of 'Alī ibn Ya'qūb:⁷⁰ a small amount.

Abū Šāliḥ 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yazdād: thirty leaves.

'Abd Allāh ibn Naṣr al-Kātib: thirty leaves.

'Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd: a small amount.

Al-Qāsim ibn Yūsuf al-Sulamī: fifty leaves.

Aḥmad ibn Khālīd al-Riyāshī: a small amount.

Ghālīb ibn Aḥmad, known as al-Faṭīn (the Intelligent One): thirty leaves.

'Umar ibn 'Uthmān ibn Istidbār, one of the poets of Egypt:⁷¹ fifty leaves.

'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, one of the poets of Egypt and a secretary: thirty leaves.

Sahl ibn Muḥammad, a secretary and an Egyptian: fifty leaves.

'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf: fifty leaves.

⁶⁶ Flügel gives Janān, but the Beatty MS gives Jād. It is possible that there is an *n*, *b*, or *y* between the *j* and the *ā*. The name has not been identified.

⁶⁷ Zaydūnah is taken from Flügel; the Tonk and Beatty MSS do not make the name clear enough to identify it.

⁶⁸ Flügel divides this name into two names, but the Beatty MS is evidently correct in giving the form indicated here.

⁶⁹ This name is omitted by Flügel. Beatty gives the name without the *ibn* before Hārūn.

⁷⁰ The Tonk and Beatty MSS omit "written in the handwriting of."

⁷¹ Istidbār is suggested in the Beatty MS. It was perhaps the name of the grandfather of 'Umar.

'*Ubayd* Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt: a small amount.

Abū al-Saqr *Ismā'īl* ibn Bulbul: a small amount.

Abū al-Faḍl *Aḥmad* ibn Sulaymān ibn Wahb: fifty leaves.

Ḥamd ibn Mihrān al-Kātib: fifty leaves.

Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ya'qūb ibn Dā'ūd al-Ya'qūbī: fifty leaves.

'*Ubayd* Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ya'qūb, his brother: a small amount.

Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Khayr al-Kātib: fifty leaves.

Manṣūr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kātib: fifty leaves.

Aḥmad ibn al-'Alawīyah al-Iṣbahānī al-Kātib: fifty leaves.

Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Yūsufī: fifty leaves.

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jarjarā'i, who though blind was a secretary: fifty leaves.⁷²

Abū al-Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Amr al-Shalmaghānī: one hundred leaves.

Abū 'Alī *Aḥmad* ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Mādhārā'i: fifty leaves.

Maymūn ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kātib: twenty leaves.

'Abd Allāh, the son of the sister of Abū al-Wizīr: a small amount.

Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥikmah: a small amount.

Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, known as Daydān: a small amount.

Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Jarjarā'i, secretary and vizier: thirty leaves.

'Isā ibn Farḥukhān-shāh al-Kātib: a small amount.

Abū 'Alī *Aḥmad* ibn *Ismā'īl Naṭṭāḥah*: fifty leaves.

'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr ibn Manṣūr ibn *Bassām*: one hundred leaves.

Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Nāshī: fifty leaves.

Abū Bakr *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭālaqānī: fifty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Ghālīb, [nicknamed] *Bāḥ*, al-Iṣbahānī: seventy leaves.

Abū al-Qāsim *Ja'far* ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdān, an Egyptian, the secretary of the Ṭūlūniyah: seventy leaves.⁷³

Abū Muḥammad al-'Abbās ibn al-Faḍl al-Fāsi: fifty leaves.

Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Shīrẓād al-Kātib: thirty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Kātib, known as *Badhinjānah*: a small amount.

Muḥammad ibn *Aḥmad* ibn 'Alī ibn Khayr:⁷⁴ fifty leaves.

⁷² Flügel omits "though blind," but the Tonk and Beatty MSS include it.

⁷³ The Ṭūlūniyah, the dynasty of *Aḥmad* ibn Ṭūlūn, ruled Egypt A.D. 868-905; see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 452-57.

⁷⁴ Flügel gives Ḥayyān instead of Khayr, evidently a mistake. The name Sayyār in the next line is not clearly written and may not be correct.

'*Alī* ibn *Aḥmad* ibn *Sayyār al-Mādhārā'i*: fifty leaves.

'*Abd Allāh* ibn *Ṭālib al-Kātib*: one hundred leaves.

Muḥammad ibn 'Umar, known as *Ibn al-Khansā'*: thirty leaves.

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn *Muḥammad ibn al-Fayyād*: an anthology of fifty leaves.

Abū 'Alī 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Isā al-Hamadhānī, the secretary of *Bakr* [ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz]: fifty leaves.

Aḥmad ibn *Muḥammad ibn Mutawakkil*, a resident of Egypt: fifty leaves.

Abū Sa'id 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Iṣbahānī: fifty leaves.

Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī al-Baḡhl: fifty leaves.

Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad al-Karkhī: fifty leaves.

Abū Muqātil Naḍr ibn al-Munqaḍī al-Daylamī: fifty leaves.

Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Khālīd al-Mādhārā'i: fifty leaves.

Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mādhārā'i: fifty leaves.

Abū 'Alī 'Aṣim ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib: thirty leaves.

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad ibn Ishāq al-Mādhārā'i: a small amount.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥakam ibn Ma'bad al-Iṣbahānī, whose poetry we have not seen.

Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn 'Arūs al-Kātib: thirty leaves.

Abū al-'Abbās ibn Thawābah: twenty leaves.

Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Thawābah: a small amount.

Al-Qāsim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Sulaymān: a small amount.

Abū al-'Abbās ibn al-Furāt: a small amount.

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Nawbakhtī: two hundred leaves.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Nawbakhtī: one hundred leaves.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Sirāfi: one hundred leaves.⁷⁵

Ja'far ibn Qudāmah: one hundred leaves.

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mufajja' al-Baṣṣī: about two hundred leaves.⁷⁶

Abū al-Faḍl al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār: fifty leaves.

Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Tustarī: a small amount.

Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Bukhārī: one hundred leaves.

Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Rashīd al-Kātib: one hundred leaves.

⁷⁵ Different versions give different forms for this name. Cf. *Ibn al-Ṣayrafī*.

⁷⁶ Flügel has "about one hundred leaves."

Al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ghālib ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh Bāḥ al-Isbahani: fifty leaves.

Abū al-Qāsim ibn Abī al-'Alā': fifty leaves.

Ḥamdūn ibn Ḥātim al-Anbārī: a small amount.

Yaḥyā ibn Zakarīyā' ibn Yaḥyā al-Uqlidīsī: a small amount.

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf, unknown to us.

Abū 'Abd Allāh *Aḥmad* ibn Kāmil: a small amount.

Abū 'Alī *Muḥammad* ibn 'Alī ibn al-Fayyād: a small amount.

Abū Ghālib *Muqātil* ibn al-Naḍr: a small amount.

Abū Ja'far *Muḥammad* ibn Sa'id al-Jarjarā'i: fifty leaves.⁷⁷

Junādah: fifty leaves.

Abū 'Alī *Muḥammad* ibn 'Alī ibn Muqlah: thirty leaves.

Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Ismā'il ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā al-Kātib: a small amount.⁷⁸

Abū al-Ḥusayn *Sa'id* ibn Ibrāhīm al-Tustarī, a Christian and a secretary: one hundred leaves.

This ends what was contained in the book of Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn *Ḥājib* al-Nu'mān al-Kātib from among the names of the secretaries who were poets and from whose poetry he made selections.

The Names of a Group of Recent Poets Who Were Not Secretaries and [Lived] after Three Hundred [A.D. 912/13] in This Our Time

Mudrik ibn Muḥammad al-Shaybānī: two hundred leaves.⁷⁹

Abū Bakr ibn al-'*Allāf*. Some of his relatives edited his poetry, with traditions about him, with something from those who praised him.

The amount [of his poetry] was four hundred leaves.

Al-Tujībī⁸⁰ Abū Bakr: one hundred leaves.

Al-'*Abdūsī*, whose name was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḍarīr: one hundred leaves.⁸¹

⁷⁷ The translation follows the Beatty MS, as Flügel gives variations with the last two parts of the name.

⁷⁸ Here the Beatty MS is so carelessly written that the translation follows Flügel.

⁷⁹ The amount or number of leaves following each poet's name refers to the quantity of his work.

⁸⁰ Al-Tujībī is taken from Flügel. In the Beatty MS it cannot be deciphered, but is obviously something quite different, and so it is not included in the Biog. Index. After this name the translation follows the Beatty MS; the order of sequence in the Flügel edition is different.

⁸¹ Flügel introduces the name Abū al-Ḥasan Maṭbu' before al-'*Abdūsī*, but omits al-Ḍarīr.

Al-Qurāṣī, whose name was ———: three hundred leaves.

Abū Ja'far al-Ḍarīr,⁸² whose name was ———: two hundred leaves.

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdān al-Mawṣili, the jurist: two hundred leaves.⁸³

Kushājim, a descendant of al-Sandī ibn Shāhik: one hundred leaves. He [wrote] a book, *Training of a Court Companion*.⁸⁴

Al-Iskāfī, whose name was ———: two hundred leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad⁸⁵ al-Ṣanawharī, surnamed Abū Bakr, one of the people of Antioch, whose poetry al-Ṣūlī edited and arranged alphabetically: two hundred leaves.

——— Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, one of the people of Antioch: one hundred leaves.⁸⁶

Abū al-Mu'taṣim 'Aṣim ibn Muḥammad al-Anṭākī, whose poetry was edited by Abū Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥallāb. [He lived] before three hundred.⁸⁷

Ibn Abī Zur'ah al-Dimashqī, [who lived] before three hundred [A.D. 912/13]: one hundred and fifty leaves.⁸⁸

Al-Khubz Aruzzi, whose name was Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ma'mūn⁸⁹ and who was a poet of al-Baṣrah, refined in expression, but not expert in the technique of poetic composition. He edited and arranged his own poetry alphabetically, but this [editing] was ascribed to al-Ṣūlī: about three hundred leaves.

Abū al-'Abbās al-Nāmī, whose poetry up to the time when he died was one hundred and fifty leaves. Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥallāb edited it.⁹⁰

Abū Maṣṣūr ibn Abī Barrāk, the teacher of al-Sarī ibn Aḥmad al-Kindī, was an excellent poet. It is said that al-Sarī stole and plagiarized his poetry. The amount of it which I have seen is about two hundred leaves.

⁸² Flügel adds "ibn Jilbāb" to this name.

⁸³ Flügel gives the name as Abū Ja'far Naṣr ibn Muḥammad ibn Jahān.

⁸⁴ This book title is not found in the Beatty MS.

⁸⁵ The Beatty MS omits these two first name elements.

⁸⁶ The first part of the name was probably al-Badīhī. This man was a contemporary poet; see Ziriklī, Part V, p. 143.

⁸⁷ Flügel omits " 'Aṣim ibn Muḥammad," but includes "three hundred leaves." The Beatty MS has "before three hundred. [A.D. 912/13]."

⁸⁸ The Flügel text gives "killed" instead of "before."

⁸⁹ The Beatty MS gives only the two first elements; the other part of the name is in the Flügel edition.

⁹⁰ Flügel gives the editor's name incorrectly and adds at the end of this sentence the name al-Khālī. Tha'libī, *Yatimat al-Dahr*, Part II, p. 292, calls the poet al-Khālī al-Nāmī.

Al-Khabbāz al-Baladī, whose name was Muḥammad ibn ———, surnamed Abū Bakr. Al-Khālidiyān edited his poetry at al-Mawṣil, making it excellent:⁹¹ about three hundred leaves.

Al-Shayẓamī, whose name was ———, wandered about and then attached himself to Sayf al-Dawlah. Before he died he edited his own poetry, which amounted to about five hundred leaves.

Abū Ṭāhir Sandūk ibn Ḥabīb al-Wāsiṭī, whose poetry is well edited: five hundred leaves.⁹²

Al-Salāmī, one of the people of al-Baṭīḥah:⁹³ less than two hundred leaves.

Al-Maghnam al-Miṣrī, one of the poets of Sayf al-Dawlah. His name was Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Sāmī al-Sha'bānī. He is not remembered for what he wrote, except for a poem "*Al-Dalālah*"; less than two hundred leaves.

Al-Babbaghā', surnamed Abū al-Faraj, was 'Abd al-Wahīd ibn Naṣr al-Shāmī, a poet of natural genius who fell in with Sayf al-Dawlah and wrote epistles and poetry: three hundred leaves.

Abū al-Ṭayyib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mutanabbī, whose fame makes it unnecessary to say much about him. He was from al-Kūfah and became attached to Sayf al-Dawlah. The poetry composed for him [Sayf al-Dawlah] became famous: three hundred leaves.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn fell in with Sayf al-Dawlah. His books: ———.

Abū Naṣr ibn Nuḃātah al-Tamīmī, was one of the poets of Sayf al-Dawlah. He died after four hundred [A.D. 1009/10] in hiding: about four hundred leaves.

Ibn Zamkūn, Abū ———, al-Mawṣilī, was skillful in connection with satirical poetry, going deep into the meaning. His poetry was about three hundred leaves.

Al-Khālidiyān, Abū Bakr and Abū 'Uthmān, Muḥammad and Sa'id, the two sons of Hāshim, were from a village of the district of al-Mawṣil, known as al-Khālidiyāh.⁹⁴ Both of them were poets and men of

⁹¹ In the Arabic, simply the word "excellent" is inserted in the margin of the Beatty MS and may be intended to go with the poet who follows.

⁹² This poet and the seven who follow are not mentioned in the Beatty MS. As they lived quite late in the tenth century, their names were evidently added to the source from which Flügel obtained his information.

⁹³ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 668, for al-Baṭīḥah.

⁹⁴ Al-Khālidiyān is in the dual form, and the names which follow belong to these two. In other words, the two men from al-Khālidiyāh were Muḥammad ibn Hāshim, surnamed Abū Bakr, and Sa'id ibn Hāshim, surnamed Abū 'Uthmān. Flügel gives al-Khālidiyān as a separate heading.

letters, who memorized [verses] and were quick with extemporaneous recital. One of these two, Abū Bakr, whose capacity for memorization and impromptu recitation, and whose ability to commit to memory made me marvel, said to me, "I retain in my memory a thousand passages, each one about one hundred leaves in length."⁹⁵

But in spite of all this, if they admired anything they plagiarized it, whether the author was alive or dead, not because of inability to compose poetry, but because that was their nature. Abū 'Uthmān edited his own and his brother's poetry before he died and I believe that a young man known as Rishā'⁹⁶ also edited it [to the extent of] about one thousand leaves. Abū Bakr died ——— and Abū 'Uthmān died ———. Among their books there were:

Ḥamāsah, poetry of the recent [authors]; Traditions of al-Mawṣil; about traditions of Abū Tammām and the beauties of his poetry; about traditions of the poetry of Ibn al-Rūmī; Selections from the Poetry of al-Buḥturī; Selections from the Poetry of Muslim ibn al-Walid.

Al-Sarī ibn Aḥmad ibn ——— al-Kindī⁹⁷

He came from al-Mawṣil, and was a poet with natural genius, but he plagiarized a great deal. He had agreeable diction and good presentation. He was versatile in using similes and descriptions, which he attempted even when they lacked pleasing appearance and form. The only art in which he did well was the recitation of poetry. Before his death he edited his poetry [to the extent of] three hundred leaves. Later more was added and some of the recent men of letters have edited and arranged it [his poetry] alphabetically.

Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Najīh

His name was ——— and he was one of the people of Baghdād, but for a long time he resided at al-Mawṣil. He was a theologian and a poet, and before his death edited his own poetry; about five hundred leaves.

⁹⁵ The Beatty MS gives clearly "said to me." Al-Nadīm probably met him at al-Mawṣil. For data about this period, see Khallikān, I, 557-59; Ziriklī, Part III, p. 128, article on al-Sarī.

⁹⁶ This name is not in the Biog. Index. He was probably a pupil or transcriber.

⁹⁷ Flügel gives this name and the names of the two poets who follow as separate headings, but the Beatty and Tonk MSS include these names in the long list of recent poets which precedes.

Al-Tamīmī Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad

He was from the people of Baghdād. He lived at al-Mawṣil and edited his own poetry: about five hundred leaves.⁹⁸

From among the Syrian Poets Who Were Earlier than These [Poets Just Mentioned]

Abū al-Jūd al-Ras‘anī, whose name was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad and whose poetry amounted to about one hundred leaves.

Abū *Miskin* al-Bardha‘ī, a modern poet, who wandered among the towns. He was an excellent poet, whose poetry amounted to about one hundred leaves.

Al-*Khali‘* al-Raqqī, also called al-Ḥarrānī, although he was not from that region. His name was Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Ghamz⁹⁹ and he was an excellent poet, who inserted into his poetry homonyms (*al-tajnis*)¹⁰⁰ and contrasts (*al-taṭbīq*), rarely having a verse without them. His poetry was not edited, but it amounted to [about] three hundred leaves. It is said that some of the men of letters of our own time have edited and arranged it alphabetically and that Abū Muḥammad al-Muhallabī has made a selection of a portion of it.¹⁰¹

Poems Recited about the Unusual (Strange)

Poem of al-Sharqī ibn al-Qaṭāmī, who has already been mentioned; poem of *Yahyā* ibn al-Nujaym; poem of al-*Abzārī*, whose name was —; poem of *Shubayl* ibn ‘Azrah, who has already been mentioned; poem of *Mūsā* ibn Ḥazanbal; poem of al-*Anbārī*.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ From the manuscripts available, it appears that when he wrote his original manuscript, al-*Nadīm* omitted many of the well-known tenth-century poets from the list of recent poets, which ends here in the Beatty and Tonk MSS. This fact makes it clear that he must have completed his book before the end of the tenth century. It indicates also that the Beatty MS was an early copy of the original. The extra material in the Flügel edition which is included in the translation shows that some copyist in later times added names to the original.

⁹⁹ The name is lacking in the Beatty MS.

¹⁰⁰ After this point a group of pages is missing in the Tonk MS. The text of the Tonk MS resumes in Chap. V, almost immediately after the Beatty MS ends, although at least one page must have been lost from the manuscript between the end of the Beatty MS and the resumption of the Tonk. See Chap. V, sect. 1, nn. 237, 238.

¹⁰¹ The Beatty MS omits the reference to al-Muhallabī.

¹⁰² This name is in the Beatty MS but not the Flügel edition.

Poems with the *Hamzah*¹⁰³

Poem of Ibn *Harmah*, beginning "Inna Sulaymā, Allāh will watch over her." Poem of *Ḥaṣṣ* ibn Abī al-Nu'mān al-Umawī, one of the Banū al-Qirriyah,¹⁰⁴ which most of the transmitters quote as belonging to Abū Ṣa'sa'ah al-ʿAmirī. Its beginning is, "She watched the flashing of the lightning as it glittered." Because of its diction the people preferred this saying to the poem of Ibn Harmah, even though Ibn Harmah came before him.¹⁰⁵

What Has Been Composed about the Cooing of Pigeons and about Their Breeds

Poem of Yahyā ibn Abī Mūsā al-Nahrutiri about the breeds of pigeons. Book: Sayings of the Arabs about the Conversations of Pigeons, by Ibn Rabi'ah al-Baṣri;¹⁰⁶ Species, by Thābit; Traditions of the Arabs and What They Have Said about the Lamentations of Pigeons and the Cooing of Birds.

Mention of Books about Literary Pursuits Which I Have Happened Upon, but Which Are Composed by Persons Whose Status Is Not Known after Careful Investigation¹⁰⁷

Pardon and Expiation, by Abū al-Ḥusayn *Aḥmad* ibn Najīh ibn Abī Ḥanīfah; Pronunciations (Dialects), by *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Kātib; Pardon and Forgiveness, by Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl; He Who Composed a Verse and Was Nicknamed for It, and He Who Composed

¹⁰³ Immediately after this heading there is a gap in the Beatty MS where some material has been lost. The manuscript begins again with the title of the fifth chapter. In the paragraph which follows, the poems of Ibn Harmah and Ḥaṣṣ are mentioned together because the line from Ibn Harmah's poem begins with the letter *hamzah*, and the line from Ḥaṣṣ ends with *hamzah*. Flügel misspells the name Ibn Harmah.

¹⁰⁴ For this tribe, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 206; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 202.

¹⁰⁵ After this paragraph Flügel gives a title with the word *qaṣidah* ("poem") written four times, but without an author or description to accompany it.

¹⁰⁶ This may be an error, meant for the poet *Rabi'ah* al-Baṣri himself.

¹⁰⁷ This heading and what follows to the end of the chapter are taken from Flügel, as are the two preceding paragraphs. This material may never have been in the Beatty MS or may be in the lost pages. As it does not seem to go with the accounts of the poets, it is likely that some scribe inserted it into another copy of the book at a later period, after the Beatty MS had been completed.

a Verse and Received from It His Name of Descent, by al-Kindī;¹⁰⁸ Excellence and Eloquence, by Ibn al-Ḥarūn;¹⁰⁹ Excellence and Eloquence, by Ibn Abī al-ʿAwādhil; Gifts, by al-Jundaysābūrī; Poems Selected from the Sayings of the Islāmic Poets, by Abū al-Faḍl Jaʿfar;¹¹⁰ Songs of al-Qutrabbulī, by Saʿd al-Bārī; Witnesses, by Ibn Khashnām; Connections, by Abū al-Jahm; The Disposition of Man, by Abū Mālik; History, by Sinān;¹¹¹ Perfume, by al-Shītrānī; Translation; Agriculture of the Rūm (Greeks, Byzantines), by ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Saʿd; Culture of Poetry, by al-Khaṭṭāmī; The Potion, by Ibn Zakarīyāʾ al-Rāzī; Agriculture, by Ibn Waḥshīyah.

Instruction in Law, by al-Bandanījī; Coitus, by al-Rāzī; The Decorated (Poetic Acrostic), by ʿAlī ibn ʿUbaydah; The Ages (Periods of Time), by al-Muhallabī [Muḥammad] ibn ʿAbbād; The Ancients (Beginnings), by Saʿid ibn Saʿdūn al-ʿAṭṭār; Resemblances, by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī; book of al-Sarakhsī addressed to al-Muʿtaḍid, about self-discipline; The Dynasty of the Daylamīyah, by Abū Jaʿfar al-Dāmaḡhānī;¹¹² Pronunciations (Dialects), by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿIsā al-Hamadhānī;¹¹³ Generations (Categories) of Preachers, by ʿAlī ibn Ismāʿīl; Generations (Categories), by Muḥammad ibn Saʿd; Knowledge and History, by Abū Sufyān; The History of Ismāʿīl al-Khūṭabī; White Hair and Dye, by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Saʿid; The Remedy for Grief, Derived from Legacies of the Wise Men; The History of Wāsīt, by Baḥshal; The Bountiful Giver, by Ibn Rūsand¹¹⁴ of the Banū Ṭayy; Refutation of the Ignorant, by al-Ḥasan ibn Badr al-Laythī, showing preference for al-Kindī in connection with [the poetry of] chivalry;

¹⁰⁸ This title is not mentioned with the works of the famous al-Kindī given in Chap. VII, sect. 1.

¹⁰⁹ This man cannot be identified. He may have been a son of either al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥarūn (see Ziriklī, Part II, p. 276) or al-Ḥarūn al-ʿAlawī (see Ṭaharī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 2025–26).

¹¹⁰ Perhaps Jaʿfar ibn al-Furāt.

¹¹¹ This may be the same book as the one mentioned in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (4), 257, entitled *Kitāb Taʾrīkh Mulūk al-Rayyān* by Sinān ibn Thabit ibn Qurrah. The Flügel edition gives “Abū” instead of “Ibn” in this name. For a book by al-Rāzī about the potion (*al-sharāb*), see the epistles of al-Rāzī listed near the end of Chap. VII, sect. 3. *Coitus* (*Al-Bāh*), three titles further, is listed with al-Rāzī’s books in the same section.

¹¹² The Daylamīyah probably refers to the Buwayh dynasty, which gained control of the caliphate A.D. 945. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 470, and “Būyids,” *Enc. Islam*, I, 807.

¹¹³ See Chap. III, sect. 2, near n. 219.

¹¹⁴ The form Rūsand is probably a mistake, so that it is not included in the Biog. Index. Ruwayshid may be the name meant; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 433.

Abridgment of "Book of the Bee" (Kitāb al-Nahl), by Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Ahwāzī;¹¹⁵ The History of Yaḥyā ibn Abī Bakr al-Miṣrī; Swords and Their Characteristics, by al-Kindī.¹¹⁶

Epistles for Which There Is Solely the Mention of Their Authors¹¹⁷
 Epistle of¹¹⁸ Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Thawābah; Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād al-Ḥārithī; Abū 'Alī al-Baṣīr; Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Kātib; Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī; Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭarkhān; al-Sharīf al-Rāḍī; Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Ja'far; al-Naysābūrī al-Iskāfī; Aḥmad ibn Sa'd al-Iṣbahānī; Abū al-Ḥasan al-Tūnisi; Muḥammad ibn Mukram; Aḥmad ibn al-Wizīr—'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-'Askarī edited it;¹¹⁹ Muḥammad ibn Ziyād al-Ḥārithī, the brother of Yaḥyā; Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī [ibn 'Abd Allāh], about extracting the erroneous and ambiguous.

Epistles of Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥārith al-Tamīmī; epistles of Ibn 'Abdakān;¹²⁰ epistles of al-'Usharī, about the salaries of governors; epistle of Abū Ghazawān al-Qurashī, about pardon; epistles of Bāḥ [Muḥammad ibn Ghālib]; a selection of portions and epistles of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kātib; epistles of al-Babbaghā'; epistles of al-Ṣābī.

Completed is the fourth chapter of Kitāb al-Fihrist and finished entirely is the first part. If Allāh the Exalted wishes, it will be followed by the fifth chapter of the book, with accounts of the scholars and the various books which they compiled, in five sections. To Allāh be praise, for He is worthy and deserving of it and it is His due. For our Master Muḥammad and his holy family¹²¹ and honored Companions be prayer and peace.¹²²

¹¹⁵ See Chap. III, sect. 3, near n. 173.

¹¹⁶ For another mention of this book, see the book entitled *Kinds of Swords and Iron*, in Chap. VII, sect. 1, near n. 249.

¹¹⁷ This subsection is probably out of place and was inserted after al-Nadīm had died. Flügel suggests in a note that there is a mistake in the title. The correct meaning is probably as translated. The last word is *arbāb*, which instead of meaning "authors" may refer to government chiefs who wrote epistles.

¹¹⁸ The phrase "epistle of" is repeated before each name in the first paragraph. It is given only the first time in the translation.

¹¹⁹ The word translated as "edited" is *ṣana'* (usually translated "made" or "wrought").

¹²⁰ See Chap. III, sect. 2, near n. 219.

¹²¹ The word translated as "holy" is *fāhirin*, which means "pure" but is used by the Shī'ah to signify the special quality of their imams, who were descendants of 'Alī.

¹²² This conclusion was probably contained in the author's original copy of *Al-Fihrist*.

The Fifth Part

of the book *Al-Fihrist*,¹ with accounts of the ancient and modern scholars, who were authors, with the names of the books which they composed about the rest of the sciences.² The composition of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, known as *Abū al-Faraj ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Warrāq*.

¹ This heading and the first segment of Chapter V are found only in the Beatty MS, as explained below. Under the heading, on the left-hand side of the page, there is written, "An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His servant Muḥammad ibn Ishāq." On the right-hand side there is "The fifth chapter about dialectic theology and the dialectic theologians (*al-kalām wa-al-mutakallimīn*)."² For further information, see Arberry, *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, I (1948), 19.

Most of Chapter V, Section 1, is found only in the Beatty MS. After the termination of the Beatty MS, a few pages follow which are found only in the Tonk MS (see nn. 237, 238). Evidently one or more pages have been lost between the end of the Beatty MS and the beginning of the Tonk MS (see n. 238 for probable content of the missing material). As the Beatty and Tonk MSS are not easily available for study, an attempt has been made to give the transliteration of some of the more important words in the book titles in this segment. With the account of *al-Wāsiṭī*, very near the end of Section 1, the Flügel text resumes, and MS 1934 begins (n. 266). See Introduction for more information on these manuscripts.

The Cairo edition of *Al-Fihrist*, printed by the Raḥmānīyah Press in 1929, has a very short Appendix, the content of which was taken from Aḥmad Taymur, who took the material from *Die Kunde des Morgen Landes*, 1889, a work which is not generally available. This Appendix contains accounts of nearly a dozen scholars, almost all of whom are mentioned in Chapter V by either Flügel or the Beatty MS. It is referred to in the footnotes as these men appear in the text. The one scholar in the Cairo Appendix who is not mentioned by the Beatty MS or the Flügel text is a judge named Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad, called Ibn Zubd. He may be the man of that name, although called Ibn Zanū, who is mentioned in the Index to Ṭabarī, *Annales*. Perhaps "Ibn Zubd" is meant to be "Ibn Zayd."

In this chapter, certain technical words and the names of many religious sects are mentioned over and over again. For explanation, the Glossary should be consulted.

² In writing this phrase, "the rest of the sciences," the author probably had in mind the theology in the fifth chapter and law in the sixth chapter, as those two fields of study were included in the Islāmic sciences.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Fifth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, in five sections.

The First Section

with accounts of the dialectic theologians (al-mutakallimūn) of the Mu'tazilah and the Murji'ah, and of the beginning of dialectic theology (al-kalām) and disputation (al-jidāl).³

Why the Mu'tazilah Were Called by This Name⁴

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī said that the Mu'tazilah were called by this name because of the disagreement occurring in connection with the terms for those who committed great sins among the people of prayer.⁵ The Khawārij said that these were unbelievers and polytheists, as well as sinners.⁶ The Murji'ah said that they were believers and Muslims, but at the same time sinners. The Zaydiyyah and Ibādīyah said that they did not believe in [God's] grace, and were neither polytheists nor Muslims, but sinners. The companions of al-Ḥasan⁷ said that they were hypocrites and also sinners.

³ Most of the theological discussions were carried on by members of the heretical sect of the Mu'tazilah, until al-Ash'arī persuaded the orthodox scholars to use dialectic methods to defend their own doctrines.

⁴ At the beginning of the Arabic title there is the letter *lām* (ل) which is evidently meant to express interrogation. Al-Mu'tazilah means those who are separated from others. This passage explains the reason for calling this sect by this name. For the founding of the Mu'tazilī movement, see Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 222-23; Khallikān, II, 513; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 224; Jār Allāh, *Mu'tazilah*, p. 2; Nādir, *Système philosophique*, p. 4; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 121; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 47. The various sects and technical words are explained in the Glossary.

⁵ This evidently refers to pious Muslims.

⁶ This means that these rebels were not only transgressors against the ordinances of the Qur'ān, but also regarded as being outside of the Muslim community.

⁷ This evidently refers to the disciples of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; see Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, pp. 25, 44, 46, 49; "al-Ḥasan ibn abi'l-Ḥasan," *Enc. Islam*, II, 273.

All of the Mu'tazilah separated themselves from the things about which these [groups] differed. They said, "We agree about what they join in calling sin, but we avoid matters about which they disagree concerning unbelief, belief, hypocrisy, and polytheism."

Abū Bakr ibn al-Ikshīd said, "'Separation' (*al-i'tizāl*) became attached to the Mu'tazilah during the days of al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī], according to what some people record, but this is not confirmed among us, nor do we have quotations about it." He said, "What is [better] known among our scholars is that the name originated after [the time of] al-Ḥasan." He said;

The basis for it was that after al-Ḥasan had died and Qatādah had taken his place, 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd and a group with him separated themselves from him [Qatādah]. So Qatādah called them *al-Mu'tazilah* (the Separatists). When 'Amr heard about this name, he accepted and approved it, saying to his companions, "*Al-i'tizāl* is a term which Allāh has praised in His Book,⁸ so that this is unexpected good fortune,"⁹ and thus he accepted it.

Mention of the First to Speak About Predestination, Justice, and Oneness

Al-Balkhī said that the first person to speak about predestination and separation was Abū Yūnus al-Aswārī, a man from among the Aswārīyah known as Sinsawayh, who was followed by Ma'bad al-Juhānī. It is also said that Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik spoke about this matter.

The Names of Those from Whom Justice and Oneness Were Derived

I read [what was written] in the handwriting of Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abdūs [al-Jahshiyārī], that Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim said:

⁸ *Al-i'tizāl* means "separation" or "turning aside." It is mentioned in the Qur'ān 18:15(16), where it is said that Allāh will show mercy to those who separate from false worshipers to enter the cave; also in 19:50(49), where it speaks of Allāh's reward for Abraham, when he turned aside from false worshipers.

⁹ For the idiom "good fortune," see Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 17; in Arabic it is *ittiḥāq ḥasan*.

My father informed me, and my paternal uncle Aḥīnad as well as my paternal uncle Hārūn¹⁰ also informed me, saying, "Abū Ya'lā *Zurqān*, whose name was Muḥammad ibn Shaddād, the companion of Abū al-Hudhayl, related to me saying, 'Abū al-Hudhayl al-'Allāf Muḥammad ibn al-Hudhayl told us saying, "I received¹¹ what I know about justice and oneness from 'Uthmān al-Ṭawīl, who was the teacher of Abū al-Hudhayl." Abū al-Hudhayl said, "'Uthmān told me that he learned about the matter from Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā, and that Wāṣil derived this from Abū Hāshim 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah. 'Abd Allāh received it from his father, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah. Muḥammad informed him that he obtained it from his father 'Alī, for whom be peace, and that his father received it from the Apostle of Allāh, for whom be peace.¹² The Apostle of Allāh told him that Gabriel (Jibrīl) revealed it from Allāh, Glorious and Almighty.'"¹³

Al-Ḥasan ibn Abī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, surnamed Abū Sa'īd

He was born two years before the end of the caliphate of 'Umar and died when eighty-nine years old, during the year one hundred and ten [A.D. 728].¹⁴ Al-Ḥasan served as secretary to al-Rabī' ibn Ziyād in Khurāsān and for about three years was the secretary of Anas ibn Mālik at Sābūr.¹⁵ He was one of those who gave allegiance to Ibn al-Ash'ath, but was also one of the ascetics and pietists.¹⁶ When Ibn al-Ash'ath was overthrown, his adherents were hunted down and he [al-Ḥasan] went to al-Ḥajjāj, who after disciplining him gave him amnesty. But as al-Ḥasan did not feel safe near al-Ḥajjāj, he hid until he [al-Ḥajjāj] died.¹⁷

¹⁰ See Biog. Index, Munajjim family.

¹¹ In this passage forms of the Arabic word *akhad* are translated as "received," "obtained," "derived," etc., to make the meaning clearer.

¹² On the margin of the Beatty MS there is the note, "Abū Hudhayl and 'Uthmān lied."

¹³ There is a second note on the margin of the Beatty MS, saying that this passage is a lie against Allāh and His Apostle, with some extra words which are not clear.

¹⁴ 'Umar was the second caliph, who died A.D. 644. The age of al-Ḥasan is reckoned in lunar years.

¹⁵ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 4-6.

¹⁶ The word for "giving allegiance" implies electing him as the caliph. Ibn al-Ash'ath revolted when al-Ḥajjāj was the governor in al-'Irāq. The rebel was killed A.D. 701/2. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was more famous as an early ascetic than as a man interested in politics.

¹⁷ Al-Ḥajjāj was famous for his tyranny. He died A.D. 714.

Among his words despising al-Ḥajjāj, when news of his death reached him, there was "Oh, our God, thou it is who has killed him and cut short his way of life." Then he said, "Thou gavest us a little blind bat, emitting poison (burning), miserable and afflicted, with flapping of sides and shaking of buttocks, saying 'Know us, know us!' Truly we have known thee; Allāh has abhorred thee and abhorred thee also have the righteous." [He also said] "He stretched out to me a hand with short fingers, and, by Allāh, it has never perspired from holding the reins to drive along the way of God."

Among the books of al-Ḥasan there were:

Commentary on the Qur'ān (Tafsīr li-al-Qur'ān), which a group quoted from him;¹⁸ a book addressed to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān refuting the Qadariyah.

Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā'

Abū Ḥudhayfah Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā' was a protégé of the Banū Ḍabbah, or it is also said of the Banū Makhsūm.¹⁹ His birth was at al-Madīnah and he was called al-Ghazzāl because of his frequenting Sūq al-Ghazl in order to become acquainted with the chaste women, to whom he distributed his alms.²⁰ He had a long neck and also mispronounced the letter *rā'* (r) but as he was a master of style, eloquent and vigorous in speech, with versatility of expression, it was possible for him to avoid the letter *rā'* (r) in his speech.

It was related that Wāṣil said about *Bashshār* ibn Burd, "Is there not someone to kill this blind man (*a'mā'*) who is surnamed Abū Mu'ādh? By Allāh, if it were not for the malice which is one of the characteristics of the Ghulāt,²¹ I would have sent someone to rip open his stomach on his bed. An 'Uqaylī or Sadūsī would attend

¹⁸ The members of this group were probably his pupils, who quoted his teachings and wrote commentaries about them.

¹⁹ For these tribes see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 34, 36.

²⁰ The Sūq al-Ghazl was the bazaar where the women spun thread. The word "chaste" probably refers to elderly women, needing aid and with no one to depend upon.

²¹ The Arabic text gives the form al-Ghāliyah, but the Glossary and translation give the usual form, Ghulāt.

to that."²² Thus he avoided pronouncing *rā'*, for he spoke of the "blind man surnamed Abū Mu'ādhi," not saying either Bashshār or Ibn Burd. He mentioned *al-a'mā* instead of saying *al-darir*²³ and spoke of the characteristics of the Ghulāt, rather than of the Mug-hirīyah or the Manṣūriyah. He also said *ba'atha* instead of *arsala*²⁴ and mentioned '*alā muḍṭaja'ihī* rather than saying '*alā firāshihī*."²⁵ He spoke of the Banū 'Uqayl, because Bashshār was a protégé of theirs, and mentioned the Banū Sadiis because he dwelt among them. Avoiding letters is very difficult, especially one like *rā'*, which is used so much.

Wāsil fell in with Abū Hāshim 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah and also attended the session (class) of al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī]. Because he kept very silent, he was thought to be dumb. His neck was very long, so that 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd remarked about it, saying "A man with such a neck cannot be of any use!" But when Wāsil became proficient, his excellence being evident, 'Amr said, "Perhaps I made a mistake about his sense of perception."

Al-Balkhī said, "Wāsil was one of the people of al-Madīnah. His birth was during the year eighty [A.D. 699] and he died in the year one hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 748]." Among his books there were:

The Middle Position (Al-Manzilah bayn al-Manzilatayn);²⁶ Judicial Interpretation (Al-Futūḥ); Oneness (Al-Tawḥid).

Among the books of his associates (pupils), the authors being unknown, there were:

The Mashraqiyyūn,²⁷ from the pupils of Abū Ḥudhayfah [Wāsil ibn 'Aḩā'] to their brothers in North Africa, which included a number of chapters (books), among which there was, The Way to a Knowledge of the Truth (Al-Sabīl ilā Ma'rifat al-Ḥaqq).

²² For these tribes see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 181, 211. The translation is given freely so as to make the passage readable.

²³ These are both words for "blind."

²⁴ Synonyms meaning "sent."

²⁵ These words might be translated "bedding" and "mattresses," signifying the same thing.

²⁶ See Glossary for this phrase.

²⁷ The Mashraqiyyūn was a name used for those living in the east. In North Africa it applied especially to members of the Shī'ah.

'Amr ibn 'Ubayd

He was Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd ibn Bāb, a protégé of the Banū al-'Adawīyah [clan] of the Ḥanzalālī [branch] of the Banū Tamīm Tribe.²⁸ Al-Balkhī said that Bāb [the grandfather] was one of the prisoners from Kābul, a prisoner of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Samurah²⁹ and a protégé first of the Banū 'Uqayl, but later of the Banū 'Arārah.³⁰

He was born during the year in which Wāṣil was born, which was the year eighty [A.D. 699]. He was a man of medium stature, calloused between the eyes as the result of prostrating.³¹ He was a friend of [the Caliph] Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr and there were stories about them. He preached to al-Manṣūr a number of times with a famous and well-known message (word). 'Amr died while returning along the way to Makkah from al-Baṣrah, at a place known as Marrān,³² during the year one hundred and forty-four [A.D. 761], when he was sixty years of age.

Although it has never been heard of for a caliph to make an elegy for a person of lower rank, al-Manṣūr composed an elegy for him, saying:

May Allāh bless you lying in the tomb, which I passed on the way at Marrān;

It is a tomb enshrouding a believer, who revered and worshiped Allāh, believing the Qur'ān.

Had time spared a righteous man, it would have spared for us 'Amr Abū 'Uthmān.

Among his books there were:

The Commentary (Al-Tafsīr), taken from al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī]; Justice and Oneness (Al-'Adl wa-al-Tawḥīd); a refutation of the Qadariyah.

²⁸ See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 37.

²⁹ This was a Companion of the Prophet who conquered Kābul; see Biog. Index.

³⁰ See Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 181, 254.

³¹ He prayed so often, touching his forehead to the ground, that the skin over his eyes became calloused.

³² See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 479, where there is mention of a tomb at Marrān in Arabia.

Naming of Those Who Drew upon 'Amr [ibn 'Ubayd] and Wāṣil [ibn 'Aṭā']

One of those who drew upon 'Amr and Wāṣil, but no book of whom is known, was Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān ibn Khālīd al-Ṭawīl, the teacher of Abū Hudhayl [al-'Allāf]. There was also Abū Ḥaṣṣ 'Umar ibn Abī 'Uthmān al-Sāmarrī, who drew upon the *Commentary* (*Kitāb al-Tafsīr*) of 'Amr and al-Ḥasan.

Abū al-Hudhayl al-'Allāf

He was Abū al-Hudhayl Muḥammad ibn al-Hudhayl al-'Allāf, a protégé of 'Abd al-Qays and al-Hudhayl ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Maḥḥūl al-'Abdī.³³ Abū al-Hudhayl was born during the year one hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 748/49]; it is also said thirty-four. He learned theology from 'Uthmān ibn Khālīd al-Ṭawīl, not coming into contact with either Wāṣil [ibn 'Aṭā'] or 'Amr [ibn 'Ubayd]. Abū al-'Aynā' said that Abū al-Hudhayl died at Sāmarrā during the year two hundred and twenty-six [A.D. 840/41],³⁴ when he was one hundred and four years old.

When Abū al-Hudhayl was asked about his birth, he replied, "I was born during the year one hundred and thirty-five [A.D. 752/53]." On another occasion, when he was asked about this he said, "My parents told me that Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan was killed when I was a child of ten years old." Ibrāhīm was killed during the year forty-five [A.H. 145: A.D. 762/63]. This remark of Abū al-Hudhayl indicates, therefore, that his birth was during the year one hundred and thirty-five [A.D. 752/53].

Abū al-Hudhayl died during the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil, in the year two hundred and thirty-five [A.D. 849/50], when he was one hundred [lunar] years old. At the end of his life he was stricken with senility. Although he did not lose sight of the fundamental principles of doctrine, he became weak in opposing adversaries and disputing with persons who disagreed with him, as his intelligence became weak.

³³ See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 45, for 'Abd al-Qays. The second name may be that of a chief or a subtribe.

³⁴ This date and those given by Mas'ūdi, VI, 369, and Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 125, seem to be too early. Khallikān, II, 667, says he died A.D. 849/50, which is also the date given by al-Nadīm in the next paragraph.

It was said that when a son of Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs died and [the father] grieved for him, Abū al-Hudhayl came to mourn with him. Upon finding him distraught Abū al-Hudhayl said to him, "I do not know the reason why you grieve for your son if man, according to you, is like what is planted (*al-zar*)."³⁵ Ṣāliḥ replied, "Oh, Abū al-Hudhayl, I grieve for him because he never read the *Book of Doubts* (*Kitāb al-Shukūk*)."³⁶ Then he [Abū al-Hudhayl] asked him, "The *Book of Doubts*, what is that, oh, Ṣāliḥ?" He answered, "It is a book which I have written, in order that whoever reads it will be doubtful about what exists, imagining that it is non-existent, and about what does not exist, imagining that it is existent." So Abū al-Hudhayl said to him, "Be doubtful about the death of your son, acting as though he did not die, even though he has passed away. Be uncertain about his reading the *Book of Doubts*, even though he never read it."

Abū al-Hudhayl wrote a book known as *Milās*. This *Milās* was a Magian, who embraced Islām because of a meeting which he arranged between Abū al-Hudhayl and a group of dualists. When Abū al-Hudhayl silenced them, *Milās* immediately embraced Islām.³⁶ Abū al-Hudhayl had a son, whose name was al-Hudhayl. Although he was a theologian, no book of his exists.

A person coming up behind Abū al-Hudhayl stopped him and, seizing his throat, said, "Take off your clothes, so that I can see the proof you have of this [circumcision]." Then Abū al-Hudhayl retorted to him, "My proof is that you are saying 'Take off your clothes,' when to remove them while you are holding my throat is impossible. Let go your hand, so that I can take them off!" So he said, "Go in the care of Allāh, for if I postpone the proof for a day, you will take them off immediately." So he did not take off his clothes.³⁶

³⁵ Cf. this passage with Khallikān, II, 668.

³⁶ Because Abū al-Hudhayl was a heretic, who was not born as a Muslim, he was accused of not being circumcised. Accordingly, he was told to take off his clothes, so as to show whether or not he was circumcised. In the second-to-last sentence, the implication is that if Abū al-Hudhayl could have a day's notice, he would immediately become circumcised. The last line is not clear, and the whole passage is so confused that the translation is given freely. The translation assumes that the word given in Arabic as *hajj* ("pilgrimage") is meant for *hujjah* ("proof").

Abū al-Hudhayl came to Baghdād during the year two hundred and thirty [A.D. 844/45]. He lived to be over a hundred, but lost his sight. Among his books there were:

The Imamate, against Hishām;³⁷ against Abū *Shimr* in connection with al-irjā'; Obedience, Not for the Desire of Allāh (Ṭa'ah Lā Yurād Allāh biha);³⁸ against the Sophists; against the Magians; against the Jews; Birth, against al-Nazzām;³⁹ The Promise and the Threat (Al-Wa'd wa-al-Wa'id); The Killing of *Ghaylān*;⁴⁰ book to the Damascenes; The Sessions; The Proof (Al-Ḥujjah); Describing Allāh as Justice and the Rejection of Evil;⁴¹ Pretence (Proof) of the Heretics (al-Mulḥidīn); Naming of the Innovators (Ahl al-Iḥdāth); against *Dirār* [ibn 'Amr] who said that Allāh oppresses His creatures (inna Allāh yaghḍab min fi'lihi);⁴² against the Christians; Questions about Motions and Other Things; against 'Ammār the Christian, which was a refutation of the Christians; A Description of the Oppression and Good Will of Allāh, Exalted Is He;⁴³ Oppression and Good Will; What Is Created [the Qu'rān], against *Ḥafṣ* al-Fard; Refutation of *Muknif* al-Madanī; Ordinance, against Ibrāhīm [al-Nazzām]; Refutation of the Ghaylaniyah in Connection with al-Irjā'.

Against *Ḥafṣ* al-Fard in connection with fa'ala wa-yaf'al;⁴⁴ against al-Nazzām in connection with [God's] approval of the foreordination of injustice;⁴⁵ against al-Nazzām in connection with creation of a phenomenon, and the reply from him; Refutation of the Qadariyah and the Mujbirah; against *Dirār*, *Jahm*, Abū *Ḥanīfah*, and *Ḥafṣ*, in connection

³⁷ Probably *Hishām* ibn al-Ḥakam. See Glossary for "imamate."

³⁸ The heresy of those who are obedient without the intention of pleasing Allāh; see Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 129.

³⁹ Cf. Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 139-40.

⁴⁰ See *Ghaylān* ibn Marwān in the Biog. Index.

⁴¹ In Arabic this is *Ṣifat Allāh bi-al-'Adl wa-Naḥf al-Qabīl*. Perhaps *ṣifat* ("describing") should be translated as "attribute." For the terms in this title, see Mu'tazilah in Glossary and Galland, *Essai sur les Mo'tazélites*, p. 66.

⁴² See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 94.

⁴³ A word in the manuscript is not clear, but also unimportant. "Oppression" probably refers to the orthodox doctrine that God foreordains man to sin and then punishes him, while "Good Will" refers to the contrary doctrine of the Mu'tazilah.

⁴⁴ These forms of the verb had theological importance as the first required an object, whereas the second did not. See MacDonald, *Development of the Muslim Theology*, p. 137; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 131.

⁴⁵ See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 138 ff.

with the created [the Qur'ān];⁴⁶ against al-Nazzām, about man;⁴⁷ about totality (composition) of forms;⁴⁸ Al-Istiṭā'ah; Motions;⁴⁹ about the creation of a phenomenon from a phenomenon; Refutation of Ahl al-Adyān [ritualists]; Understanding, Also, the Movements of the People of Heaven;⁵⁰ answer of al-'Attābī [Kulthūm ibn 'Amr]; against whoever speaks of punishing infants;⁵¹ The Leaps,⁵² against Ibrāhīm [al-Nazzām]; against the dualists; Essential and Accidental Properties (Al-Jawāhir wa-al-A'rād); Water, Intercession, and Punishment in the Tomb (Al-Hawq⁵³ wa-al-Shafā'ah wa-'Adhāb al-Qabr); against the authorities for the Ḥadīth (aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth) in connection with metaphor; Relationship (Qualification) of the Essential Elements;⁵⁴ Hearing and Sight: Are They Active or Employed Phenomena?;⁵⁵ Man: What Is He?;⁵⁶ Indications of the Validity of the Apostle; The Duration of Man, His Color and Composition;⁵⁷ Sound: What Is It?⁵⁸

Among His Associates

There was Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad ibn Shaddād, known as *Zurqān*, among whose books there were:

The Delightful Book of Discourses; The Created [the Qur'ān].

⁴⁶ These men were almost certainly Ḍirār ibn 'Amr, *Jahm* ibn Safwān, Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān, and Ḥafṣ al-Fard.

⁴⁷ Cf. Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 139, bottom.

⁴⁸ See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 135.

⁴⁹ See Nādir, *Système philosophique*, p. 168.

⁵⁰ This may refer to the heresy which holds that the people of Heaven are active, drink, and intermarry, among other things; see Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 127.

⁵¹ This evidently refers to the foreordaining of infants to go to Hell.

⁵² See Glossary.

⁵³ Al-Hawq was the "watering trough of the Apostle," from which believers would be given a drink on the Day of Resurrection; see Lane, *Lexicon*, Part II, p. 670.

⁵⁴ Abū al-Hudhayl defined the body as containing six elements; see Nādir, *Système philosophique*, pp. 150, 151, 278.

⁵⁵ This is a free translation; the book evidently dealt with problems connected with the attributes of God.

⁵⁶ See Nādir, *Système philosophique*, pp. 268 ff.

⁵⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 164, for atomic composition and death of man; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 135, for the body and color of man.

⁵⁸ See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 144, for the heresy about hearing.

*Al-Aswārī*⁵⁹

He was Abū 'Alī 'Amr ibn Fāyid al-Aswārī, one of the important theologians among the people of al-Baṣrah. He was attached to Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī al-Hāshimī. Coming from Asāwarah he fell in with 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd, from whom he learned and with whom he had disputes. He died shortly after two hundred [A.D. 815/16].

'Amr ibn Fāyid [al-Aswārī] said to Abū al-Mundhir Sallām al-Qārī (the Qur'ānic Reader) in the presence of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān, "From whom is the truth?" Sallām answered, "From Allāh." Then he said, "Who is the revealer of the truth (*al-muḥiqq*)?" He answered, "Allāh." He said, "From whom is the false?" He replied, "From Allāh." He said, "Who is the teller of falsehoods (*al-mubṭil*)?" Whereupon Sallām was silent, cutting short [the conversation]. Among his books there were: ———.

Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir

Abū Saḥl Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir was born at al-Kūfah, or some say Baghdād. He was one of the great men and chiefs of the Mu'tazilah. The leadership was passed to him during his time. He quoted poetry and historical traditions and was also a poet, most of whose poetry was *muzdawij*.⁶⁰ He turned prose books about theology, law, and other subjects into poetry. We have already mentioned, in the proper place [in connection] with poetry and the poets, the things which he transcribed.

A group of scholars preferred him to Abān al-Lāhiqī. He wrote a poem nearly three hundred pages long about his arguments (evidences). No one was ever seen who was more capable than he was in [composing] *mukhammas*⁶¹ and *muzdawij*. He had skin trouble,⁶² and died during the year two hundred and ten [A.D. 825/26] when he had grown old.

⁵⁹ This man was very likely the father of the better known 'Alī al-Aswārī.

⁶⁰ A type of poetry composed of rhymed couplets.

⁶¹ A type of poetry in the form of five-line verse.

⁶² *Abraṣ* is the word translated as "skin trouble." It means "leprous," but other skin diseases were often confused with true leprosy.

Al-Jāhiz said:

Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir slandered Abū al-Hudhayl, whom he accused of hypocrisy. He said in describing Abū al-Hudhayl, "For him to be ignorant, when the people think that he is learned, pleases him more than being learned but considered by the public to be ignorant. Moreover, to belong to a low social class, but to be considered by the people to be a member of an upper class, is better liked by him than that he should belong to the upper class, but by the people be assigned to a lower class. He also prefers to be stupid but appear to be intelligent, rather than to be intelligent but appear to be stupid. Thus he prefers hypocrisy to sincerity, and falsehood which is accepted to truth which is repudiated."

Bishr wrote [the following] prose works, in addition to the books already mentioned as being transmuted into poetry:

Refutation of Anyone Who Reproached Theology; Refutation of the Khawārij; Unbelief and Faith; The Threat (*Al-Wa'id*), against the Mujbirah; against Kulthūm [ibn 'Amr al-'*Atābi*] and his associates; Interpretation of the Strange in the Qur'ān; against al-Nazzām; against *Dirār* in connection with the created [the Qur'ān]; Refutation of the Hypocrites; Refutation of the Ignorant; Refutation of Abū al-Hudhayl; The Imamate; Al-Istiṭā'ah, against *Hishām* ibn al-Hakam; Justice (*Al-'Adl*); against al-*Aṣamm*, about the created [the Qur'ān]; Al-Tawallud, against al-Nazzām; against upholders of predestination; against Mazīd⁶³ in connection with al-istiṭā'ah; about the middle position (al-manzilah bayn al-manzilatayn);⁶⁴ about children (al-aṭfāl), against the Mujbirah.

Al-Nazzām

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Sayyār ibn Hānī al-Nazzām was a freedman (protégé) of the Ziyādiyyūn.⁶⁵ He was born a slave,⁶⁶ the servitude having befallen one of his ancestors. He was a theologian, poet, and man of letters, with a passion⁶⁷ for Abū Nuwās, about whom he composed a number of short poems. Abū Nuwās had him in mind when he said,

⁶³ This name is mentioned by Jār Allāh, *Mu'tazilah*, p. 226, but cannot be definitely identified and is omitted in the Biog. Index.

⁶⁴ See Glossary.

⁶⁵ See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, p. 1754.

⁶⁶ Instead of "slave," the Arabic word may indicate that he was a member of the tribe of al-'Ubayd; see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 258.

⁶⁷ The Cairo Appendix has "upbraiding" instead of "with a passion for."

Tell anyone who with learning lays claim to philosophy,
That you have remembered some things, but other things have gone from
you.⁶⁸

In his poetry he adhered to the school of thought of philosophical dialectic, but at the same time he was eloquent in literary style, excellent in expression, and good in deliberate speaking. When describing 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī there was among his sayings:⁶⁹ "He, by Allāh, was sweeter than security after fear, recovery after illness, fertility after barrenness, and wealth after poverty; [sweeter] than the obedience of the beloved, the rejoicing of the distressed, and unceasing association with tender youth."⁷⁰

From his poetry there was:

He was so slender that if his garments were torn
The sky would hold him, because of his fineness.
Repeatedly looking at him will wound him
And if you ogle him with the eye he complains.⁷¹

It is said that when Abū al-Hudhayl was with him he [al-Nazzām] repeated these two couplets. Then he [Abū al-Hudhayl] said to him, "Oh, Abū Ishāq, such [poetry] could not have been offered without some nobleness of mind." From his poetry there was [also]:

I censure him, but with forgiving, turning my back on what my soul
feels;
I fear the persistent tattle of blame, feeling pain,
For ignorance smites the heart of a forbearing man.
I am humble with him, as though I were expressing to him repentance
for his [own] sin committed against me.

⁶⁸ The Cairo Appendix adds the following lines to the poem from the Beatty MS: "Do not ban a benefit, as though it were something prohibited, / For refusing is like repudiation in religion." This was because he was appealing to him to accept the doctrine of the threat (*al-wa'id*), which he refused."

⁶⁹ Here the Cairo Appendix adds, "apparently nothing was seen better than this."

⁷⁰ In the Beatty MS the word for tender is *al-nā'im*, but the Cairo Appendix has *al-dā'im* ("lasting," "eternal").

⁷¹ This poem is given in Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh*, Part VI, p. 98, and also in the Cairo Appendix.

Al-Nazzām died in the house of *Hammawayh*, [nicknamed] *Ṣāhib al-Tawāwīs* (Owner of the Peacocks). Among his books there were: Confirmation of the Apostles; Oneness of Allāh (Al-Tawḥīd); against the materialists (*aṣḥāb al-hayyūlā*); Refutation of the *Dahrīyah*; Refutation of Adherents of the Dualists; Refutation of the Types of the Heretics (al-Mulḥidūn); Rectifying and Making Legal; Knowledge (Al-Ma'rifah); Foreordaining (Al-Taqdīr); Predestination; about the self-contradictory (the impossible, al-muḥal); The Created [the Qur'ān], against the *Mujbirah*; about justice (al-'adl); Substitution (Al-Badal);⁷² Compliance (Al-Mustaṭī); Al-Tawallud; The Threat (Al-Wa'id); Replies; Unravelling (Breaking an Agreement, Al-Nakth).

The Atom; Al-Ma'ānī, against *Mu'ammār* [al-Sulamī]; The Leap;⁷³ Al-Makāmanah;⁷⁴ Al-Mudākhalah [one who becomes a proselyte to a heresy]; about The Great World; The Small World; Event (Al-Ḥadath); Man;⁷⁵ Logic (Al-Manṭiq); Motions; Essential and Accidental Properties (Al-Jawāhir wa-al-A'rāḍ); Bridegroom (Sulphur, Al-'Arūs) (or Thrones [Al-'Arūsh]); Riches (Possessions, Al-Arzāq); The Movements of the People of Heaven;⁷⁶ Creation of the Phenomenon; The Attributes;⁷⁷ about the Qur'ān, what is it?;⁷⁸ Al-Afā'il [actions within the limits of space and time]; Refutation of the *Murjī'ah*.

Al-Dimashqī Qāsim ibn al-Khalīl⁷⁹

He was in the group (class) of *Ja'far* ibn Mubashshir. Among his books there were:

The Imamate of Abū *Bakr*; Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); Commentary of the Qur'ān; The Threat (Al-Wa'id); Justice (Al-'Adl), about the categories of the *Mu'tazilah*; The Created [the Qur'ān].

'*Isā* ibn Ṣābiḥ al-Murdār

He was Abū Mūsā 'Isā ibn Ṣābiḥ al-Murdār, one of the early chiefs of the *Mu'tazilah*, who was a pupil of *Bishr* ibn al-Mu'tamir, the man who introduced the *Mu'tazilī* schism [*al-i'tizāl*] at Baghdād

⁷² If a diacritical mark is added, the word might be *al-bazl* ("clarification").

⁷³ See Glossary.

⁷⁴ This Arabic word probably means "places of safe keeping," or "places of hiding," but it may have some religious significance in this title.

⁷⁵ See Nādir, *Système philosophique*, pp. 268 ff.

⁷⁶ See n. 50.

⁷⁷ The *Mu'tazilah* denied the attributes of Allāh (see "attributes," Glossary).

⁷⁸ The *Mu'tazilah* claimed that the Qur'ān was created.

⁷⁹ Some authorities spell this name al-Dimishqī.

and because of whom it was spread and made known.⁸⁰ Al-Šilḥī⁸¹ said that 'Īsā died during the year two hundred and twenty-six [A.D. 840/41].

Al-Khayyāt remembered him, saying, "When he met one of his friends he told him, 'We did not show sincere friendship when we met, but when we agreed.'" When Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī⁸² addressed al-Ma'mūn, he referred to 'Īsā ibn Šabīḥ [in the following verse]:

Oh, king, whose God is oneness,
Your judge Bishr ibn al-Walid is a jackass;
He rejects the testimony of him who believes
What the Book has proclaimed and the Ḥadīth handed down.
He considers to be correct the man who says that his deity
Is a ghost, his body surrounded by the regions [of the world],
According to al-Marīsī, who believed in his lord,
Even though his [doctrine of] oneness was that of the Ajbār [Mujbirah].⁸³

He was one of those who were fond of Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir. Among his books there were:

Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); Refutation of the Mujbirah; Justice (Al-'Adl); Questions and Answers; Kindness (Al-Luṭf); Refutation of the Christians; against Abū Qurrah, the Christian; Refutation of the Heretics (al-Mulḥidūn); Considering What Is Lawful and Permitted (Al-Ta'dīl

⁸⁰ Bishr founded the Mu'tazilī movement at Baghdād, A.D. 825/26. See "al-Mu'tazila," *Enc. Islam*, III, 790.

⁸¹ As this name cannot be identified, it is not included in the Biog. Index. It may refer to al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl, who had a residence at al-Šilḥ near Fam al-Šilḥ. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 413.

⁸² As Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī died A.D. 817/18 and Bishr ibn al-Walid was appointed as judge A.D. 824/25, this is probably meant for the son, Muḥammad al-Yazīdī, who was an intimate associate of al-Ma'mūn.

⁸³ This poem is given in Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, p. 1067. Page 1126 also throws light on it. Ṭabarī evidently makes bad mistakes, but, as he omits the two last lines, they may not belong to the poem. Al-Yazīdī was probably making fun of 'Īsā ibn Šabīḥ, because 'Īsā was unable to persuade the friendly scholar Bishr ibn al-Walid to accept his heretical ideas and those of Bishr ibn Ghiyāth al-Marīsī. Al-Marīsī was influenced by the Murji'ī doctrine that Allāh does not wish believers to condemn sinners, but rather to leave their punishment for the Day of Judgment. The reference to the Book evidently is connected with the Mu'tazilī claim that passages from the Qur'ān itself prove that it was created. See Steiner, *Mu'taziliten*, p. 30; Galland, *Essai sur les Mo'tazélites*, p. 67; Nādir, *Système philosophique*, p. 99. Mention of the ghost probably refers to the heresy which held that although Allāh could be seen in Heaven, He would be without form; see Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 172.

wa-al-Tajwiz); against the Aḥbar⁸⁴ and Magians, in connection with justice and legalizing ('Alā al-Aḥbār wa-al-Majūs fi al-'adl wa-al-tajwiz); Refutation of the Jahmiyah; The Sources of Religion; The Created [the Qur'ān], against al-Najjār; Justice (Al-'Adl), against the Mujbirah; Dialectic Theology (Al-Kalām) of the Learned and the Ignorant; Instruction (Al-Ta'lim); Substitution (Al-Badal), against al-Najjār;⁸⁵ Knowledge (Al-Ma'rifah), against *Thumāmah*.

Knowledge, against al-Shahhām; Creation of the Qur'ān (Khalq al-Qur'ān); Power over Injustice (Al-Qudrah 'alā al-Zulm), against al-Nazẓām;⁸⁶ What Took Place between Him and the People of al-Baṣrah; The Arts of Dialectic Theology (Funūn al-Kalām); against those who uphold legal interpretation by personal opinion ('Alā Aṣḥāb Ijtihād al-Ra'ī); Justice (Al-Adl); concerning what the Mujbirah are to be questioned about; Melodious Singing, a reply to the "Book of Repentance";⁸⁷ Counsel (Al-Naṣiḥah); He Who Speaks of the Punishment of Infants;⁸⁸ Piety (Al-Diyānah); Repentance (Al-Tawbah); The Right (Middle) Way (Al-Iqtisād); Traditions of the Qur'ān (Akhbār al-Qur'ān).⁸⁹

Mu'ammār al-Sulamī

He was Abū al-Mu'tamir, the chief of those who upheld *al-ma'ānī*.⁹⁰ It is also said that he was [called] Abū 'Amr Mu'ammār ibn 'Abbād al-Sulamī [descended] from the Banū al-Sulaym.⁹¹ He was one of the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah, but he went to Baghdād, where he had disputes with al-Nazẓām about matters connected with the doctrine (sect). Mu'ammār satirized *Bishr* ibn al-Mu'tamir, the only poetry which he composed being as follows:

A blond-skinned man, his face overflowing with whiteness,
Considers slander a religion, his heart being diseased.

⁸⁴ These were Hebrew scribes, but the word is perhaps meant to be *al-ajbār*, another form for the Mujbirah.

⁸⁵ Cf. the heresy mentioned in Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 10, n. 2.

⁸⁶ See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 138, middle.

⁸⁷ This word is not clearly written in the manuscript, but looks like *al-nagham* ("melodious singing"). It very likely is intended for *al-bagham* ("obscure speech"). *Book of Repentance* ("Kitāb al-Tawbah") is the title of one of the author's own books and also a title used by other scholars.

⁸⁸ See n. 51.

⁸⁹ There is another title, but the text is not clear enough to be deciphered.

⁹⁰ For *al-ma'ānī*, see Frank, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXVII, No. 3 (July-September 1967), 248-59.

⁹¹ See "Sulaim," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 518.

He died during the year two hundred and fifteen [A.D. 830/31]. Among his books there were:

Al-Ma'ānī; Al-Istiṭā'ah; Falsifying of Weights, and Deceit ('Allat al-Faraṣṭūn wa-al-Murā'ah); The Atom Which Is Not Divided and the Proposition of Accidental and Essential Properties (Al-Qawl bi-al-A'rāḍ wa-al-Jawāhir).

Thumāmah ibn Ashras

He was Abū Bishr Thumāmah ibn Ashras al-Numayrī, whose relationship was with the Banū Numayr.⁹² He was one of the important men among the theologians of the Mu'tazilah and also a writer with an eloquent literary style. He attained an excellent position with al-Ma'mūn, who wished to make him a vizier, but he begged off. In connection with this there was a famous statement presented in an address to al-Ma'mūn, who released him. It was also he who advised him [al-Ma'mūn] to appoint Aḥmad ibn Abī Khālid instead of himself.

Before the time of al-Ma'mūn he was with [Hārūn] al-Rashīd, who being displeased with him because of the Barmak family,⁹³ placed him in the custody of one of his employees. When he was in custody, he wrote to al-Rashīd from his place of confinement:

I am a slave who confesses, a protégé who has sought
The grace of him about whom nomads and townsmen speak.
You can bestow upon him grace, repeating the grace
Of the past and the present, which will be known among the people.
Although absent, my obedience continues and my loyalty
Has not been marred for an hour by falsehood or shame.
If you pardon, it is a thing which I expect,
And if you give me aid, your Lord [Allāh] will aid you.

Among his books there were:

The Proof; The Particular, the Universal, and the Threat (Al-Wa'id);⁹⁴ Knowledge, Which Is Learning; against all who speak of the created

⁹² See Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 178, 184, for the Banū Numayr.

⁹³ Evidently Thumāmah was a protégé of the members of the Barmak family, so that he suffered with them when al-Rashīd persecuted the Barmak family. See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 294-96.

⁹⁴ This evidently deals with the different kinds of sins. For the threat, see Glossary.

[the Qur'ān]; Refutation of the Mushabbihah; The Created [the Qur'ān], against the Mujbirah; Ease (Favors) of the People of Heaven; The Laws (Al-Sunan).

Ja'far ibn Mubashshir

He was Abū Muḥammad Ja'far ibn Mubashshir al-Thaqafī, one of the Mu'tazilah of Baghdād, a jurist, theologian, and authority for the Ḥadīth. He had a place as a speaker with eloquence and leadership among his associates. He was also pious, ascetic, and virtuous. He had a brother named *Hubaysh* who, although acquainted with theology, did not equal Ja'far or come up to him. Ja'far died during the year two hundred and thirty-four [A.D. 848/49]. Among his books there were:

Drinks; Laws and Judgments (Al-Sunan wa-al-Aḥkām); Legal Interpretation; Narrative and What Is Told; Learning (Al-Ma'ārif), against al-Jāhiz; *Tanzih al-Anbiyā'*;⁹⁵ The Proof, against the innovators (al-iḥdāth); The Abrogating and the Abrogated; Ritual Purification (Al-Ṭahārah); the large book, *Traces* (Al-Āthār); The Meaning of Historical Traditions (Ma'ānī al-Akhbār) and Their Disclosure; The Court (Al-Dār); against the people of favor ('alā aṣḥāb al-luṭf);⁹⁶ The Command for Good and Avoidance of Evil (Al-Amr bi-al-Ma'rūf wa-al-Nahy 'an al-Munkar); Questions and Answers; The Land Tax (Al-Kharāj); Refutation of the Book of Ibn *Shabīb*, about al-irjā'; What Is Certain, against *Burghūth* about the created [the Qur'ān]; Consensus of Opinion (Al-Ijmā'), What Is It?; Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd), according to the classifications of the Mushabbihah, the Jahmiyah, and the Rāfiḍah; against those who uphold analogy and personal opinion ('alā aṣḥāb al-qiyās wa-al-ra'y).⁹⁷

*Al-Jāhiz Abū 'Uthmān*⁹⁸

He was Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr ibn Baḥr ibn Maḥbūb, a protégé of Abū al-Qallamas 'Amr ibn Qal' al-Kinānī, then al-Fuqaymī, whose

⁹⁵ This means literally "Purifying of the Prophets," but it more likely should be translated, "The Prophets' Declaration of the Purity of Allāh." See Ash'arī, *Al-Ibānah 'an Uṣūl al-Diyānah*, pp. 36, 87 n.

⁹⁶ This is probably an attack on persons who depend upon the grace of Allāh rather than their own free will to choose what is right.

⁹⁷ See Glossary for the terms in this paragraph.

⁹⁸ This account should be compared with those in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 56, and Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh*, Part XII, p. 213. See also Pellat, *Le Milieu baṣrien*, p. 51.

ancestor was one of the Nasāh (Nasā'ah). The grandparent of al-Jāhīz was a Negro called *Fazārah*, who was a porter of 'Amr ibn Qal'.⁹⁹

Abū 'Ubayd Allāh told us that Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad related that Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad ibn Yazīd [al-Mubarrad] the grammarian¹⁰⁰ said:

I never saw anyone more avaricious for learning than these three: al-Jāhīz, al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān, and Ismā'il ibn Ishāq al-Qāḍī (the Judge). Whatever book came into the hands of al-Jāhīz, he read it from start to finish, while al-Faṭḥ carried a book in his slipper and if he left the presence of al-Mutawakkil [the caliph] to urinate or pray, he took up [the book] as he walked, looking it over until he reached his destination. Then he did the same thing again while returning, until he regained his seat. As for Ismā'il ibn Ishāq, whenever I went in to him there was in his hand a book which he was reading, or else he was turning over some books so as to choose one of them to read.¹⁰¹

Abū 'Ubayd Allāh [also] said, "Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā said to me, 'I heard Abū Mūsā al-Hāshimī relate that al-Jāhīz said, "I am about the age of Abū Nuwās and older than al-Jammāz."'" Al-Jāhīz was

⁹⁹ The name Qal' is also written Qila'. In the Beatty MS there is probably an error, as it is given as Qaṭ'. The significance of the name "al-Fuqaymī" is not clear. Probably 'Amr ibn Qal' was given this name as well as "al-Kinānī" because of some connection with the Fuqaym Tribe. Al-Anbārī quotes a tradition that 'Amr ibn Qal' was called al-Kinānī al-Fuqaymī. For the tribes of Kinānah and Fuqaym, see "Kināna," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1017, and Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 150.

The ancestor of 'Amr ibn Qal' was called Abū al-Qallamas; see Ma'sūdī, III, 116. He was the first of the Nasāh (Nasā'ah), who were members of the tribe of Kinānah engaged in supervising observance of the sacred months. During these months raiding ceased, making it safe to conduct trade and go on the pilgrimage. For the Nasāh, see Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, p. 12, l. 1, or Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 13 l. 19.

Fazārah was evidently the grandfather of al-Jāhīz. Either his name was Maḥbūb and his nickname was Fazārah, or else he was the maternal grandfather and Maḥbūb was the paternal grandfather. It is also possible that the names have been given erroneously, confused with those of other ancestors. Fazārah may have been a porter (*ḥammāl*) or a camel herder (*jammāl*); the texts differ.

¹⁰⁰ Abū 'Ubayd Allāh was evidently a friend of the author of *Al-Fihrist*. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad may have been a son of al-Mubarrad.

¹⁰¹ See Chap. III, sect. 2, near n. 12, where the same anecdote is told.

substituted for *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-‘Abbās al-Ṣūlī in the secretariat for a time.¹⁰²

Al-Ṣūlī¹⁰³ said:

Aḥmad ibn Yazīd al-Muḥallabī passed on to me from his father, [who said] that “[The Caliph] al-Mu‘tazz said, ‘Oh, Yazīd, news of the death of al-Jāḥiẓ has come!’ Then I [Yazīd] said to the Commander of the Faithful, ‘The long-lasting of existence and the duration of glory!’”¹⁰⁴ He [Yazīd] said that this was during the year two hundred and fifty-five [A.D. 869]. [Yazīd continued,] “Al-Mu‘tazz [once] said, ‘I desired to bring him to me and to have him remain with me,’ but I replied to him that even before dying he was crippled by paralysis.”

Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn Abī Ja‘far, said to me, “One day al-Jāḥiẓ said to a physician, while complaining to him about his illness, ‘I have experienced contrary reactions in my body, for when I ate something cold it affected my foot, whereas if I ate something hot it affected my head.’”

Abū ‘Ubayd Allāh said to me that *Muḥammad* ibn al-‘Abbās the grammarian related:

I heard al-Jāḥiẓ say, “I am paralyzed on my left side, so that even if I pinch with scissors I do not feel it, whereas on my right side there is a swelling of the joints [neuritis], so that even if flies pass over it I feel the pain. I also have stones because of which my urine does not flow, but the most oppressive thing for me is ninety-six years [of age].”¹⁰⁵

Al-Jāḥiẓ said:

When al-Ma‘mūn read my books about the imamate, he found them to be in accordance with what I had been ordered to undertake. When I went to him, after he had instructed al-Yazīdī¹⁰⁶ to inspect them and to tell him about them, al-Ma‘mūn said to me, “A man whose intelligence we respect and who gives information accurately has submitted a report

¹⁰² Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 58, says that al-Jāḥiẓ worked in the government secretariat of al-Ma‘mūn for three days and then left. Abū Mūsā al-Hāshimī cannot be identified. Cf. *Aḥmad* ibn Ibrāhīm al-Hāshimī.

¹⁰³ Probably Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ṣūlī. These anecdotes are translated freely.

¹⁰⁴ In Arabic without case endings: *tūl al-baqā’ wa-dawām al-‘izz*.

¹⁰⁵ Khallikān, II, 408, gives this interpretation, but the words might also be understood with a somewhat modified meaning.

¹⁰⁶ See the Yazīdī family in the Biog. Index. It is impossible to be sure which member of the family is indicated here.

to us about these books, with precise details about the workmanship and abundance of useful material. He said to us,¹⁰⁷ 'The evaluation [of the books] might have been more favorable than what [actually] appears, but when I looked into them, I saw that what I found was even better than the evaluation. Then when I examined them carefully, the investigation disclosed even more than what had appeared [at first reading], just as what [actually] appeared amounted to more than the [preliminary] evaluation. For these books, moreover, there is no need for the author or for anyone else to be present in order to explain them, for the author has combined a study of the significant implications with a study of all of the rights [of the caliphate, expressed] in eloquent phrasology, with the easy manners of speech of the market place, of the kings, the populace, and special classes.'"¹⁰⁸

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: I suppose al-Jāḥiẓ elaborated this statement, glorifying himself and honoring his composition, for how could al-Ma'mūn have spoken these words, praising the composition and commending the authorship?

He [al-Ma'mūn] wrote to the king of the Burghar¹⁰⁹ a letter over one hundred pages in length, but although he did not seek anyone's aid or quote any verse from the Book of Allāh, may His name be exalted, or any word from any wise man preceding him, al-Jāḥiẓ cajoled his tongue into saying, "This letter we have regarded as being taken in a favorable way from a discourse of al-Jāḥiẓ." In his [al-Jāḥiẓ's] epistle to Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik he said:¹¹⁰ Benefit involves love, harm involves hatred, opposition involves enmity,

¹⁰⁷ The Arabic form is abbreviated, while the sentences which follow are given in such a colloquial way that it is difficult to be sure of the original meaning. "Evaluation" is *ṣifāh*, "more favorable" is *arḥā*, "appears" is *'yān*. The translation is given freely, so as to make sense, but it may not be entirely accurate, as the structure is somewhat confused.

¹⁰⁸ The books about the caliphate undoubtedly tried to prove that it was the 'Abbasid caliphs who had the divine right to rule the Islāmic theocracy. Al-Jāḥiẓ put these words into the caliph's mouth to show that his arguments were not only sound, but were not exaggerated, and were told in a clear way, showing a wide knowledge of language.

¹⁰⁹ Almost certainly al-Ma'mūn wrote this statement, which al-Jāḥiẓ, according to a satirical anecdote, claimed was taken from one of his own compositions. For the Burghar, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 568.

¹¹⁰ This was probably an epistle from al-Jāḥiẓ to one of his patrons, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt.

incompatibility involves vexation, whereas agreement involves friendship, trustworthiness involves peace of mind, perfidy involves controversy about honor, justice involves a joining of hearts, oppression involves dissension, being good natured involves comradeship, withdrawal involves incivility, haughtiness involves hate, humility involves love, liberality involves praise, miserliness involves contempt, lassitude and being easy going involves impatience, good management involves delight, reprimanding involves repentance, caution involves preparations, efficiency of administration involves prosperity, disdain involves coolness, strife forms the preliminaries of evil and is the cause of destruction.

Moreover, for each one of these qualities there may be excess or deficiency. The results are realized when the limits are overstepped. Thus excess of liberality involves waste, excess of humility involves contempt, excesses of self-importance involve hate, excesses of faithlessness involve lack of trust in a person to whom there is access, excess of familiarity involves blending with what is wrong, whereas excess of withdrawal renders a man of good counsel uncivil.

In a passage of one of his books, he [al-Jāhiz] said:

When I was writing these two books, [one] about [the doctrine of] the creation of the Qur'ān, which was the tenet given importance and honor by the Commander of the Faithful,¹¹¹ and [a second] about superiority in connection with the Banū Hāshim, the 'Abd Shams, and Makhzūm¹¹² what was my due but to sit above the Simakān, Spica and Arcturus, or on top of the 'Ayyūq,¹¹³ or to deal with red sulphur, or to conduct the 'Anqā by her leading string to the Greatest King.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ This probably refers to the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, who made a special point of the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'ān. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 429, and "created" in the Glossary. As al-Jāhiz wrote numerous books about the caliphs, it is impossible to know which two books are referred to here.

¹¹² This book evidently praised the lineage of the 'Abbāsids, showing that their ancestors, the Banū Hāshim, were preferable to the ancestors of the Umayyads, that is, the 'Abd Shams, and to the great rival family of Makhzūm.

¹¹³ The Simakān were two stars: al-Simāk al-A'zal or Spica, and al-Simāk al-Rāmiḥ or Arcturus. The 'Ayyūq was either Aldebaran in the constellation of Taurus, or else Capella. See Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1040, and Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2199.

¹¹⁴ The 'Anqā was a fabled bird, also called Sīnūrch, that reigned as queen on Mount Qāf. The Ṣūfis sometimes used the bird as an allegorical symbol of divine truth, so that the "Greatest King" probably refers to God. See Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1032, and Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, II, 33 n., 512-14.

Al-Jāhīz died during the year two hundred and fifty [A.D. 869], during the caliphate of al-Mu'tazz. Among his books there were: The Animal (*Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*).¹¹⁵ It is well known that it has seven sections and that there is appended to it another book entitled The Women (*Kitāb al-Nisā*), about the differences between male and female. There is another book, The Mules (*Kitāb al-Bighāl*).¹¹⁶ I saw these two books written in the handwriting of Zakariyā' ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sulaymān, surnamed Abū Yaḥyā, who was the *warrāq* of al-Jāhīz. Added to these there was The Camel (*Kitāb al-Iḥil*), which was not in the style of al-Jāhīz and did not resemble it.

He composed this book [*Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*] in honor of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt.¹¹⁷ Maymūn ibn Hārūn related:

I said to al-Jāhīz, "Do you have an estate at al-Baṣrah?" He smiled and said, "Verily, there is myself, a concubine, the handmaid who serves her, a manservant, and a donkey. I presented *The Book of the Animal* (*Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*) to Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik [al-Zayyāt], who gave me five thousand gold coins (s., *ḍīnār*); I presented *The Book of Eloquence and Exposition* (*Kitāb al-Bayān wa-al-Tabyīn*) to Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, who gave me five thousand gold coins; and I presented *The Book of Sowing and the Palm Tree* (*Kitāb al-Zar' wa-al-Nakhl*) to Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abbās al-Šūlī, who gave me five thousand gold coins.¹¹⁸ Then I went to al-Baṣrah and had an estate which did not require renovation or fertilizing."

Order of the Sections of the Book¹¹⁹

The first:

Its beginning: "Allāh has kept you clear of doubt, guarded you from perplexity, and established a relationship between you and learning."

¹¹⁵ See the Bibliography for a modern edition of this famous book.

¹¹⁶ This title is evidently given incorrectly by Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 75. For a modern edition of this book, with the title *Al-Qawl fī al-Bighāl* ("The Saying about the Mules"), see the Bibliography.

¹¹⁷ *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* is assumed to be the book meant because of its mention in the statement which follows.

¹¹⁸ Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 76, gives *Kitāb al-Zar' wa-al-Nakhl* ("The Book of Sowing and the Bees"), but the Beatty MS gives the title as translated.

¹¹⁹ This is a list of the first and last words of the different sections of *The Book of the Animal* ("Kitāb al-Ḥayawān"). These quotations should be compared with the lines in the modern edition of this book; see Bibliography.

Its ending: "To men of the Khawārij, [when] one strikes an open wound, healing it is like [mending] the border of striped cloth."¹²⁰

The second:

Its beginning: "Abū al-Yaḡẓān said about comparison of this derivation."¹²¹

Its ending: "And by Allāh I do not know where I put it," about the cutting (*ḥazz*) of *Sahl* ibn Hārūn.¹²²

The third:

Its beginning: "We begin it, and with Allāh there is success, by mentioning the dove and what Allāh has bestowed upon it."

Its ending: "In that there is praiseworthy work, benefit with great usefulness and with manifest good effects."¹²³

The fourth:

Its beginning: "The discussion about the ant and the grub."¹²⁴

Its ending: "Kurdūs al-Murādī said."¹²⁵

The fifth:

Its beginning: "We begin in the name of Allāh by completing the statement about the fires of the Arabs and Persians."

Its ending: "As though when we came to it we encamped at the side of the garden spot, its freshness quenching thirst."¹²⁶

The sixth:

Its beginning: "We have spoken about scripts, their benefits and their advantages in general."¹²⁷

¹²⁰ Jāhīz, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, I, 3, main text.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 10. This passage has to do with an analysis of the word for "dog" (*kalb*), giving examples.

¹²² *Ibid.*, II, 375. This refers to an amusing anecdote about *Sahl* ibn Hārūn, telling about the cutting off of a rooster's head and its disappearance.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, III, 5 nn., p. 59. The ending refers to the meat of bats.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 5. The word translated "grub" (*al-dharrah*) may also be the egg of the ant.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 492. The proper name cannot be identified.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 5, 604.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, 5. For the statement about scripts referred to here, *ibid.*, I, 62.

Its ending: "Abū al-Muthannā prospered in al-ʿIrāq and taught his people to eat *al-khabīṣ*."¹²⁸

The seventh:

Its beginning: "Knowing the animals. Oh, our God, verily we seek Thy protection from Satan."¹²⁹

Its ending: "Clad with encirclement of iron as though."¹³⁰

[Additional Books by al-Jāḥiẓ]

Explanation and Exposition (Kitāb al-Bayān wa-al-Tabyīn)¹³¹—there are two manuscripts for this book, the first and the second, the second being the more accurate and excellent;¹³² Sowing and the Palm Tree (al-Zarʿ wa-al-Nakhl);¹³³ The Difference between a Prophet and One Claiming to Be a Prophet (Al-Farq bayn al-Nabī wa-al-Mutanabbī); Knowledge (Al-Maʿrifah); The Replies of the Book of Knowledge;¹³⁴ Questions of the Book of Knowledge; Refutation of Those Who [Claim to] Have Divine Inspiration; Order of the Qurʾān, three copies (Naẓm al-Qurʾān, thalāthat nusakh); Questions in the Qurʾān;¹³⁵ Excellence of the Muʿtazilah; Refutation of the Mushabbihah; The Imamate, according to the Doctrine of the Shīʿah. Statement about the Declaration of the Branches of the Zaydiyyah (Ḥikāyat Qawl Aṣnaf al-Zaydiyyah); The ʿUthmāniyah;¹³⁶ Historical Traditions and How They Are Valid; Refutation of the Christians; The Heavy-Spoken Man of al-Mirbad;

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, 510. The translation follows this passage cited, as the Beatty MS has the preposition *ʿalā* instead of *ʿallam* ("taught"). *Al-khabīṣ* is a dish of dates with butter.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, 5. In al-Jāḥiẓ's own text, the first phrase is "Knowing the species of animals."

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, 263. This line comes at the end of a poem and is metaphorical, following a simile about a mountain.

¹³¹ For this translation of the title, see Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 347 top. The titles in the following list should be compared with the ones given in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 76, 77.

¹³² The following incomplete statement is found at this point; it is not translated in the text: "The beginning of the first section of the second."

¹³³ See n. 118.

¹³⁴ In the Beatty MS the word *jawabāt* ("replies") followed by several letters has been inserted under the word for book. Flügel gives the singular, "reply."

¹³⁵ The passage of Yāqūt (see n. 131) omits *fī* ("in").

¹³⁶ This refers to the adherents of ʿUthmān, the third caliph.

Refutation of the 'Uthmāniyah;¹³⁷ The Caliphate of Mu'āwiyah; The Caliphate of the 'Abbāsids (Imāmat Banī al-'Abbās).

The Two Youths (Al-Fityān);¹³⁸ The Leaders (Military Chiefs, Al-Quwwād); The Robbers (Al-Luṣūṣ); Mention of What There Is [Shared] between the Zaydiyyah and the Rāfiḍah; Discourse about Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); The Art (Formation) of Speech;¹³⁹ Praising of 'Alī, about giving authority to the judges (Taṣwīb 'Alī fī taḥkīm al-ḥakāmīn);¹⁴⁰ Things Necessary for the Caliphate (Wujūb al-Imāmah); Idols (Al-Aṣnām); Deputies and Guardians (Al-Wukalā' wa-al-Muwakkalīn);¹⁴¹ The Drinker and What Is Drunk (Al-Shārib wa-al-Mashrūb); The Glory of Winter and Summer (Ifṭikhār al-Shitā' wa-al-Ṣayf); The Teachers (Al-Mu'allimīn);¹⁴² Slave Girls (Al-Jawāri) (or Associates [Al-Ḥawāri]); Rare Forms of Goodness (Nawādir al-Ḥusn) (or Rare Anecdotes about al-Ḥasan [Nawādir al-Ḥasan]); The Misers (Al-Bukhalā');¹⁴³ The Difference between the Banū 'Abd Shams and Makhzūm;¹⁴⁴ The Lame and the Lepers (Al-'Urjān wa-al-Burṣān);¹⁴⁵ Nobility of the Members of Qaḥṭān and 'Adnān;¹⁴⁶ Making a Quadrangle and a Circle (Al-Tarbi' wa-al-Tadwīr).¹⁴⁷

¹³⁷ Yāqūt (see n. 131) gives *'Iṣām al-Murīd*, which might refer to a man called 'Iṣām the Seeker (after knowledge). The translation is taken from the Beatty MS, which seems to indicate either *'Abām al-Mirbad* or, if a consonant point is placed over the first letter of the Arabic, *Ghannām al-Mirbad*. *'Abām* is a person with heavy speech, probably a nomad. *Ghannām* is "sheep owner." Al-Mirbad was the market place of al-Baṣrah, where al-Jāḥiẓ used to talk with the nomads who came to sell their animals, so as to learn the tribal vernaculars. See Pellat, *Le Milieu basrien*, p. 63.

¹³⁸ This very likely refers to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, the two grandsons of the Prophet, although it might signify "day" and "night."

¹³⁹ The Arabic is *Ṣinā'at al-Kalām*, from the Beatty MS. Yāqūt (see n. 131) gives *Ṣiyāghat al-Kalām*, which would imply *Goldsmithing Speech* and must be wrong.

¹⁴⁰ The last word may be *al-ḥakamayn*. This may refer to the appointment of arbitrators to settle the famous dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah.

¹⁴¹ The final word may be *muwakkilīn* ("those who appoint deputies") instead of *muwakkalīn*.

¹⁴² This may be instead *The Instructed* ("Al-Mu'allamīn").

¹⁴³ For a modern French translation, see Jāḥiẓ, *Le Livre des avares*.

¹⁴⁴ 'Abd Shams was the ancestor of the Umayyads, while Makhzūm was a noble family of Makkah. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 189; "Makhzūm," *Enc. Islam*, III, 171. Yāqūt (see n. 131) has *al-fakhr* ("glory"), whereas the Beatty MS has *al-farq* ("difference").

¹⁴⁵ The translation follows the Yāqūt passage (see n. 131). Instead of *al-'urjān* ("lame"), the Beatty MS has a word which seems to be an error in copying.

¹⁴⁶ These were the two original divisions of the Arabian tribes; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 32.

¹⁴⁷ Reference to a modern edition of this book will be found in the Bibliography. To understand the significance of this book, see Pellat, *Le Milieu basrien*, p. 51 ff.

Humble Companions (Al-Ṭufayliyīn); Dispositions of the Kings (Akhilāq al-Mulūk); The Judicial Interpretation (Al-Futūyā); Excellence of the Troops of the Caliphate and Superior Qualities of the Turks (Manāqib Jund al-Khilāfah wa-Faḍā'il al-Atrāk);¹⁴⁸ The Envious and the Envyed (Al-Iḥāsīd wa-al-Maḥsūd); Refutation of the Jews; The Pure [-Blooded] and the Sons of Slave Mothers (Al-Ṣurahā' wa-al-Hujanā'); The Blacks and the Whites (Al-Sūdān wa-al-Bīdān); Life in the Next World and the Present Life (Al-Ma'ād wa-al-Ma'āsh); Women (Al-Nisā'); Comparison between the Arabs and Persians (Foreigners) (Al-Taswīyah bayn al-'Arab wa-al-'Ajam); The Government (Al-Sulṭān) and the Dispositions of Its People (Administrators); The Threat (Al-Wa'id); The Towns (Regions); Historical Traditions (Al-Akhbār); The Demonstration that the Imanīah is a Divine Command (Al-Dalālah 'alā an al-Imāmah Farḍ); Al-Istiṭā'ah wa-Khalq al-Af'al;¹⁴⁹ The Artisans (Saddle Makers), Wealth and Craftwork (Al-Muqayyinīn wa-al-Ghanā' wa-al-Ṣan'ah); Gifts (Al-Hadāyā); The Emaciated (The Plagiarized, Al-Manḥūl); The Brothers (Al-Ikhwān); Refutation of Whoever Has Apostatized, about the Book of Allāh (Al-Radd 'alā man Alḥad fī Kitāb Allāh); What Is the Qur'ān? (Āy al-Qur'ān); The Amorous: Growing Hot, Growing Cold¹⁵⁰ (Al-'Ashiq al-Nāshī al-Mutalāshī).

A Perfume Shop (Ḥanūt 'Atṭār); The Comparison (Al-Tamthīl); The Excellence of Learning (Faḍl al-'Ilm); Gaity and Earnestness (Al-Mirālī wa-al-Jadd);¹⁵¹ The Assembly of Kings (Jamharat al-Mulūk); Polo Sticks (Al-Ṣawālījāl);¹⁵² Denouncing Fornication (Dhamm al-Zinā); Meditation and Consideration (Al-Tafakkūr wa-al-'Itihār); Proof and Prophecy (Al-Ḥujjah wa-al-Nubūwah); to Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mudabbir about correspondence (al-inṣikātabah);¹⁵³ The Trickery of Force [Employed] against Oppression (Iḥālat al-Qudrah 'alā al-Zulm); Freed Slave Mothers of Children (Ummahāt al-Awlad); The Doctrine of the Mu'tazilah and Its Excellence Due to Superior Virtue (Al-'Iṭzāl

¹⁴⁸ For the Turkish bodyguard of the caliphs, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 466.

¹⁴⁹ *Al-istiṭā'ah* is man's ability to appropriate a foreordained action; see Glossary for references. *Khalq al-af'al* is the divine "creation of actions," before man appropriates them.

¹⁵⁰ Yāqūt (see n. 131) omits *al-'ashiq* ("the amorous"). The other words mean literally, "increasing and vanishing."

¹⁵¹ Yāqūt (see n. 131) has *al-muzāh wa-al-jadd*, which might be translated as "humorous and serious speech."

¹⁵² Sticks with bent ends used for a game of ball on horseback, which was probably the origin of polo.

¹⁵³ Yāqūt (see n. 131) has *āl* ("family of") instead of *ilā* ("to") before Ibrāhīm.

wa-Faḍluhu 'an al-Faḍilah); Dignities, Ranks, and Professions (Al-Akhṭār wa-al-Marātib wa-al-Ṣinā'āt); Story of the World (Uḥdūth al-'Ālam); Refutation of Whoever Supposes that Man Is One Piece (Juz') and Not Divided (Yatajazza'); Abū al-Najm and His Reply;¹⁵⁴ The Apple (Al-Tuffāh); Social Life and Contentment (Al-Uns wa-al-Salwah); Steadfastness and Resolution (Al-Ḥazm wa-al-'Azīm); The Great, the Beautiful, and the Ugly (Al-Kibar al-Mustaḥsan wa-al-Mustaqbāḥ); Refutation of Medicine (Naqd al-Ṭibb); The Elements of Morals ('Unāṣir al-Ādāb); Preserving Possessions (Taḥṣin al-Amwāl); Similes (Proverbs); Superiority of the Horse over the Pack Animal (Faḍīl al-Faras 'alā al-Himlāj).

What Has Been Regarded as an Epistle among the Works of al-Jāhiz¹⁵⁵

His epistle to Abū al-Faraj ibn Najjāh about examining the wise ideas (minds) of the ancients (imtiḥān 'uqūl al-awliyā'); his epistle to Abū al-Najm about the land tax (al-kharāj); his epistle about the pen (script, al-qalam); his epistle about excellence in choice of books (faḍl ittikhādhi al-kutub¹⁵⁶); his epistle about keeping a secret (kitmān al-sirr); his epistle about praise of wine (madḥ al-nabīdh); his epistle about the reproach of wine (dhamm al-nabīdh); his epistle about forgiveness and pardon (al-'afw wa-al-ṣafḥ); his epistle about the offense of drunkenness (ithm al-sukr); his epistle about hope and the hoped-for (al-amal wa-al-ma'mūl); his epistle about ornament (elegance of literary style, al-ḥilyah); his epistle about the reproach of secretaries (dhamm al-kuttāb); his epistle about praise of the warrāqūn; his epistle about reproaching them; his epistle about who among the poets was named 'Umar;¹⁵⁷ his epistle about the excess of the ignorance of Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī; his epistle about generosity (al-karm), addressed to Abū al-Faraj ibn Najjāh; his epistle about the unique (al-yatīmālī);¹⁵⁸ his epistle about the death of Abū Ḥarb al-Ṣaffār al-Baṣrī; his epistle about inheritance (al-mīrāth);

¹⁵⁴ Abū al-Najm may be one of the men of this name listed in the Biog. Index, or the character in a story, or perhaps a friend of al-Jāhiz.

¹⁵⁵ See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 77-78, for these epistles.

¹⁵⁶ This might be *al-kutub*, an unusual plural for "secretaries."

¹⁵⁷ For this epistle, the translation follows Yāqūt (see n. 155).

¹⁵⁸ This was a popular title for books, the most famous one being *The Unique Pearl* ("Al-Durrat al-Yatīmāh") by Ibn al-Muqaffā'; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 401 top.

his epistle about *kīmiyā'* wa-al-*kīmiyā'*;¹⁵⁹ his epistle about obstinate arbitrariness and consultation in war (al-*istibdād* wa-al-*mushāwarah* fī al-*ḥarb*); his epistle about refutation of the *qawliyah*.¹⁶⁰

The Lion and the Wolf (Al-*Asad* wa-al-*Dhi'b*);¹⁶¹ The Kings and the Nations: Those Extinct and Those Surviving (Al-*Mulūk* wa-al-*Umam*: al-*Sālifah* wa-al-*Bāqiyah*); Judges and Governors (Al-*Qudāh* wa-al-*Wulāh*); The Wise and the Ignorant (Al-*Ālim* wa-al-*Jāhil*); Al-*Nard*¹⁶² and Chess (Al-*Nard* wa-al-*Shaṭranj*); Adulteration of the Crafts (Ghashsh al-*Ṣina'āt*); Dispute between the Cross-Eyed Man and the Man Blind in One Eye (Khuṣūmat al-*Hūl* wa-al-*Ūr*); Stricken by Blights (Dhawī al-*Āhāt*); The Singers (Al-*Mughanniyin*); The Manners of Those Who Pester Their Friends (Akhlaq al-*Shuṭṭār*).¹⁶³

I have found written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Furāt*, near the epistles of al-*Jāhiz*, what has not been mentioned and is added to al-*Nadīm* ———.¹⁶⁴

Epistle to *Aḥmad* ibn Isrā'il; epistle to *Aḥmad* ibn al-Munajjim,¹⁶⁵ about care of speech (*hiḏf* al-*lisān*); another epistle to *Aḥmad* ibn al-Munajjim; epistle to *Sulaymān* ibn Wahb; epistle to al-*Ḥasan* ibn Wahb; epistle to *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Malik, about anger and satisfaction (al-*ghaḍab* wa-al-*riḏā'*); epistle about thanks (praise, al-*shukr*); epistle about earnestness and joking (al-*jidd* wa-al-*hazl*); epistle about the description of the important matters concerning the creation of the Qur'ān, about which there are also five other epistles; epistle to *Muḥammad* al-*Yazīdī*; four epistles to Ibn Najāḥ [Abū al-*Faraj*], about the mind, judgment, and other things (al-*'aql* al-*ḥukm* wa-ghayrihi); epistle to Abū 'Amr *Aḥmad* ibn Sa'īd, to whom three other epistles were also addressed.

¹⁵⁹ Yāqūt (see n. 155) gives *Kitāb al-Kīmiyā'* ("The Book of Alchemy"). The repetition of the word *kīmiyā'*, in the Beatty MS, may be an error in copying, or meant to be "elixir," or have some other significance. See "al-Kīmiyā'," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1010.

¹⁶⁰ *Qawliyah* is sometimes used for the "multitude," with its Biblical significance. It may also refer to some sect, which cannot be identified, or else to the uneducated, common people.

¹⁶¹ This second paragraph is a list of book titles.

¹⁶² An old game similar to backgammon or checkers. See Chap. III, sect. 3, n. 186.

¹⁶³ Yāqūt (see n. 155) ends his list at this point, omitting the epistles which follow.

¹⁶⁴ This is an attempt to translate what is legible in a marginal note of the Beatty MS. The list which follows was evidently added to the text by some scribe.

¹⁶⁵ Probably *Aḥmad* ibn 'Alī ibn Yahyā al-Munajjim.

Epistle to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā [ibn Khāqān]; epistle to Ibn Abī Dā'ūd about the book "Order of the Qur'ān" (Nazm al-Qur'ān); also an epistle addressed to him about the qualities of the book "The Judicial Interpretation (Al-Fut'yā);¹⁶⁶ epistle to Abū al-Walīd ibn Aḥmad about cauterization (al-kayy); epistle to 'Abdān ibn Abī Ḥarb, to whom he also addressed two other epistles; epistle about the reproach for what is plagiarized;¹⁶⁷ epistle to Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdūn al-Nadīm about the qualities of a court companion (ṣifāt al-nadīm); epistle to Aḥmad ibn al-Mudabbir; epistle to Aḥmad ibn al-Mudabbir 'Awn,¹⁶⁸ about guarding a secret and [use of] the tongue (ḥifẓ al-sirr wa-al-lisān); epistle to the Commander of the Faithful al-Muntaẓar bi-Allāh [Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan]; epistle to Aḥmad ibn al-Khaṭīb, which was the last [epistle] that I found [listed] in the handwriting of Ibn al-Furāt.

*Aḥmad ibn Abī Duwād*¹⁶⁹

Although no book of his is recorded, we mention Ibn Abī Duwād because he was one of the superior members of the Mu'tazilah, unsullied, a part of the pure living of the sect, upholding his people and his responsibility for them.¹⁷⁰

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Abī Duwād ibn Jarīr ibn Mālik ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbād ibn Salām ibn Mālik ibn 'Abd Hind ibn Lakhm ibn Mālik ibn Qamas¹⁷¹ ibn Maṇ'ah (Mana'ah) ibn Daws ibn al-Dīl ibn¹⁷² Umayyah ibn Ḥudhafah ibn Zuhr ibn Iyād ibn Nizār ibn Ma'add.

¹⁶⁶ This book and the one preceding it may have been those listed as the works of al-Jāḥiẓ. The word translated as "qualities" in this title and the fourth one to follow, is probably meant for *ṣifāt*, although the *a* is not given in its long form.

¹⁶⁷ "What is plagiarized" is written *al-manḥūlah*, but perhaps *al-manḥūl* is the word meant.

¹⁶⁸ In the marginal note in the Beatty MS the name al-Mudabbir is crossed out, and the name Abī 'Awn is inserted underneath. See Biog. Index, Abū 'Awn, Aḥmad ibn al-Najm.

¹⁶⁹ Some authorities spell the last element "Du'ād."

¹⁷⁰ The word translated "upholding" is not clear and may have some other significance. A.D. 851, the Caliph al-Mutawakkil turned against the Mu'tazilah. He became angry with the son of Aḥmad and dispossessed the father of his property. This sentence may refer to Aḥmad's fortitude at this time.

¹⁷¹ The Beatty MS is not clear; "Qamas" is taken from Khallikān, I, 61, and Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 31 top.

¹⁷² The Beatty MS has *min* ("from") instead of *ibn*.

His birth was at al-Baṣrah and he was one of the protégés of Yaḥyā ibn Aktham, who introduced him to al-Ma'mūn. Then, through al-Ma'mūn he became associated with al-Mu'taṣim. Among the sons of the people of his kind, there was never seen a more honorable, excellent, or liberal person. It is said that he was adopted by Iyād, his status being recorded in the book *Faults* (*Kitāb al-Mathālib*). Mukhallad ibn Bakkār said, lampooning him:

With me thou art of Iyād, this is not mere talk.¹⁷³

An Arab art thou, an Arab in truth, not by coercion.¹⁷⁴

The hair of your legs and thighs is *khuzāmā* and *thumām*,¹⁷⁵

Your chest bones show with moles.

If you make a motion, there will not flee from you even an ostrich,
Or prolific gazelles with large loins.

What fault of mine is it if people lie about thee?

For verily they say that he is a Ḥām of the Banū Anbāṭ.¹⁷⁶

Verily a true Arab art thou in lineage; So farewell.¹⁷⁷

Aḥmad had a number of sons with Arabicized names and surnames. The most distinguished of the group was Abū al-Walīd, who served as a judge during his father's lifetime, but died about a month before his father's death. Abū al-Walīd wrote a number of books about the law, agreeing in point of view with Abū Ḥanīfah. We will give a thorough account of him in his proper place.

Aḥmad ibn Abī Duwād died during the year two hundred and forty [A.D. 854/55], during the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil, due to a paralysis which befell him. No compositions or books of his are known.

¹⁷³ The phrase translated "this is not mere talk" is literally "there is not a word." For the tribe, see "Iyād," *Enc. Islam*, II, 565; Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), I, 266; II, 379; III, 343.

¹⁷⁴ In this passage there is probably a satirical reference to the fact that the Iyād Tribe, to which Ibn Abī Duwād claimed to belong, fled to the Byzantines for protection, fought against the army of the early caliphate and only joined Islām under compulsion; see "Iyād," *Enc. Islam*, II, 565.

¹⁷⁵ *Khuzāmā* is lavender (*Lavandula spica*) and *thumām* is the herb *Panicum dichotomum*. This simile implied that he was truly an Arab.

¹⁷⁶ Ḥām of the Banū Anbāṭ would be a Nabataean Ḥamite, and therefore not a true Arab.

¹⁷⁷ "In lineage" is a free rendering of *ḥāsim* ("consecutive"). The last word is abbreviated, but evidently meant for *al-salām* ("peace"), which was often used to say farewell.

Ja'far ibn Ḥarb

He was Abū al-Faḍl ibn Ḥarb al-Hamadhānī from Hamadhān, to whom the leadership passed during his time. He was an ascetic, who abstained from the unlawful, fearing Allāh. He was also an anchorite.

It is said that he once attended a session of [the Caliph] al-Wāthiq for controversial discussion. When the time came to pray, those in attendance arose, al-Wāthiq leading and praying with them. But Ja'far, going aside and removing his slippers, prayed by himself. It was said that Yaḥyā ibn Kāmil was the nearest to him among them and that tears dripped down his cheek, fearing death for Ja'far. It was also said that when Ja'far put on his slippers and returned to the gathering, al-Wāthiq regarded him with disapproval.¹⁷⁸

Then they resumed their controversy, but after they had departed Aḥmad ibn Abī Du'ād said to Ja'far, "This lion [al-Wāthiq] does not tolerate this kind of behavior. If you are persistent with it, don't attend the audience." Ja'far replied, "I don't want to attend it, unless you take me there!" So he [Aḥmad] told him, "Then don't attend!" It is said, moreover, that when al-Wāthiq was at a second session he remarked, after observing those present and failing to find Ja'far, "Where is the righteous shaykh?" Aḥmad replied to him, "As he has tuberculosis he has to lie down, a thing to which the audience of the Commander of the Faithful is superior." Then al-Wāthiq said, "May he be a ransom for you!" But he did not attend to Ja'far.

Ja'far died during the year two hundred and thirty-six [A.D. 850/51], when he was fifty-nine years old. Among his books there were:

Allegorical Interpretation of the Qur'ān (*Mutashābih al-Qur'ān*); The Thorough Investigation (*Al-Istiqṣā*); The Sources (*Al-Uṣūl*); Refutation of Those Upholding the [Concept of] Natures (*Aṣḥāb al-Ṭabā'i*).¹⁷⁹

Al-Iskāfī

Al-Balkhī said that he was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Iskāfī, whose origin was from Samarqand. He had an

¹⁷⁸ This is a free translation, which may not be entirely correct, as the Arabic use of pronouns is not very definite. It was insulting for Ja'far to refuse to pray with the caliph, so his friend probably feared that the caliph might execute him.

¹⁷⁹ See Nādir, *Falsifat al-Mu'tazilah*, Part II, pp. 74-86.

extraordinary degree of learning, intelligence, and knowledge, as well as self-control, superiority of purpose, and purity from defilement.

He reached a point of old age not reached by his companions, so that [the Caliph] al-Mu'taṣim, marveling at him with great astonishment, advanced and enriched him. I have been told that when he spoke, he [the Caliph] paid attention to him, while those in the audience kept silence. They did not utter a word until, when he finished, al-Mu'taṣim turned to them saying, "Who can deviate from this opinion and explanation?" He [the Caliph] used to say to him, "Oh, Muḥammad, declare this doctrine to the judges (*al-mawālī*) and inform me about any one of them who refuses [to accept it], so that I may deal with him and take action."¹⁸⁰

Al-Iskāfi died during the year forty [A.H. 240: A.D. 854/55]. When news of his death reached Muḥammad ibn 'Isā Burghūth, he prostrated himself. Six months later he, too, died.

Al-Iskāfi was at first a tailor. His father and mother prevented him from going often to seek theology,¹⁸¹ imposing upon him the necessity of earning his living. But Ja'far ibn Ḥarb took charge of him,¹⁸² sending his mother twenty silver coins (s., *dirham*) each month, in lieu of his earnings. Among his books there were:

The Delightful (Al-Laṭīf); The Substitute (Al-Badal); against al-Nazzām, about the tenet that the two different natures (al-ṭabī'ayn al-mukhtalifayn) are formed together as one agent;¹⁸³ The Sessions, about giving superiority to 'Alī, for whom may there be peace; Confirmation of the Creation of the Qur'ān (Athbāt Khalq al-Qur'ān); Refutation of the

¹⁸⁰ The last clause is literally, "so that I will deal with him what I shall do." This passage refers to the inquisition (*al-mihnah*), which was begun A.D. 833, but maintained by al-Mu'taṣim. Any judge who did not subscribe to the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'ān was liable to be discharged from his office. See "Mihna," *Enc. Islam*, III, 483; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 429. As the inquisition was directed especially against the judges and religious authorities, the word *al-mawālī* is translated "judges," although usually it is used for "masters" and "lords," or else for "slaves" and "protégés."

¹⁸¹ This probably meant that the boy wished to leave his work in the tailor's shop, to attend classes and lectures at some mosque.

¹⁸² It was the custom for a scholar to have a boy work for him, in return for some pay and instruction.

¹⁸³ See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 139 bottom, 140.

Mushabbihah; The Created [the Qur'ān], against the Mujbirah; Explanation of the Obscure (Bayān al-Mushkil), against Burghūth; Explanation of Falsifying, invalidating the book of *Hafs* (Bayān al-Tamwīh, naqd kitāb Hafs); Refutation of the Book of al-Ḥusayn al-Najjār; Refutation of Whoever Has Denied (Ankar) the Creation of the Qur'ān.

Explanation of the Declarations of the Mujbirah (Sharḥ Aqāwīl al-Mujbirah); Making Void the Statement of Anyone Who Has Spoken of the Punishment of Infants (Ibtāl Qawl man qāl bi-Ta'dhīb al-Aṭfāl);¹⁸⁴ A Compendium of the Dogma of the People of Truth (Jumal Qawl Ahl al-Ḥaqq);¹⁸⁵ Grace (Al-Na'im); about what the theologians disagree on; against al-Ḥusayn [al-Najjār] about al-istiṭā'ah; The Virtues of 'Alī, for Whom May There Be Peace; Drinks (Al-Ashribah); Al-Qutb;¹⁸⁶ against *Hishām*;¹⁸⁷ Refutation of the Book of Ibn *Shabīb* about the Threat (Al-Wa'id).

Ibn al-Iskāfī

He was Abū al-Qāsim Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Iskāfī, a secretary with good literary style, to whom al-Mu'taṣim assigned one of his government offices and who was superior to many of the secretaries. Among his books there was *The Standard of Measure and Balance* (Al-Mi'yār wa-al-Muwāzanah).

Mention of the Persons among the Mu'tazilah Who Adopted Innovations and Individual Doctrines

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: We mention these men at this point of time, after which we shall return to mentioning the sincere members of the Mu'tazilah, whom we shall record in sequence until our own time. In Allāh is confidence.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ This evidently refers to the foreordaining of infants to go to hell.

¹⁸⁵ In this paragraph, *Qawl* ("saying") and *aqāwīl* ("sayings") are translated in different ways to fit the context.

¹⁸⁶ This word is used for the Prophet Muḥammad, but may also mean the Pole Star or that upon which an affair depends, among other meanings. See also Sprenger, pp. 1166 ff.

¹⁸⁷ Almost certainly *Hishām* ibn al-Ḥakam.

¹⁸⁸ Further mention of the "sincere members of the Mu'tazilah" is not made in the Beatty MS, the pages referring to them having been lost. Some of them are mentioned in the Tonk MS, following the termination of the Beatty MS.

Al-Aṣamm

It is related that *Thumāmāh* once described Abū Bakr [al-Aṣamm] to al-Ma'mūn with eloquence of portrayal. *Thumāmāh* said [about this incident], "One day I said to him [al-Ma'mūn], 'Oh, Commander of the Faithful, you are the caliph, whereas he [al-Aṣamm] is a subject. If you should see him, you would treat him generously.' When he [the caliph] came to al-'Irāq he said, 'Where is your friend, whom you were describing. Present him, that we may give him patronage.'¹⁸⁹ Then he went on to relate, "I said, 'He has gone before you, oh, Commander of the Faithful, for he died before your arrival.'"

He was poor, bearing his poverty with great patience. His friends said to him, "All have benefited by their companions, who have given property and other worldly things, but we do not give you anything." It is related that he replied, "By Allāh, I have not expected that your companionship would bring me the world!"¹⁹⁰

In his time he was counted as one of the *Mu'tazilah*, but because he turned against the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī, for whom may there be peace, he was slandered and ruled out from the sincere group of the *Mu'tazilah*.¹⁹¹ He died during the year of the Hijrah two hundred [A.D. 815/16], but it is also said [during the year], one [A.H. 201]. Among his books there were:

Commentary on the Qur'ān (*Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*); Creation of the Qur'ān (*Khalq al-Qur'ān*); Oneness (*Al-Tawhīd*); The Proof and the Apostles;¹⁹² The Things about Which the *Mujbirah* Ask;¹⁹³ An Explanation of the Names of Allāh, May His Name Be Glorified; The Imamate; Division of the People and Dissention of the Partisans (*Iftirāq al-Ummah wa-l-khtilāf al-Shi'ah*); The Command for Good and Prohibition of Evil (*Al-Amr bi-al-Ma'rūf wa-al-Nahy 'an al-Munkar*); Refutation of *Hishām*¹⁹⁴ regarding al-Tashbīh; The Created [the Qur'ān]; Motions; The Compendium, against the *Rāfiḍah*.

¹⁸⁹ The Arabic word translated as "give him patronage" (*istakaff*) probably implies that the caliph will benefit by the presence of al-Aṣamm if he includes him in the entourage of the court.

¹⁹⁰ This passage is translated freely.

¹⁹¹ See *Baghdādī* (Seelye), p. 170.

¹⁹² Instead of *al-hujjah* ("proof"), this may be *al-hijjah* ("pilgrimage").

¹⁹³ The word translated "things" is *al-āy*, which may also mean "signs" or "verses."

¹⁹⁴ Probably *Hishām* ibn al-Ḥakam.

Refutation of the Mujbirah about the created [the Qur'ān]; Refutation of the Dahriyah; against the heretics (al-mulhidah); Refutation of the Jews; Refutation of the Magians; Knowledge (Al-Ma'rifah); Epistles of the Imams about Justice (Rasā'il al-A'imma fi al-'Adl); Refutation of Whoever Has Spoken with the Sword (al-Sayf); against those who give legal interpretations ('alā ahl al-fatwā); The Compendium about the Apostles (Al-Mūjaz fi al-Rusūl); Refutation of the Zanādiqah; Knowledge of Aspects of Theology (Ma'rifat Wujūh al-Kalām); What Is Directed by the Book and the Sunnah, with a Description of the Great and the Small.¹⁹⁵

Al-Fūfī

He was Hishām ibn 'Amr al-Fūfī, the second letter being quiescent as is required in Arabic. He was one of the friends (disciples) of Abū al-Hudhayl, though he deviated from him [his teachings]. The Mu'tazilā were uncertain with regards to him and, according to what Ibn al-Ikshid recorded, they turned away from him. He was one of the people of al-Baṣrah, but traveled to numerous lands of the sea.¹⁹⁶

A group of people from the cities accepted his call to the Mu'tazilī doctrine [*al-i'tizāl*]. Hishām asserted that Satan does not enter into a man, but whispers to him from outside. Allāh is greater than this, for his whispering reaches the heart of a son of Adam, to test him. Among his books there were:

The Created [the Qur'ān]; Refutation of al-Aṣamm, about rejecting of motions (fi nafy al-ḥarakāt); Creation of the Qur'ān; Oneness (Al-Tawhīd); Answer of the People of Khurāsān; To the People of al-Baṣrah; The Five Sources (Al-Uṣūl al-Khamṣ);¹⁹⁷ against the Bakriyah; against Abū al-Hudhayl, about grace (al-na'im).

Ḍirār ibn 'Amr

He was surnamed Abū 'Amr and was one of the persons claimed by the Mu'tazilah. It is said that it was the custom of Abū Yūsuf,

¹⁹⁵ The Book refers to the Qur'ān and "great" and "small" to different types of sins.

¹⁹⁶ Instead of "sea" (*al-baḥr*) this might be "trade" (*al-tajr*).

¹⁹⁷ The jurist al-Shāfi'ī adopted four sources for the law: the Qur'ān, the Sunnah, analogy, and consensus of opinion. Al-Fūfī may have adopted a fifth, such as personal opinion, or this may refer to a theological rather than a legal theory.

the friend of Abū Ḥanīfah, to pass by [the house of] Ḍirār when he wished to go to the place of prayer.¹⁹⁸ It happened that when he passed by him, seeking to observe the prayer for the feast on the Day of Sacrifice (Yawm al-Naḥr), Ḍirār was with the sacrifice (body) of his sheep, which was being skinned. So Abū Yūsuf said to him, "Oh, Abū 'Amr, what does this mean, you are slaughtering before the imam (prayer leader) prays!" It is said that Ḍirār replied to him, "I thought that the sessions of the scholars (*al-'ulamā'*) had already educated you, so who is this imam here, for whose prayer I should wait?" Among his books there were:

Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); Refutation of All the Heretics (al-Mullḥidah); The Created [the Qur'ān]; Contradiction of the Ḥadīth (Tanāquḍ al-Ḥadīth); The Inducement (Al-Mad'awah);¹⁹⁹ Guidance, about the occurrence of things (Al-Dalālah, 'alā ḥadath al-ashyā'); Refutation of the Heretics (Al-Mullḥidūn); combining thirteen books (chapters) about a refutation of the Muṣhabbiḥah; combining six books about a refutation of the heretics (al-mullḥidīn); combining ten books about a refutation of the people of sects (sectarians); Equation (Comparison, Al-Musāwāh); Al-Kharā'iṭ;²⁰⁰ Confirmation of the Apostles.

Refutation of Aristotle, about essential and accidental properties (al-jawāhir wa-al-a'rād); four epistles against innovators (ahl al-ahwā');²⁰¹ The Two Governments (Al-Dawlatayn);²⁰² Incitement and Impulses (Al-Taḥrīsh wa-al-Ighrā'); to whoever among the Muslims matures (attains knowledge); Friday (Al-Jum'ah); Kindness and Gratitude (Al-Ma'rūf wa-al-Shukr); Commentary on the Qur'ān; Refutation of the Zanādiqah; The Threat (Al-Wa'id); The Enemy Who Is a Reconciler (Al-'Adw al-Muṣliḥ); Thought about Allāh on the Day of Judgment (Al-Fikr fī Allāh 'alā al-Wāqī'ah), which has five books (chapters); against the Murji'ah, about intercession (al-shafā'ah).

¹⁹⁸ For the two men almost certainly referred to in this passage, see Biog. Index, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm and Abū Ḥanīfah; see also Pellat, *Le Milieu basrien*, p. 91.

¹⁹⁹ This word is given as "inducement" which seems to be what is intended, although in the Beatty MS it is written, perhaps incorrectly, as *al-mad'ūwah*, an unidentified form.

²⁰⁰ This is used for leather strips bound together, often in the form of an official briefcase. It might be an unusual form for the plural of "purge."

²⁰¹ For *ahl al-ahwā'* ("innovators," "unconventional persons"), see Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, II, 2204, left side, ll. 4-6.

²⁰² The two governments were almost certainly the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd dynasties.

Disagreements about Atoms (Ikhtilāf al-Ajzā'); Refutation of Those Upholding the [Concept of] Natures (Aṣḥāb al-Taḥa'i');²⁰³ Refutation of the Christians; Epistle of the Ṣūfīs (Risālat al-Ṣūfiyyīn); Disagreement of the People and Confirmation of the Proof (Ikhtilāf al-Nās wa-Ithbāt al-Ḥujjah); Refutation of the Khawārij; Predestination; The Desire (Al-Irādah); Similitude (Allegory); Assistance, about the Forsaken (Al-Ma'ūnah fī al-Khadlān); Possessions, Property, Periods (Deaths), and Children (Al-Arzāq wa-al-Mulk wa-al-Ājāl wa-al-Aṭfāl); The Copied (The Quoted, Al-Manqūlin); Historical Traditions (Al-Akhhbār).

Reasons and Knowledge in Connection with Prophecy (Al-Asbāb wa-al-'Ilm 'alā al-Nabūwah); against the Fuḍayliyah and the Muḥajkimah, in connection with their assertion that people belong to the Faith, even if there appears among them wrongdoing; against the Murji'ah in connection with the names [of Allāh]; The Middle Position (Al-Manzilah bayn al-Manzilatayn); Interpretation of the Qur'ān (Ta'wīl al-Qur'ān); The Two Regimes (Al-Ḥukmayn);²⁰⁴ Morals of the Theologians (Ādāb al-Mutakallimīn); against the Azāriqah, the Najadāt, and the Murji'ah.

Refutation of the Wāqifah, the Jahmiyah, and the Ghaylāniyah; Refutation of the Rāfiḍah and the Ḥashawīyah; Refutation of the One Who Thinks That the Prophets Disagreed about an Attribute of Allāh, Glorified and Exalted; Refutation of Mu'ammār about His Saying That Muḥammad Is Lord;²⁰⁵ The Imamate; The Will; Refutation of the Muḡlirīyah and the Mauṣūriyah, about their saying that the earth is never without a prophet; Refutation of the Ḥashawīyah, about their saying that if the Prophet was asked forgiveness for a man, he would pardon him; against anyone who thinks that the Prophet omitted anything from the Faith (al-Dīn), or understood²⁰⁶ the invisible (al-ghayb); that the names [of Allāh] are not compared (al-asmā' la tuqās).

'Abbād ibn Sulaymān

Abū Sahl 'Abbād ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī is counted among the Mu'tazilah of al-Baṣrah. He was one of the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah and an associate (pupil) of Hishām ibn 'Amr [al-Fuḍf], but he

²⁰³ See Nādir, *Falsifat al-Mu'tazilah*, Part II, pp. 74-86.

²⁰⁴ Al-Ḥukmayn must refer to the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid dynasties.

²⁰⁵ Mu'ammār probably refers to either Mu'ammār ibn 'Abbād or Mu'ammār ibn al-Ash'ath. "Lord" (*al-rabb*) is used for Allāh, but not Muḥammad.

²⁰⁶ The word translated "understood" might be "knew" or "taught."

disagreed with the Mu'tazilah about some points, having particular ideas which he himself invented. Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'i described him as skillful in theology, but then he said, "If it were not for his craziness!"

When 'Abbād was speaking with a Sophist, it is related that the Sophist said to him, "A thirsty man once came to drink what he supposed to be water, but he found it to be something else. How can you deny that this is the way of all suppositions?"²⁰⁷ 'Abbād replied to him, "If this man, who desired a drink which he supposed to be water but found to be some other beverage, had come to the Tigris, he would have supposed that it also contained that other beverage. But by his experience he would have learned from the Tigris and the water in it what the truth really was, just as he learned previously about that other beverage, recognizing the difference between water and the beverage by his sense perceptions." Thereupon the man stopped [talking].²⁰⁸

Among the books of 'Abbād there were:

Denial That Men Create Their Actions (Al-Inkār ann Yakhliq al-Nās Af'alahum); Determining Guidance for Accidents (Tathbit Dalālat al-A'rāḍ²⁰⁹); Confirmation of the Atom Which Does Not Divide (Ithbāt al-Juz' al-Ladhī La Yatajuzza').

Abū Sa'id al-Huṣrī al-Ṣūfī

He was one of the Mu'tazilah, but he confused and invented [doctrines]. Among his books there were:

Oneness (Al-Tawhīd); Al-Istiṭā'ah; The Created [the Qur'ān], against the Mujbirah; Oaths (Al-Aymān);²¹⁰ The Virtues (Faḍā'il) of 'Alī, for Whom May There Be Peace.

²⁰⁷ In the Beatty MS the word "thirsty" (*al-atshān*) is crossed out and on the margin there is given the word "mistaken" (*sādir*).

²⁰⁸ This passage has been translated freely. The point is that the Sophists denied reality. The word translated "beverage" (*al-sharāb*) is often used for "syrup" or "wine."

²⁰⁹ Instead of "accidents" this may refer to "bodies."

²¹⁰ This may be *The Faith* (*Al-I'mān*).

Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād

Although he was one of those who invented new doctrines, he was a Mu'tazilī, among whose books there was *Al-Ḥārūf*,²¹¹ in connection with sufficiency of proofs, concerning which he was refuted by Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī, al-Khayyāt [Abū al-Ḥusayn], and al-Ḥārith al-Warrāq.

'Isā al-Ṣūfī

He was Abū Mūsā 'Isā ibn al-Haytham, who was one of the important members of the Mu'tazilī, but who after a time confused [his doctrines]. Ibn al-Rāwandī received information from him. He died during the year two hundred and forty-five [A.D. 859/60]. Among his books there were: ———.

Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq

Abū 'Isā Muḥammad ibn Hārūn ibn Muḥammad al-Warrāq was one of the brilliant theologians who was a Mu'tazilī, but confused [the doctrines] until his confusion caused him to be accused of belonging to the sect of the adherents of dualism. Ibn al-Rāwandī drew upon [his ideas]. Among his books there were:

Discourses; The Event (Al-Ḥadath); the large book, The Imāmate; the small book, The Imāmate; The Unusual Eastern in Rhyme (Al-Gharīb al-Mashraqī fī al-Nawḥ), against "The Book of the Animal" (Kitāb al-Ḥayawān);²¹² A Recounting about the Sects of the Adherents of Dualism (Iqtisāṣ Madhāhib Aṣḥāb al-Ithnayn), with a refutation of them; the large book, Refutation of the Christians; the medium-size book, Refutation of the Christians; the small book, Refutation of the Christians; Refutation of the Magians; Refutation of the Jews.

Ibn al-Rāwandī

In the book *The Virtues of Khurāsān* (Maḥāsīn Khurāsān), al-Balkhī said, "He was Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-

²¹¹ *Al-Ḥārūf* lacks consonant signs and the letter at the end might be *q* instead of *f*. It is, therefore, very likely meant for *al-khāzūq*. In later times this was used for "a stake for impaling," whereas in modern slang it means "a thorny problem." What the meaning was in the tenth century is not certain.

²¹² This was evidently a criticism of the famous *Book of the Animal* by al-Jāhiz. The word "eastern" is the only translation which fits the form in the Beatty MS, but it may not be correct.

Rāwandī²¹³ from among the people of Marw al-Rūz.²¹⁴ He was one of the theologians, and during his time there was no one among his peers who was keener than he was in theology or better acquainted with its subtlety and importance.²¹⁵

During the first part of his life he was straightforward, sound in doctrine, and exceedingly modest. Then he was divested of all this because of influences affecting him and because his learning was greater than his intelligence. Appropriate to him was the saying of the poet:

Who developed righteously in his childhood,
But became concealed when repudiated.²¹⁶

A group reported that he repented of what he had been doing, at the time of his death, so that penitence and his confession purified him. He encountered, however, scorn and disdain directed toward him, because of the cruelty of his companions and their expelling him from their meetings.²¹⁷

He wrote most of his heretical books for Abū 'Isā al-Yahūdī al-Ahwāzī, and it was at the home of this man that he died. Among the cursed books composed for him, which are known, there are:

The Crown (Al-Tāj), in which he argues for the eternity of the world;²¹⁸ The Emerald (Al-Zunnurud), in which he argues about the apostles and the falsity of apostleship; The Description of Wisdom in the Scripture of Allāh, May His Name Be Glorified (Na't al-Hikmah bi-Ṣifr Allāh), about requiring from his creation what he has ordered and forbidden

²¹³ The Beatty MS omits the long *alif*. The correct spelling of the name Rāwand, from which this word is taken, is found in Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 741.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 506.

²¹⁵ It is possible that this phrase should be translated, "or more known for precision and honor."

²¹⁶ This very likely refers to the fact that when the companions of Ibn al-Rāwandī wanted to have him executed, he hid in the home of his Jewish patron at al-Kūfah; see Murtaḍā, p. 92, l. 14.

²¹⁷ This passage and the list of books which follows should be compared with the Cairo Appendix, p. 5. See also Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* (Nādir), Introduction, pp. xxii, ff., xxviii, for a list of the books of Ibn al-Rāwandī. The final word, "meetings" (*majālis*), is often translated "sessions," which see in Glossary.

²¹⁸ This was a book upholding dualism and the eternity of matter. For this title and several others which follow, see Murtaḍā, p. 92.

(fī taklīf khalqihī amrahu wa-naḥyahu);²¹⁹ The Striker, in which he speaks ill of the order of the Qur'ān (Al-Dāmigh, yaṭ'an fīhī 'alā nuzum al-Qur'ān);²²⁰ The Branch, in which he shows that the knowledge of Allāh about things is an event, and that He was without knowledge until He created for himself knowledge;²²¹ The Unique, about accusation of the Prophet (Al-Farīd, fī al-ṭa'n 'alā al-Nahī), for whom may there be peace;²²² The Coral (Al-Marjān);²²³ The Pearl, about denial of notions (Al-Lu'lu'ah, manāhī al-ḥarakāt).

Ibn al-Rāwandī said:

I passed by a shaykh who was seated with a Qur'ān in his hand. He was reading, "To Allāh is the waterspout (*al-mizāb*) of the heavens and the earth." I saluted and said, "Oh, shaykh, why do you read that the Qur'ān says "To Allāh is the waterspout of the heavens and the earth'?" He said, "This is the rain which you see." Then I said, "A mistake in pronunciation only exists when it is explained. It is not like that, but is 'The heritage (*al-mirāth*) of the heavens and the earth.'" He then said, "Our God is forgiving; for forty years I have read it and in my confusing it is thus."²²⁴

Ibn al-Rāwandī died ——— Among his books there were:

The Names and the Decrees: The Days of Righteousness (Al-Asmā wa'l-Aḥkām; Ayyān Ṣalāḥah); Commencing and Recommencing (Al-Ibtadā' wa-al-I'ādah); The Imamate; Creation of the Qur'ān; Continuation and Annihilation (Al-Baqā' wa-al-Fanā');²²⁵ Al-Waqf;

²¹⁹ Murtaḍā (*ibid.*) says that this book is about dualism.

²²⁰ Murtaḍā (*ibid.*) also speaks of this book, and says that it deals with a refutation of the Qur'ān.

²²¹ In the Beatty MS the title *Al-Qaḍīb* ("The Branch") has a line through it with some letters inserted after it, but the text is not clear enough to decipher them. In the Qur'ān 2: 117, it explains how Allāh creates: "When He decreeth a matter, He says to it *Be* and it is."

²²² Murtaḍā, p. 92, says that this book is a refutation of the prophets. In the Beatty MS it is clearly written *al-farīd* ("the unique"), but in Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* (Nādir), p. xxix and in the Cairo Appendix it is given as *al-farand* (*al-firand*), meaning "sword."

²²³ In the Beatty MS some words are inserted on the margin, but they are not legible.

²²⁴ The word translated "confusing" is given in the Beatty MS as *taṣḥīf* ("mistaking of words").

²²⁵ Although the mystics used the word *al-fanā'* for "ecstasy," it probably means "annihilation" here. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 181 bottom.

The Red Stone, the Days of Its Corruption (Al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar Ayyām Fasādih);²²⁶ The Black Stone (Al-Ḥajar al-Aswad) likewise; There Is Nothing unless It Is Existing (Mawjūd); Al-Istiqā'ah; Disgraceful Acts of the Mu'tazilah (Faḍā'il al-Mu'tazilah).

Careful Examination (Al-Rawīyah);²²⁷ The Proving (Al-Ihtijāj), addressed to Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam; Man (Al-Insān); The Particular and the Universal (Al-Khāṣṣ wa-al-'Ām); Refutation of One Who Has Spoken of Fulfilling a Motion by Its Perception (Al-Radd 'alā man Qāl bi-Wafī al-Ḥarakah bi-Baṣrih);²²⁸ Totals (Al-Jumal); Confirmation of the Apostles (Athbāt al-Ruṣl); Corruption of the Court and Prohibition of Earnings (Fasād al-Dār wa-Taḥrīm al-Makāsib); Refutation of One Who Has Denied Actions and Accidents (Nafā al-Af'āl wa-al-A'rād);²²⁹ Questions (Al-Masā'il), against the Hishāmīyah; The Manner of Proving (Kifīyat al-Istidlāl); Accidents (Al-A'rād); Refutation of the Zanādiqah.

An Account of the Statement (Qawl) of Mu'ammār [ibn 'Abbād al-Sulamī] and His Proof (Ihtijāj) in "Al-Ma'ānī"; Subtlety and Answers (Al-Nukat wa-al-Jawābāt);²³⁰ The Method of Consensus and What Its Form Is;²³¹ Confirmation of the Power of the One (Athbāt Jabr al-Wāḥid);²³² Refutation of the Mu'tazilah, concerning the threat and the middle position (fi al-wā'id wa-al-mauzilah bayn al-mauzilarayn); Al-Adrāk (Punishments, The Lowest Hell); Statement about the Defects (al-'Ilal) of Hishām in Connection with Body and Appearance (fi al-jism-wa-al-Ru'yah); Historical Traditions (Al-Akhbār) and a Refutation

²²⁶ If the title which follows refers to the famous Black Stone in the Ka'bah at Makkah, it is possible that the Red Stone refers to the idol of that name at Mount Ajā', worshipped by the Ṭayyī' Tribe; see Kalbī, *Aṣṣūn*, p. 51. This idol was called *al-Fals*. It was a red stone which protruded from the rock like a human face. As, however, the word translated "corruption" (*fasād*) more literally means "decomposition," it is likely that the black and red stones were substances used for alchemy. The term *Kibrit al-Aḥmar* was used for the Philosopher's Stone. Black often indicated lead. See "al-Kimīyā," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1010.

²²⁷ This is perhaps meant to be *Vision* ("Al-Ru'yah").

²²⁸ This title may not be given correctly, as the words in the text are carelessly written. Cf. Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 185. *

²²⁹ The word *al-a'rād*, in this title and in the third one following, can have several meanings other than "accidents."

²³⁰ After this title there is the word "against" followed by what looks like "al-Manūmīyah," but is very likely meant to be *al-thanauiyah* ("the dualists").

²³¹ This title evidently signifies a book describing in what way consensus of opinion is to be used for legal interpretation.

²³² Instead of *jabr* ("power"), especially in connection with preordination, the word may be *khayr* ("good") or *khubr* ("information," "knowledge").

of Anyone Who Has Invalidated Reliable Traditions (al-Tawātur); The Morals of Disputation (Adab al-Jadal); Refutation of the Book "The Emerald" (Naqḍ Kitāb al-Zumurrud), against himself;²³³ Refutation of "The Coral" (Naqḍ al-Marjān); Refutation of "The Striker" (al Dānigh) he did not finish it.

Al-Nāshī al-Kabīr²³⁴

Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Malik al-Nāshī, known as Shirshir, was one of the people of al-Anbār. After living in Baghdād he moved to Egypt, where he died. He was a theologian, poet, and deliberate speaker, with good training. He wrote a poem of four thousand verses, each terminating with the same ending and rhyme.²³⁵ It was about theology, but in it he pursued the method of philosophy. He fell out with the theologians of his generation, it being said that he was a dualist.

I have read written in the handwriting of al-*Hijāzi*, [surnamed] Abū al-Qāsim:

The reason for this nickname, I mean "al-Nāshī," was his going to a session in which there were persons engaged in disputation. When he spoke as a youth, young in years, about the doctrine of the Mu'tazilah, one of the shaykhs among them approved, interrupting the discussion. Then standing up he raised his head saying, "Oh, Allāh, don't let us lose anyone like this one who is maturing (*al-nāshī*), so that he may be among us and that those like him may come²³⁶ to us at all times." So Abū al-'Abbās approved the name and with it he was nicknamed, according to what Ibn al-Junayd told me.²³⁷

²³³ This book and the two which follow were written for an unbeliever, Abū 'Isā the Jew. Before he died, Ibn al-Rāwandī repented of his heresy and evidently wrote these books to prove his sincere penitence.

²³⁴ *Al-kabīr* can mean "the great," but more likely means "the elder." The Cairo Appendix omits the account of al-Nāshī, but adds some of his lines of poetry.

²³⁵ For this poem, see Mas'ūdī, VII, 88, 89.

²³⁶ The word translated "may come" is crossed out in the text and the correction on the margin is not clearly enough written to be sure of its meaning.

²³⁷ The Beatty MS ends at this point. After this, there is at least one manuscript page which has been lost from all sources (see following note). Then follows material which is found only in the Tonk MS, from this point until the account of al-Wāsiṭī, where the Flügel text resumes and MS 1934 begins (n. 266). See Flügel, ZDMG, New Ser., XV, No. 2 (1936), 298-321, where the Tonk text is printed.

[Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Khayyāṭ]²³⁸

——, against Ibn al-Rāwandī; Refutation of "The Emerald" (Naqḍ al-Zumurrud), against al-Rāwandī; Refutation of the Book of 'Abbād ibn Salmā, about the opposite (al-'aks);²³⁹ Refutation of "The Crown" (Al-Tāj), against [Ibn] al-Rāwandī; Refutation of "The Striker" (Al-Dāmigh), against [Ibn] al-Rāwandī; Refutation of "The Proof" (Al-Burhān),

Al-Bardha'i

He was Abū al-Ḥasan ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bardha'i, whose origin was at Bardha'ah in Ādharbayjān.²⁴⁰ He was one of the great men among the Mu'tazilah of Baghdād.

Al-Shaṭawī

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Shaṭawī, one of the notables among the Mu'tazilah, but miserly and jealous. He died, strangled, during the year seventy-nine [A.D. 892/93].²⁴¹ His son and daughter strangled him, because when his daughter asked him to marry her to a man whom she chose, he refused her request, increasing her confinement. So she and his son agreed that they would come with a slaughterer (butcher) from Bāb Muḥawwal, and they hanged him. He was dwelling at Darb al-Qibāb in al-Karkh.²⁴²

²³⁸ Between the end of the Beatty MS and this heading, there is at least one page of material lacking from all sources. This may have contained an account of Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Jubbā'i, since it would have been unreasonable to omit such a well-known theologian from this section. And the missing material evidently contained an account of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Khayyāṭ which is completed by the mention of the following six titles.

The word *kitāb* ("book") is omitted from some of the titles, but they evidently refer to books written by al-Khayyāṭ. Murtaḍā, p. 92, says that al-Khayyāṭ wrote books refuting many of those of Ibn al-Rāwandī, including *The Emerald*, *The Crown*, and *The Striker*. The famous heretic is sometimes called al-Rāwandī and sometimes Ibn al-Rāwandī. The first *a* is not always indicated as being long.

²³⁹ Perhaps 'Abbād ibn Sulaymān is the name meant, although Murtaḍā, *ibid.*, does not mention *Al-'Aks* as a title in dealing with the books written by that scholar.

²⁴⁰ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 558.

²⁴¹ This is probably a mistake for ninety-seven (A.D. 909/10).

²⁴² Bāb Muḥawwal was west of the Round City of Baghdad, and the Karkh Quarter was south. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 47 map, 65, 146. As the text is not perfectly clear, the translation may not be entirely accurate.

Al-Hārith al-Warrāq

In the book *Al-Maḥāsīn*, al-Balkhī²⁴³ said, "He was Abū al-Qāsim al-Hārith ibn 'Alī, one of the inhabitants of Khurāsān and altogether a man of religion, humility, and piety, as well as a chief among the leaders of persons with discernment, with few equals during his period."

His composition was in good style and he wrote excellent and famous books and refutations of a number of the books of Ibn al-Rāwandī. He was a contemporary of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'i, with whom he had controversies. They met at the Sūq al-Ahwāz.²⁴⁴ It was said that he was a *warrāq*, who sold books and acted as a *warrāq* for the people of Qaṣr al-Waḍḍāḥ on the left bank.²⁴⁵ Among his books there were:

The Created [the Qur'ān]; Names and Judgments (Al-Asmā' wa-al-Aḥkām); The Imamate; Refutation of "The Striker" (Naqḍ al-Dāmigh);²⁴⁶ Refutation of "The Emerald" (Naqḍ al-Zumurrud); Refutation of "Arousing Wisdom" (Naqḍ Ba'th al-Ḥikmah); Refutation of "The Crown" (Naqḍ al-Tāj); Allegorical Interpretation of the Qur'ān (Mutashābihāt al-Qur'ān); Emergence of the World and Its Evidence (Ḥudūth al-'Ālam wa-al-Adillah 'Alayhā).

Abū al-Qāsim [al-Balkhī]

He was Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Balkhī, known as al-Ka'bī. He was a scholar and dialectic theologian, the leader of the men of his period. He served as secretary to one of the generals, Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, and was acquainted with Aḥmad ibn Sahl [ibn Hāshim]. When Aḥmad ibn Sahl turned against Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, he lived at Nisābūr. Then when he [Naṣr] gained control over Aḥmad, he took al-Balkhī along with a

²⁴³ This title is not mentioned with the books of either Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī or Aḥmad ibn Sahl al-Balkhī.

²⁴⁴ Sūq al-Ahwāz was probably a market street near Qaṣr al-Waḍḍāḥ, which was a palace a short distance southeast of the Round City of Baghdād; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 58, 92, 97 map.

²⁴⁵ This man is a good example of a well-educated book dealer, who by selling manuscripts and stationery to the people at the palace was able to make enough money to write books of his own.

²⁴⁶ The books mentioned in this and the three following titles were written by the heretic Ibn al-Rāwandī.

group of men, whom he seized and kept in confinement.²⁴⁷ When his [al-Balkhī's] situation became known to 'Alī ibn 'Isā, the vizier, he was released from this predicament. This was during the vizierate of Hāmid ibn al-'Abbās.

Al-Balkhī went to the session of Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī, whose sessions were attended by theologians coming together.²⁴⁸ They elevated and exalted him [al-Balkhī] so that there was no one over whom he did not have authority. It happened that a Jew came in while some of them were theorizing about abrogation of the law (*shar'*). When they reached a subject in their discussion about which they were passing judgment on Abū al-Qāsim [al-Balkhī], it was the Jew's turn to speak. So Abū al-Qāsim said, "It is for you to speak." The Jew then said to him, "What do you know about this?" Abū al-Qāsim replied to him, "Wait for this! Do you acknowledge that there is a theological session at Baghdād more important than this?" He [the Jew] said, "No." Then he [Abū al-Qāsim] said, "Do you know of anyone among the theologians who does not attend it?" He said, "No." He [Abū al-Qāsim] said, "Have you seen anybody among them who does not rise up for me and exalt me?" He said, "No." So he [Abū al-Qāsim] said, "Do you see them doing this when I am absent?"

Al-Balkhī died on the first day of Sha'ban [eighth Muslim month] during the year three hundred and nine.²⁴⁹ Among his books there were:

The Treatises (Al-Maqālāt), in which he related the sources of questions and their answers; The Most Excellent and the Rare (Al-Ghurur wa-al-Nawādir); The Means of Demonstrating the Concealed with Evidence (Kayfiyat al-Istidlāl bi-al-Shāhid 'alā al-Ghā'ib); Disputation (Al-Jadal), the Training of Those Engaged in It and Correction (Taṣṣiḥ) of Its Defects ('Ilāl); The Sunnah and al-Jamā'ah; the large book of sessions;

²⁴⁷ See "Naṣr b. Aḥmad," *Enc. Islam*, III, 871.

²⁴⁸ As Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī was a court favorite, he may have organized these sessions on theology at the court of the caliph, as many of the rulers liked to spend their leisure time in listening to learned discussions, as well as in hearing their slave girls sing. Compare the story which follows with Murtaḍā, p. 88.

²⁴⁹ The Tonk MS has 309 (A.D. 921/22), but Baghdādī, Khaṭīb-Ta'rikh, Part IV, p. 384, has 319 (A.D. 931/32) which is probably correct. The rendering in Fück, ZDMG, New Ser., XV, No. 2 (1936), 298-321, corrects what seem to be errors in the Tonk MS.

the small book of sessions; Refutation of the Book of al-Khalīl²⁵⁰ against *Burghūth*; the second book against Abū 'Alī [al-Jubbā'i] about Heaven; Questions of al-Khujandī, about how he disagreed with Abū 'Alī [al-Jubbā'i]; Confirmation of the Treatises of Abū al-Hudhayl (Ta'yīd Maqālāt Abī al-Hudhayl), about the atom.²⁵¹

The Resembling (Al-Muḍāhāh), against *Burghūth*; the large commentary on the Qur'ān; Qualities (Fuḍūl) (or Divisions [Fuṣūl]) of Public Speakers (al-Khuṭṭāb); against the man pretending to be a prophet in Khurāsān; The Ultimate in the Right (Al-Nihāyah fī al-Aṣlah); against Abū 'Alī [al-Jubbā'i] and the refutation of him by al-Ṣaymarī; Dialectic Theology among the Lower Classes (Al-Kalānī fī al-Ummah), against Ibn Qutaybah;²⁵² Refutation of al-Rāzī, about divine knowledge (al-'ilm al-illāhī).

Theologians Contemporary with [Abū al-Qāsim] al-Balkhī

Abū Bakr al-Halaqānī.

Abū Ishāq al-Wāhibī.

Al-Ṣaymarī

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Ṣaymarī, from the people of al-Ṣaymarah,²⁵³ and was counted among the Mu'tazilah of al-Baṣrah because he claimed to have learned from Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'i. After the death of Abū 'Alī [about A.D. 916], the leadership culminated with him. He was of the same age as Abū 'Alī, or close to it. He died during the year three hundred and fifteen [A.D. 927/28].

It was related about Abū 'Alī that he said, "Our shaykh is Abū 'Abd Allāh [al-Ṣaymarī], from whom the Shaykh Abū Sa'īd al-Ṣirāfī learned the science of theology, and who was also the

²⁵⁰ This may be the al-Khalīl known as Ibn Jank.

²⁵¹ The Tonk MS has *al-ḥazz* ("incision," "notch"), but this word is very likely meant to be *al-juz* ("atom"), a subject in which the metaphysicians were interested.

²⁵² This name is too carelessly written to be sure that it is correctly interpreted.

²⁵³ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 442. On the margin of the Tonk MS at this point there is the note, "During the period of al-Balkhī among the theologians, Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'i."

teacher of Abū Bakr ibn al-*Ikhshīd*.²⁵⁴ Among his books there were: Questions and Answers. He also wrote Refutation of the Book of Ibn al-*Rāwandī* about Temperaments (Innate Qualities, Al-*Ṭabā'ī*); Refutation of the Book of al-Balkhī Known as "The Ultimate in the Right" (Kitāb al-Nihāyah fī al-Aṣlah), against Abū 'Alī al-*Jubbā'ī*.

Al-Bāhili

Abū 'Umar Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Sa'īd al-Bāhili al-Baṣrī belonged to the Bāhilah.²⁵⁵ His birthplace was at al-Baṣrah, where there was for him a source of technical excellence in the science of theology, according to the school of thought of the scholars of al-Baṣrah.

He was a judge, whose session the theologians attended. It was said that Abū 'Alī [al-*Jubbā'ī*] went to his session, and that because of the excellence of his recountings and the poignancy of his interpretation, the people and the theologians used to weep. Among his books there were:

Sublimity (I'jāz) of the Qur'ān; The Sources, about oneness; Oneness, separate from "The Sources."

Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim

Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr al-Munajjim was beautifully cultured and well acquainted with theology, about which he wrote books, in addition to those about other cultural subjects. We have dealt with him thoroughly in the accounts about the court companions. Among his books about theology there were:

Proofs of the Prophecy of Muḥammad, for Whom May There Be Peace; Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd) and a Refutation of the Mushabbihah.

I have read [what was written] in the handwriting of Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī [al-Munajjim], that Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī said:

After [the time of] Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā', the leaders of the Mu'tazilah who

²⁵⁴ As the Shaykh Abū Sa'īd al-Sirāfī was one of the principal teachers of the author of *Al-Fihrist* and was evidently associated with the heretical scholars, it is likely that al-Nadīm also had Mu'tazilī tendencies, even if he was not officially a member of that sect, which had lost some of its popularity by the tenth century.

²⁵⁵ For this tribe, see "Bāhila," *Enc. Islam*, I, 576; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 39; Pellat, *Le Milieu baṣrien*, p. 186.

composed books and made known the the *i'tizāl* were:²⁵⁶ Abū al-Hudhayl, al-Naẓẓām, Mu'ammār ibn 'Abbād, Hishām al-Fūfī ibn 'Amr, Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir, Thumāmāh, al-Jāhiz. Then after those: Bishr ibn Khālīd, 'Alī al-Aswārī, 'Isā ibn Šabīh, Ja'far ibn Harb, Ja'far ibn al-Mubashshir, al-Qāsim al-Dimashqī, al-Iskāfī [Abū Ja'far], 'Isā ibn al-Haytham, Abū Shu'ayb al-Šayrafī, al-Shahhām, al-Adamī, Abū Zufar,²⁵⁷ Muḥammad ibn Suwayd, Abū Mujālid, Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Balkhī, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Makkī,²⁵⁸ Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Khayyāt, al-Shaṭawī, Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd Nisābūr,²⁵⁹ Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, al-Manānī,²⁶⁰ al-Balkhī,²⁶¹ al-Ḥārith al-Warrāq, al-Šaymarī.

The Names of a Group of Theologians

It has not been confirmed whether they belonged to the Mu'tazilah or the Murji'ah. They were:

Ḥumayd ibn Sa'īd ibn Bakhtyār, the Theologian

Among his books there were:

Creation of the Qur'ān; Superiority (Al-Faḍl), about refuting the Mushabbihah; Denial of the Formation of Matter from God (al-Tajsīm 'an Allāh);²⁶² Refutation of Yūsha' Bakht, Maṭrān Fāris;²⁶³ Refutation of the Magians; Refutation of Adherents of the Dogma of Material Substances and Their Eternity (al-Ajram wa-Azaliyatuhā); Ḥirrat Ahl al-Falak;²⁶⁴ Proofs of Change in the Ḥadīth (Ithbāt al-Taḥrīf fī al-Ḥadīth); Correlation of the Sciences (Idāfat al-'Ulūm); against the

²⁵⁶ Cf. this list of names with Fück, ZDMG, New Ser., XV, No. 2 (1936), 307-8.

²⁵⁷ This was very likely Abū Zufar al-Hudhayl ibn al-Hudhayl.

²⁵⁸ This might also have been the scholar Abū Zufar Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Makkī.

²⁵⁹ Murtaḍā, p. 93, says that he was the imam of Nisābūr.

²⁶⁰ This was probably a converted Manichaean, so that the name must be kept separate from the one which precedes it and which refers to a scholar of Muslim ancestry named Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Jubbā'ī.

²⁶¹ This name may indicate that Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī included his own name in this list of his. For other possibilities, see al-Balkhī in the Biog. Index.

²⁶² Cf. Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 158 top.

²⁶³ The words "Maṭrān Fāris" are not correctly written in the Tonk MS, but they evidently refer to the metropolitan bishop named Yūsha' Bakht; see Fück, ZDMG, New Ser., XV, No. 2 (1936), 308, 313.

²⁶⁴ Ḥirrat may be a plural form for "rain clouds," or the word may be some other, such as ḥazzāt ("particular times" or "particular conditions"). Ahl al-falak almost certainly means "astronomers."

Christians, with reference to ease, food, and drink in the hereafter (fī al-na'im wa-al-akl wa-al-shurb fī al-ākhirah) and against all speaking in opposition to these things; The Theologians of the People of Islām (Mutakallimūn Ahl al-Islām); Answer of the Heretic of al-Baṣrah (Jawāb al-Mulhid al-Baṣrī), Who Cursed the People of the Sects and Sought Islām;²⁶⁵ How Some of the Muslims Made Innovations in the [Qur'ānic] Readings and Their Significations (Fimā Aḥdath Ba'd al-Muslimīn min al-Qir'āt wa-Wujūhiha).

Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm

He was one of the theologians. Among his books there were:
The Created [the Qur'ān], against *Burghūth*; Knowledge (Al-Ma'rifah).

Abū 'Affān al-Raqqī

His name was 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muslim and he was one of the theologians. Among his books there were:

Against *Burghūth*, about the resemblances (al-musāwāh) between him and the heretics (al-mulhidūn); the questions which arose between him and al-*Iskafi* in the session of Ibn Abī Dā'ūd; Al-Tawallud, against al-*Iskafi*.

*Al-Wāsiṭī*²⁶⁶

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Zayd al-Wāsiṭī was one of the important and eminent theologians. He learned from Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī, to whom he was related. In his prime he had a strong voice²⁶⁷ and many associates (pupils). It is said that he was one of the theologians of Baghdād, being counted among them, which is the truth, though he lived at al-Faṣīl.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ Flück, ZDMG, New Ser., XV, No. 2 (1936), 298-321, omits this title.

²⁶⁶ At this point the Flügel text recommences, after omitting most of Chap. V, sect. 1. MS 1934 also starts at this point. The Tonk MS continues without a break, indicating that it must have been copied before the two halves of *Al-Fihrist* became separated.

²⁶⁷ Both the Tonk MS and MS 1934 have 'ālī, indicating that the voice was "exalted" or "strong."

²⁶⁸ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 431, l. 20, for a region near al-Rayy with this name. It may, however, refer to some now forgotten place near Baghdād.

He was one of the most lighthearted persons in God's world and so he composed a poem in which he lampooned *Naṣṭuwayh*, saying:

His intention is to see no man who is evil,
So let him refrain from seeing *Naṣṭuwayh*,
Whom Allāh burns with half his name
And causes the rest to be calling to him.²⁶⁹

A refreshing remark of his about *Naṣṭuwayh* was, "Whoever wishes to go the limit in ignorance, let him learn theology according to the school of al-Nāshī,²⁷⁰ law according to the code of *Dā'ūd* ibn 'Alī, and grammar according to the system of *Naṣṭuwayh*." Then he went on to say, "*Naṣṭuwayh* presents theology according to the school of al-Nāshī, law according to the code of *Dā'ūd* and he himself is *Naṣṭuwayh*, so accordingly he is the consummation of ignorance."

He died four years later than Abū 'Alī [al-Jubbā'i died], it is said in the year three hundred and six [A.D. 918/19]. Among his books there were:

Sublimity of the Qur'ān, about its order and composition; The *Inamate*, which was well done.

Among the Pupils (*Aṣḥāb*) of al-*Wāsiṭī*

Abū al-'Abbās . . .²⁷¹ Among his books there was *Refutation of the Book "Will Is an Attribute of Being."*²⁷²

Ibn al-Ikshīd

He was Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ma'jūr al-Ikshād,²⁷³ one of the Mu'tazilah. He was honored, virtuous, and pious. He

²⁶⁹ The point of this poem is that *naṣṭ* is "naphtha," giving the idea of burning, while *wayh* signifies "come along."

²⁷⁰ The Flügel edition of *Al-Fihrist*, p. 172, n. 6, says that this was al-Nāshī al-Akhbar.

²⁷¹ Here there is a word inserted which is very likely confused with the word for "book" (*kitāb*) preceding the title at the end of the sentence.

²⁷² This was a book written by al-Najjār; the Flügel edition gives the title clearly.

²⁷³ Both forms of spelling, Ikshīd and Ikshād, are used in connection with the scholar mentioned here. Brockelmann, *Islamic Peoples*, p. 159, says that al-Ikshīd was an honorary title. Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 2184, 2190, 2193, 2196, says Ibn al-Ikshād was governor of Tarsus, A.D. 898-900.

owned an estate from which he derived his wealth, over half of its revenue going to learning and its scholars (people). He had a good literary style and was learned in Arabic and the law, writing a number of books about the law.

His house was by Sūq al-‘Aṭash, on a street known as Darb al-Ikhshād.²⁷⁴ Because of his love of learning and his piety, he used to say to his estate agent, “Don’t tell me anything about the property, so as to embitter my last breath, for it does not enrich me [for the hereafter]. Let me be, that I may devote myself to learning and the life hereafter.”

Abū Bakr died on Sunday, the eighth day before the end of Sha‘bān [the eighth Muslim month], during the year three hundred and twenty-six [A.D. 937/38]. Among his books there were:

Knowledge, about the sources, which he did not finish;²⁷⁵ The Beginner;²⁷⁶ Transcription of the Qur’ān; Consensus of Opinion (Al-Ijmā’); Refutation of *al-Khālidi*, about al-irjā’; Abridgment of the “Commentary” of al-Ṭabarī.²⁷⁷

Al-Ḥuṣaynī

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥuṣaynī, one of the pupils (aṣḥāb) of Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbā’i, from whom he learned. Among his books there were: ———.

Among the Pupils of Ibn al-Ikhshād

Abū al-‘Alā’, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā [al-Rummānī], Abū ‘Imrān ibn Rabāḥ, and Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥabashī.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁴ Sūq al-‘Aṭash was a shopping district near the Mukharrim Quarter of Baghdād on the East Side of the Tigris; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 221–24. Darb al-Ikhshād was probably an alley nearby, where the family of the scholar lived. For the form of the name see preceding note. At this point there is an omission in MS 1934 up to the account of Ibn Rabāḥ (see n. 281).

²⁷⁵ The Tonk MS has *al-ma’rifah* (“knowledge”). Flügel gives *al-ma’ūnah* (“assistance”).

²⁷⁶ In reference to grammar, this would be translated *The Subject*.

²⁷⁷ See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, in the Bibliography.

²⁷⁸ This final name is taken from the Tonk MS; Flügel gives al-Ḥunashī.

The Names of the Theological Books Which Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Isā Composed²⁷⁹

He was al-*Rummānī*, and as this Abū al-Ḥasan has already been mentioned in the chapter on the grammarians and language students, we shall cite in this passage only the names of his books about theology. Among these there was the book ———.

Among the Mu‘tazilah about whom we know nothing except his being mentioned there was:

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Ayyāsh

He was a Mu‘tazilī. Among his books there was *Refutation of the Book of Ibn Abī Bīshr*,²⁸⁰ about *Elucidation of the Proof*.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb, One of the Theologians

Among his books there was a book addressed to his brother ‘Alī ibn Ayyūb—a refutation of the Christians, with an exposition of the corruption of their treatise (doctrine) and a confirmation of the prophecy.

Ibn Rabāḥ²⁸¹

Abū ‘Imrān Mūsā ibn Rabāḥ is a theologian of the school of thought of Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbā’ī. He studied under the direction of Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ikshīd of al-Ṣaymarī and other theologians. It is said that he is living in our own time, in a city of Egypt, being over eighty years old. His birth was ——— and among his books there are: ———.

Ibn Shihāb

Abū al-Ṭayyib Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Shihāb learned from al-Balkhī and al-Khayyāṭ, as well as from others in addition to them. He died after three hundred and fifty [A.D. 961/62] of old age. His birth was ——— and among his books there was *Sessions of the Legal Authorities and Their Controversies*, nearly four hundred pages in length.

²⁷⁹ This was probably the Mu‘tazilī heretic ‘Alī ibn ‘Isā Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Rummānī*. He should not be confused with the great vizier, ‘Alī ibn ‘Isā Abū al-Ḥasan.

²⁸⁰ This was the name of the great theologian al-*Ash‘arī*, one of whose well-known books was *Elucidation of the Proof* (“*Ṭdāḥ al-Burhān*”).

²⁸¹ After a break (see n. 274) MS 1934 resumes the text, beginning with Ibn Rabāḥ.

Ibn al-Khallāl al-Qāḍī (the Judge)

Abū 'Umar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥafṣ al-Khallāl came from al-Baṣrah, where he was born. He fell in with al-Ṣaymarī and Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ikhshīd, learning from them both. He was judge of the city of Ḥarrah, which is al-Ḥadīthah, later therē being turned over to him the judgeship of Takrīt, where he is up to the present time.²⁸² Among his books there were:

Sources; Allegorical Interpretation.

Abū Hāshim and His Pupils

Abū Hāshim 'Abd al-Salām ibn Muḥammad al-Jubbā'ī arrived at the City of Peace [Baghdād] during the year three hundred and fourteen [A.D. 926/27]. He was intelligent, of good understanding and with penetrating discernment. He was also industrious and capable in theology, defending it. He died during the year three hundred and twenty-one [A.D. 933]. Among his books there were: The large compendium; the large book, Subjects (Abwāb); the small book, Subjects (Abwāb); the small compendium; Man; Compensation (Al-'Iwāḍ) (or Accident [Al-'Araḍ]); Military Questions; Refutation of Aristotle in connection with "De Generatione et Corruptione"; Al-Ṭabā'ī; Legal Interpretation.

Ibn Khallād al-Baṣrī

Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn ——— ibn Khallād was one of the pupils (*aṣḥāb*) of Abū Hāshim. Going to him at al-'Askar,²⁸³ he learned from him and became outstanding among his pupils.

Among Those Who Learned from Abū Hāshim, but Have No Books Which Are Known

A man known as Qashūr,²⁸⁴ whose name was Ibn Saḥalwayh, surnamed Abū al-Qāsim, and 'Abd Allāh ibn Khaṭṭāb, known as "The Camel"²⁸⁵ of 'Ā'ishah."

²⁸² For al-Ḥadīthah and Takrīt, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 861; II, 222; "Ḥadīthah," *Enc. Islam*, II, 194.

²⁸³ For several places with this name, see "al-'Askar," *Enc. Islam*, I, 488; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 675-77. The Flügel edition adds that he wrote a book entitled *Sources* (Al-Uṣūl).

²⁸⁴ Qashūr is a medicine and *qushūr*, another possibility, means "skins."

²⁸⁵ The Tonk and 1934 MSS have *maḥmal* or *ḥaml*. *Ḥaml* means "embryo in the womb." But *jamal* ("camel"), perhaps having some reference to the Battle of the Camel, seems the most likely word.

Al-Baṣrī, Known as al-Ju'al

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ——— ibn Ibrāhīm, known as al-Kāghidī,²⁸⁶ and was one of the people of al-Baṣrah, where he was born. His teacher was Abū al-Qāsim ibn Sahalwayh, nicknamed Qashūr. He belonged to the school of thought of Abū Hāshim, the leadership of whose associates (pupils) culminated with him during his lifetime. He was virtuous, a legal authority and a theologian, lofty in intelligence, exerting enlightened influence, and learned in his school of thought, disseminating mindfulness [of God] in the districts and cities, especially in Khurāsān.

He interpreted the law in accordance with the codes of al-'Irāq, studying under Abū al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī. In this connection we shall mention his books on theology, and later we shall list his books about the law in the chapter on the legal authorities, if Allāh so wills.

He also studied under Abū Ja'far al-Ṣaymarī al-'Abbādānī,²⁸⁷ known as 'Sahak Lām."²⁸⁸ He was a pupil (associate) of Abū 'Alī ibn Khallād and studied under Abū Hāshim 'Abd al-Salām ibn Muḥammad. His birth was during the year three hundred and eight [A.D. 920/21] and he died in the City of Peace [Baghdād] in the year three hundred and sixty-nine [A.D. 979/80].²⁸⁹ Among his books there were:

Refutation of the Statement of [Ibn] al-Rāwandī that Substance Cannot Be Created from Nothing; also his rebuttal to the refutation of al-Rāzī, replying to the statement of al-Balkhī²⁹⁰—This was against al-Rāzī; Refutation of the Book of al-Rāzī, about [the idea that] it would be impossible (not fitting) for Almighty God to act after there was another agent of action; The Reply, concerning the two questions of the Shaykh Abū Muḥammad al-Rāmahurmuzī; statement [on the subject] that God Almighty exists and that there is nothing else besides Him, until He has created the created; The Faith; Confirmation; Knowledge (Al-Ma'rifah).

²⁸⁶ *Al-kāghidī* or *al-kāghidhī* is "the paper worker."

²⁸⁷ The Flügel version spells this name al-'Abbādātī, apparently an error.

²⁸⁸ The nickname "Sahak Lām" means "Strong Smell," given to him because he had a public latrine by his house; see Khallikān, III, 629.

²⁸⁹ Flügel gives an incorrect date; see Murtaḍā, pp. 105-6.

²⁹⁰ This was probably Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī.

The Second Section of the Fifth Chapter

of the book *Al-Fihrist*, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed. This section includes accounts of the theologians of the *Shi'ah*, the *Imāmiyah*, and the *Zaydiyyah*.

Mention of the Reason Why the *Shi'ah* Are Called by This Name

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: When Ṭalḥah [ibn 'Ubayd Allāh] and al-Zubayr [ibn al-'Awwām] opposed 'Alī, for whom may there be peace,¹ rejecting the demand [for revenge] for the blood of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, 'Alī, for whom may there be peace, sought them out to fight them, that they might comply with the command of Allāh, may His name be glorified.² Those who followed him in this cause were called *al-Shi'ah* (the Partisans) and he ['Alī], for whom may there be peace, used to say "my partisans," calling them the Pure (*al-Aṣfiyā'*) Company, the Masters (*al-Awliyā'*) Company, the Guard of the Five (*Shurṭat al-Khamīs*) Company, the Companions (*al-Aṣḥāb*) Company.

The meaning of *Shurṭat al-Khamīs* was that 'Alī, for whom may there be peace, said to his band: "Prove yourselves, for I guarantee for you Heaven. I do not offer you as a condition gold or silver, for

¹ In several places the Flügel edition gives different pious epithets, but as the author of *Al-Fihrist* was a *Shi'i*, the wording in connection with the *Shi'i* sects in the Beatty and 1934 MSS, the original manuscript, is undoubtedly the form to follow. The Flügel wording is that of copyists who were probably Sunnites. Flügel gives, "may Allāh be well pleased with him."

² This passage refers to the Battle of the Camel. On the margin of the Tonk MS there is a note saying that the passage is a lie, as Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were Companions of the Prophet. In this version the pious epithets about 'Alī and his descendants have been inked over, evidently by a Sunni copyist. For the expression, "comply with the command of Allāh," see the Qur'ān 49: 9.

a prophet among the prophets once said to his companions, 'Prove yourselves; I do not guarantee for you anything except Heaven.'"³

'Alī ibn Ismā'il ibn Mītham al-Tammār⁴

The first member of the Imāmah school of thought to speak about theology was 'Alī ibn Ismā'il ibn Mītham al-Tammār. *Mītham* was one of the important associates of 'Alī, for whom may there be peace. Among the books of 'Alī there were:

The Imamate; What Is Due.

Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam

He was Abū Muḥammad Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, a protégé of the Banū Shaybān⁵ from al-Kūfah. Going from al-Kūfah to Baghdād he became one of the companions of Ja'far ibn Muḥammad, for whom may there be peace.⁶

He was one of the theologians of the Shī'ah who caused discord over the theology of the imamate, disrupting the doctrine and opinion.⁷ He was keen in the science of theology and quick with repartee. Once Hishām was questioned about *Mu'āwiyah*: "Did he witness [the Battle of] Badr?" He replied, "Yes, on the other side."

He was attached to *Yahyā ibn Khālīd* of the Barmak family. He was his deputy, speaking and appearing at the [palace] audiences. He lived in the Karkh [Quarter] of the City of Peace [Baghdād],⁸ and died some time of unknown interval after the tragedy of the Barmak family, it is said during the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn. Among his books there were:

The Imamate; Guides to the Emergence of Phenomena; Refutation of the Zanādiqah; Refutation of Upholders of Dualism; Oneness; Refutation of *Hishām al-Jawaliqī*; Refutation of Those Who Uphold

³ "Prove" and "guarantee" are free translations of forms of *sharafa*, which implies imposing a condition. For *al-khamīs*, see Glossary. For the paragraph, see Qur'ān 47:18(20).

⁴ This means "date vendor." The name is misspelled in the Flügel text.

⁵ For this tribe, see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 149, 155.

⁶ The Flügel edition has, "may Allāh be well pleased with him." This was al-Ṣādiq, the 6th Shī'ī imam. As he died when Hishām was about twenty, it may be more correct to say "pupils" instead of "companions."

⁷ He formed his own sect; see al-Hishāmīyah in the Glossary.

⁸ The Karkh Quarter was on the left bank of the Tigris at Baghdād; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 63, 320.

the Forms (Natures); The Old Man and the Young Man (The Shaykh and the Youth); Management (Freeing the Slaves after the Master's Death); The Scales (Al-Mizān);⁹ The Field (Al-Maydān); Refutation of Anyone Who Speaks about the Imamate of the More Excellent;¹⁰ Disagreement of the People about the Imamate.

The Will¹¹ and a Refutation of Whoever Denies It; about compulsion and predestination (al-jabr wa-al-qadar); The Two Arbiters;¹² Refutation of the Mu'tazilah in Connection with Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr;¹³ Predestination; Pronunciations (Dialects); Knowledge (Al-Ma'rifah); Al-Istiṭā'ah; The Eight Abwāb;¹⁴ against Shayṭān al-Ṭāq; Historical Traditions, How They Are Verified;¹⁵ against Aristotle, about oneness (al-tawḥīd);¹⁶ another book about the Mu'tazilah.

Shayṭān al-Ṭāq

He was Abū Ja'far al-Aḥwal, whose name was Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān, nicknamed Shayṭān al-Ṭāq, but called by the Shī'ah Mu'min al-Ṭāq. He was a friend of Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far ibn Muḥammad,¹⁷ for whom may there be peace. He was an acute theologian, among whose books there were:

The Imamate; Knowledge (Al-Ma'rifah); Refutation of the Mu'tazilah, about the imamate of the more excellent; The Affair of Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and 'A'ishah.¹⁸

⁹ These were the scales used to weigh souls on the Day of Judgment. See Qur'ān 42:17; 55:7-9.

¹⁰ The word translated "more excellent" is *mafdūl*. Although it usually means "surpassed," it can also mean "surpassing" or "more excellent." As al-Nadīm was a Shī'i, he evidently approved of speaking of the Shī'i imams in the latter way.

¹¹ See Glossary.

¹² These were Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and 'Amr ibn al-'Aṣ, chosen to arbitrate the quarrel between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah; see Mas'ūdī, IV, 391; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 181.

¹³ As these two Companions of the Prophet opposed 'Alī, they were greatly disliked by the Shī'ah.

¹⁴ This probably refers to the first eight Shī'i imams; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442.

¹⁵ Flügel gives another word, but "verified" is in the Touk and 1934 MSS.

¹⁶ The Muslims believed in the oneness of the universe, refuting Aristotle's tenet of the eternity of both the material and spiritual worlds.

¹⁷ The 6th Shī'i imam, known as al-Ṣādiq.

¹⁸ This was the Battle of the Camel; see Glossary. In the Flügel edition the pious phrase "may Allāh be well pleased with them" has been added by some Sunni scribe. The 1934 MS evidently omits this epithet, as al-Nadīm was a Shī'i, who never would have invoked God's blessing for the opponents of 'Alī. These titles should be compared with the passage in Tūsī, p. 323, sect. 698.

Al-Sikāl

He was a pupil of *Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam*. His name was *Muḥammad ibn Khalīl*¹⁹ and he was a theologian, one of the pupils of *Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam*, with whom he disagreed except in connection with the origin of the imamate. Among his books there were: *Knowledge (Al-Maʿrifah)*; *Al-Istiṭāʿah*; *The Imamate*; against whoever denies the necessity of [confirming the right to] the imamate with a [Qurʾānic] text.²⁰

Ibn Qibbah

He was *Abū Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn Qibbah*, one of the theologians and clever scholars of the *Shīʿah*, among whose books there were:

Adjusting Equitably (Al-Inṣāf), about the imamate; *The Imamate*.

*Abū Sahl al-Nawbakhtī*²¹

Abū Sahl Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī ibn Nawbakht was one of the great men of the *Shīʿah*. *Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Nāshī* said that he was his teacher. He was a virtuous and learned theologian, who presided over a session (class) for a group of theologians. He had an idea about the *qāʾim*²² of the family of *Muḥammad* which no one had before him.²³ This was what he used to say: "I tell you that the [rightful] imam was *Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan*²⁴ and that, although he died in concealment, there has arisen in the cause²⁵ during the

¹⁹ The translation follows the Tonk and 1934 MSS for the spelling of this name. Flügel and Shahrastānī (*Haarbrücker*), Part I, p. 219, give *al-Shikāl*. Tūsi, p. 292, sect. 634, has a garbled form. *Al-sikāl* is one who inquires, and *al-shikāl* means "hobble" or "deceit." Two other possibilities are *al-shakāl* ("jackal") and *al-sakāl* ("nightingale").

²⁰ For the final title, one must bear in mind the fact that the *Shīʿah* used verses of the Qurʾān to prove the right of *ʿAlī* to be the caliph.

²¹ For another spelling of the name, see references in *Biog. Index*.

²² This refers to the lawful caliph of Islām, believed by the *Shīʿah* to be a lineal descendant of the Prophet.

²³ This is probably the meaning, although the Arabic idiom could be translated "which he did not adopt hastily."

²⁴ He was the 12th *Shīʿī* imam, the son of *al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī*. He was known as *Muḥammad al-Muntaẓar* ("the Expected"). He disappeared at *Sāmarrā*, A.D. 878, but was called "*Qāʾim al-Zamān*," and was destined some day to reappear.

²⁵ For this phrase the translation follows the Tonk MS, which is clearer than the other versions.

concealment his son, and so it will be with his son's issue, until God consummates his dominion by causing him to appear."

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Shalmaghānī, known as Ibn Abī al-'Azāqir, sent to him to summon him to opposition, offering him the miraculous and visions of the supernatural. On the forehead of Abū Sahl there was a bare spot like baldness, so he said to the messenger: "I know of only one miracle, which is that your master should make hair to grow on my forehead; then I can believe in him." After that the messenger did not return to him.²⁶ Abū Sahl died ———. Among his books there were:²⁷

The Fulfillment, about the imamate; Warning (Prophecy), about the imamate; Refutation of the Ghulāt; Refutation of al-Ṭāṭarī, concerning the imamate; Refutation of 'Isā ibn Abān, about legal interpretation;²⁸ Refutation of the Epistle of al-Shāfi'ī; Ideas; Sessions;²⁹ Knowledge; Confirmation of the Epistle (Confirmation of the Prophetic Mission); Refutation of Those Upholding the Attributes; Emergence of the World;³⁰ Refutation of Whoever Speaks of the Created [the Qur'ān]; The Word, about man;³¹ The Vanity of Analogy;³² Narrative and What Is Told; Refutation of the Book, "Arousing Wisdom" (Ba'th al-Hikmah), against [Ibn] al-Rāwandī; Refutation of "The Crown" (Al-Tāj), against [Ibn] al-Rāwandī—it is known as Kitāb al-Shibk;³³

²⁶ The Tonk MS has "He returned to his master, but did not come back to him," that is, to Abū Sahl.

²⁷ Compare with the titles in Ṭūsī, pp. 57–58.

²⁸ Both MS 1934 and the Flügel edition have *al-libās* ("clothing"), but Ṭūsī cited above is almost certainly correct in giving *al-ijtihād* ("legal interpretation"); this form is used in the translation.

²⁹ Al-Ṭūsī, pp. 57–58, adds two extra titles: *His Sessions with al-Jubbā'ī* and *Sessions with Thābit ibn Qurrah*.

³⁰ The translation follows the title given by Ṭūsī, pp. 57–58, *Ḥudūth al-'Ālam* ("Emergence of the World"), as it seems to be more correct than the title given by Flügel, *Ḥadath al-'Ālam* ("New Event of the World"). Al-Ṭūsī, p. 58, also explains that the title which follows refers to the Jabariyah.

³¹ Flügel and MS 1934 have *al-insān* ("man"), whereas al-Ṭūsī, p. 58, has *al-ansāb* ("idols").

³² The more conservative jurists believed that legal decisions should depend upon the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, regarding analogy as not truly authoritative.

³³ Al-Ṭūsī, p. 58, makes the form of this title clear. *The Book of the Crown* ("Kitāb al-Tāj") was about the world and eternity. *Kitāb al-Shibk* means "The Book of the Whirl" or "The Book of Entanglement," evidently referring to the constellations. Flügel gives *Kitāb al-Sabak*, *al-sabak* being a word used for the melting of metals.

Refutation of Legal Interpretation by Personal Opinion, against [Ibn] al-Rāwandī; Attributes.

Abū Sahl [al-Nawbakhtī] Had a Brother Surnamed Abū *Ja'far*

He was a theologian of his [al-Nawbakhtī's] doctrine. Among his books there were: ———.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī

He was Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā, the son of the sister of Abū Sahl ibn Nawbakht, a theologian and philosopher. A group of translators of books about philosophy, such as Abū 'Uthmān al-Dimashqī, *Ishāq* [ibn Ḥunayn], *Thābit* [ibn Qurrah], and others besides them, used to meet with him. Although the Mu'tazilah claimed him, the Shī'ah also claimed him and he inclined towards the Shī'ah, for the family of Nawbakht was openly known to support the rule of 'Alī and his descendants, for whom be peace. Accordingly, we mention him in this place.

The collection of books which he transcribed in his own handwriting was very large. He also wrote compositions and made compilations about theology, philosophy, and other subjects. He died ———. Among his books there were:³⁴

Doctrines and Religions, which he did not finish; Refutation of Upholders of Transmigration (al-Tanāsukh);³⁵ Oneness and the Beginning of Causes; Refutation of the Book of Abū 'Īsā about the Unusual Eastern;³⁶ Abridgment of *Aristotle's* "De Generatione et Corruptione"; Proof by 'Umar ibn 'Abbād and a Defense of His Doctrines;³⁷ The Imamate, which he did not finish.

Al-Susanjirdī

He was one of the young men (pupils) of Abū Sahl al-Nawbakhtī. His name was Muḥammad ibn Bishr. He was surnamed Abū al-Ḥusayn and known as al-Ḥamdūnī, because he was related to the Ḥamdūn family.³⁸ Among his books there was *Achievement*, about the imamate.

³⁴ Cf. Ṭūsī, p. 98, sect. 208.

³⁵ See "Tanāsukh," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 648.

³⁶ This was *Al-Gharīb al-Mashraqī fī al-Nawḥ* by Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq.

³⁷ It is not clear whether "proof" is the title of a book by 'Umar ibn 'Abbād, or whether it refers to proving something to him.

³⁸ See Khallikān, III, 90-92; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, p. 1314 ff.

Among the Eminent:³⁹

Al-Ṭāṭari

He was a Shī'ī whose name was ———. He was converted to the Shī'ī sect. Among his books there was *The Imamate*.⁴⁰

Ḥishām [ibn Sālīm] al-Jawālīqī⁴¹

Abū Mālīk al-Ḥaḍramī

Ibn Mumlak al-Iṣbahānī

Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Mumlak al-Iṣbahānī was a theologian of the Shī'ah. He held a session (class) with Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'i dealing with the imamate and its clarification which Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad al-Karkhī attended.⁴² [His books:]

The Imamate; Refutation of the Imamate, against Abū 'Alī [al-Jubbā'i], which he did not finish.

Abū al-Jaysh ibn al-Khurāsānī

His name was al-Muẓaffar and among his books there were: ———.

A Young Man (Pupil) of Abū al-Jaysh

He was ———.

Al-Nāshī al-Saghīr

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn 'Alī ibn Waṣīf. He was an excellent poet, dealing with the Ahl al-Bayt [members of the Prophet's family], for whom may there be peace. He was a distinguished theologian, among whose books there were: ———.

³⁹ The Arabic is *al-qudamā'*, which often means "the ancients," but here probably means "the eminent," as the men cited were of the tenth century.

⁴⁰ *The Imamate* is followed by a word which appears to be *ḥasan* ("good") which may mean it was a good book, or may be part of a name or phrase which is missing.

⁴¹ The translation follows MS 1934.

⁴² This may have been a session for discussion and debate, or a class.

Ibn al-Mu'allim

He is Abū 'Abd Allāh,⁴³ who is living in our own time and with whom culminates the leadership of the Shī'ī theologians. He is preeminent in the science of theology, according to the doctrine of his associates, subtle in intelligence and quick-witted. I have recently seen him. I met him and found him to be distinguished.⁴⁴ Among his books there are: ———.

The Zaydiyyah⁴⁵

The Zaydiyyah, who claim the imamate for *Zayd* ibn 'Alī, for whom may there be peace, and then after him support the imamate of anyone of the living descendants of *Fāṭimah* who meets the conditions of the imamate. Most of the traditionalists of this doctrine, such as *Sufyān* ibn 'Uyaynah, *Sufyān* [ibn Sa'id] al-Thawrī, and *Ṣāliḥ* ibn Ḥayy, together with his sons, and others, too, with accounts of these men. Then with the topics with which I deal, there will be statements about their learning and religion, if Allāh so wills.

Abū al-Jārūd

Among the scholars of the Zaydiyyah there was Abū al-Jārūd, surnamed Abū al-Najm, who was Ziyād ibn al-Mundhir al-'Abdī.⁴⁶ It is related that when *Ja'far* ibn Muḥammad, for whom may there be peace, was asked about him, he said, "What has Abū al-Jārūd done? Did he hope that after he had chosen an imam he would not die except in appearance?" Then he said, "May Allāh curse him, for he is blind in heart and blind in vision."⁴⁷

⁴³ The Tonk MS calls him Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān, but for the proper rendering of his name, see the Biog. Index.

⁴⁴ The Tonk MS adds a number of words which are not in the other Arabic versions, but which have been included in this translation.

⁴⁵ The phrases in this paragraph seem to serve as an introduction to the material which follows.

⁴⁶ For al-'Abdī, see "Abd al-Kais," *Enc. Islam*, I, 45 bottom. The Tonk MS gives a different name.

⁴⁷ Flügel adds "ibn 'Alī" to this name. This was the sixth Shī'ī imam. Ja'far of course believed that his father was the true fifth imam and heir to the caliphate, rather than his uncle *Zayd*, whom the Zaydiyyah, among them Abū al-Jārūd, upheld; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. Ja'far was probably making fun of Abū al-Jārūd, saying that he hoped *Zayd* would not die, but would hide and reappear.

Muḥammad ibn Sinān said about him, "Abū al-Jārūd did not die until he had drunk intoxicants and designated authority to unbelievers."

Among the Theologians of the Zaydiyyah

Fuḍayl al-Rīsān, who was ibn al-Zubayr, and was an associate of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī;⁴⁸ Abū *Khālid* al-Wāsiṭī; *Manṣūr* [ibn Ḥāzim] ibn Abī al-Aswad.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥayy

Al-Ḥasan ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥayy was born during the year one hundred [A.D. 718/19] and died in concealment during the year one hundred and sixty-eight [A.D. 784/85]. He was one of the important, great, and learned men of the Zaydiyyah branch of the Shī'ah, an authority for the law and a theologian. Among his books there were:

Oneness; The Imamate of the Descendants of 'Alī by *Fāṭimah*; The Compilation, about the law.

Al-Ḥasan had two brothers, one of whom was 'Alī ibn Ṣāliḥ and the other Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṣāliḥ. They belonged to the school of thought of al-Ḥasan, their brother, 'Alī also being a theologian.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-*Nadīm*]: Most of the scholars among the authorities on the Ḥadīth⁴⁹ belonged to the Zaydiyyah, as did also a group of jurists and traditionalists such as *Sufyān* ibn 'Uyaynah, *Sufyān* ibn al-Thawrī, and leading authorities on the Ḥadīth.

Muqātil ibn Sulaymān

He was one of the Zaydiyyah, and also an authority on the Ḥadīth and a [Qur'ānic] reader. He died ———. Among his books there were:

⁴⁸ For the person most likely referred to by this name, see Biog. Index, al-*Bāqir* Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī.

⁴⁹ The Arabic might be al-*muḥdathūn* ("recent authorities"), but since the two men named Sufyān mentioned in this passage were born in the eighth century, the word is probably al-*muḥaddithūn* ("authorities on the Ḥadīth"), as translated. This phrase very likely refers to men who regarded the Ḥadīth as the only authoritative source for the interpretation of the Qur'ān, and so used it to formulate legal decisions.

The large commentary, which was quoted; The Abrogating and the Abrogated; a commentary about the five hundred verses; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Allegorical Interpretation of the Qur'ān; Rare Forms of Commentary; Appearance and the Similar (High Rank and Headmen); Answers, about the Qur'ān; Refutation of the Qadariyah; Divisions and Languages; Putting Before and Behind; Verses and Allegorical Interpretations.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Third Section of the Fifth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, including accounts of the theologians of the Mujbirah and the Nābitah al-Hashwīyah, with the names of their books.¹

Al-Najjār

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Najjār was a weaver in the factory of al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad al-Hāshimī and a leader among the Mujbirah and their theologians. It was said that he used to make weights, being one of the people of Bamm,² and that when he spoke his voice was like the sound of a bat. He was one of the people with discernment,³ and he held meetings and arguments with al-Nazzām.

The death of al-Ḥusayn al-Najjār came about because he met Ibrāhīm al-Nazzām at the house of some of his intimates (brothers).⁴ After al-Ḥusayn had greeted him, Ibrāhīm said to him, "Sit down so

¹ MS 1934 gives what must be meant to be al-Nābitah, whereas Flügel gives al-Bābiyah, almost certainly a mistake.

² Bamm was a Persian city known for its weaving; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 737. MS 1934 spells the name incorrectly. The weights which al-Najjār made were probably used for holding the threads taut in weaving.

³ "People with discernment" is in Arabic *ahl al-nāẓirīn*; see "Nazar," *Enc. Islāmī*, III, 888.

⁴ To understand the dialogue which follows, it is necessary to know something about one of the doctrines held by al-Najjār. He stated that God creates the actions of mankind, both good and bad. Then a man himself can carry out such of these created acts as he chooses. In other words, God creates the actions of a man, but the man himself can appropriate the divine will, so as to perform that which God has created. In this passage the word for "creation" is *khalq*, and for "carry out" or "perform," *fa'al*. The passage has been translated freely.

that I may speak to you." Upon his sitting down Ibrāhīm said to him, "Is it fitting for you to perform the creation of Allāh?" Al-Ḥusayn replied, "It is fitting for me to carry out that [act] which is the creation of Allāh."

Then Ibrāhīm said, "That [act] which is the creation of Allāh, is it Allāh's creation, or something not created by him?" Al-Ḥusayn said, "It is the creation of Allāh." Ibrāhīm continued, "You have carried out the [act] created by Allāh. Then why is it wrong for you to create what Allāh creates, when it is right to carry out what Allāh creates?"

Al-Ḥusayn said, "I do not perform the [process of] creation of Allāh, but I carry out that [act] which has been created by Allāh." Ibrāhīm said, "That which is the creation of Allāh, is it Allāh's creation, or is it not a creation of his?" Al-Ḥusayn replied, "It is the creation of Allāh." Then Ibrāhīm kicked him saying, "Get up, Allāh confound anyone connecting you with any knowledge or understanding." He went out feverish, which was the cause of the illness from which he died.

Among his books there were:

Al-Istiṭā'ah;⁵ It Was, It Is; The Created [the Qur'ān]; The Attributes and Names [of God]; Confirmation of the Apostles; Considering Lawful and Permitting; Will Is an Attribute of Being;⁶ Al-Irjā'; Forms (Acts) of Worship; Desire of Importance [in connection with future reward and punishment]; Judgment and Predestination (Al-Qaḍā' wa-al-Qadar); Allegorical Interpretations; Al-Mustaṭī'ah,⁷ against Ibrāhīm; The Summary; Causes (Defects), about al-istiṭā'ah; Demands; Witticisms; The Substitute; Refutation of the Heretics; The Turk (Abandoning); Kindness and Strengthening (Assisting); Reward and Punishment;⁸ Abwāb;⁹ Knowledge, about consensus of opinion.

⁵ See Glossary for this doctrine which was upheld by al-Najjār.

⁶ For previous mention of this title, see translation, Chap. V, sect. 1, n. 272.

⁷ Probably meaning the voluntary appropriation by man of an act created by God, or the action so appropriated; *istiṭā'ah* (see Glossary) is the doctrine which claims this ability for man.

⁸ MS 1934 leaves a space between these three last titles and the title which precedes them.

⁹ *Abwāb* means "doors." It is used for sections of the Qur'ān, but here very likely signifies the Shī'ī imams.

Ḥaḥṣ al-Fard

Ḥaḥṣ al-Fard was one of the Mujbirah, in fact one of their greatest scholars, equal to al-*Najjār*. He was surnamed Abū 'Amr, and was one of the people of Egypt who went to al-Baṣrah, where he heard [the lectures of] and met with Abū al-*Hudhayl*, becoming his equal. Then Abū al-*Hudhayl* broke with him.

At first he was a Mu'tazilī, and later he subscribed to [the doctrine of] the creation of actions.¹⁰ He was nicknamed Abū Yaḥyā. There were among his books, according to [what is written in] the handwriting of the nephew [son of the brother] of al-Iskāfī, the protégé of the Banū Jusham:¹¹

Al-*Istiṭā'ah*; Oneness; The Created [the Qur'ān], against Abū al-*Hudhayl*; Refutation of the Christians; Refutation of the Mu'tazilah; Abwāb, about the created [the Qur'ān].

Theologians of the Mujbirah of Whom No Book Is Known

Sābālān, *Nusayān*, *Rakān*, Al-*Husayn* ibn Kūrān, all of whom were protégés. Also Abu al-Ḥasan al-*Samarī* and Ibn *Wakī'* al-Bunānī.¹²

Ibn Kullāb

He was 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Kullāb, the cotton worker (*al-qattān*), one of the Nābitah al-Ḥashwīyāh. He had controversies with 'Abbād ibn Sulaymān and stated that the word (*kalām*) of Allāh was Allāh, so that 'Abbād used to say that because of this statement he was a Christian.

Ābū al-'Abbās al-*Baghawī* related:

We visited *Pethiōn*,¹³ the Christian, who was in Dār al-Rūm on the West Side [of Baghdād]. The conversation flowed on until I asked him about Ibn Kullāb. Then he said, "God be merciful to 'Abd Allāh. While he

¹⁰ Cf. *istiṭā'ah*, Glossary.

¹¹ For this tribe, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 46. The man named al-Iskāfī may be one of the men of that name listed in the Biog. Index.

¹² These are unimportant scholars who have not been identified in any source except *Al-Fihrist*. The first four were evidently non-Arabs.

¹³ The interpretation of this name is a guess and may not be accurate. Cf. Arabic form given in the Flügel edition, p. 244, l. 9. Dār al-Rūm was a Christian quarter in Baghdād.

was sitting beside me in this cloister, he pointed in the direction of the church and learned this saying from me.¹⁴ If he had lived we would have overcome the Muslims."

Al-Baghawī went on to say, "Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Ṭālaqānī asked him, 'What have you to say about the Christ (al-Masīḥ)?' He replied, 'What the Sunnites (Ahl al-Sunnah) among the Muslims say about the Qur'ān.'"

Among the books of 'Abd Allāh there were:

Attributes; Creation of Actions;¹⁵ Refutation of the Mu'tazilah.

Among the Kullābiyah [Followers of Ibn Kullāb]

Abū Muḥammad, a judge of the Sunnites, among whose books there was *The Sunnah and the Jamā'ah*.

Al-'Aṭawī

His name was Muḥammad ibn 'Aṭīyah, also said to be Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī 'Aṭīyah. He was made a protégé of the Banū Layth ibn Bakr ibn 'Abd Manāh ibn Kinānah.¹⁶ He was one of the keen theologians, and was surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Although he belonged to the school of thought of al-Ḥusayn al-Najjār, he differed with him concerning the ordinances.

He was also a poet, gifted by nature. He was from al-Baṣrah, but moved first to the City of Peace [Baghdād] and then from there to Sāmarrā. Among his books there were:

Creation of Actions;¹⁷ Perceptions (Consequences of Actions).

Salām al-Qārī

He was surnamed Abū al-Mundhir, but the Ahl al-'Adl¹⁸ nicknamed him Abū al-Mudabbir. When his slave boy abducted his concubine, he said to him, "What's this! Woe to you!" Then he

¹⁴ The saying was probably, "The word of Allāh is Allāh."

¹⁵ This probably refers to the belief held by al-Najjār and other heretics that God creates the actions for man to appropriate; see *istiṣā'ah*, Glossary.

¹⁶ For this tribe, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 32 middle; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 105.

¹⁷ See n. 15.

¹⁸ For this subsect and its relations with the Mujbīrah, see Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, (Nyberg), main text, pp. 24-25, 126.

[the slave] replied, "It was thus that Allāh foreordained." So he [Salām] exclaimed, "Thou art free because of thine knowledge of judgment and predestination (*al-qaḍā' wa-al-qadar*)," and he married him to the concubine. Among his books there were: ———.

'Abd Allāh ibn Dā'ūd

He was one of the Mujbirah. As he was passing by a group of his friends, who happened to know where he was going, they said, "Have you made matters right between so-and-so and so-and-so?" He replied, "We've managed it so that Allāh has not been corrupt, may Allāh be exalted for that."¹⁹ Among his books there was *Judgment and Predestination (Al-Qaḍā' wa-al-Qadar)*.²⁰

Al-Karābīsī

He was Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Yazīd al-Muhallabī al-Karābīsī, one of the Mujbirah, learned in the Ḥadīth and the law. I mention him here as he was more inclined to the *ijbār*²¹ than to other [doctrines]. When he died there were among his books:

The Untrustworthy in Connection with the Ḥadīth; The Imamate, in which he showed malice towards 'Alī, for whom may there be peace.

Among His Young Men

Fustuḡah, whose name was Muḥammad ibn 'Alī; Ibn Nājiyah; and *Shamkḥṣah*. Fustuḡah wrote *The Strange in the Ḥadīth and Verification of the Traditions*, which he did not finish; it was lengthy.

Ibn Abī Bishr [al-Ash'arī]²²

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ismā'il ibn Abī Bishr al-Ash'arī, from among the people of al-Baṣrah. At first he was a Mu'tazilī, but later he repented of subscribing to justice (*al-'adl*) and creation

¹⁹ It would have been a corrupt event, if God had foreordained that two friends should quarrel with one another.

²⁰ This title is given only in the Tonk MS.

²¹ This probably refers to the doctrine of the Mujbirah.

²² This scholar is mentioned here because he started his career as a heretic, although later he became the leading orthodox theologian of the period. He became known as al-Ash'arī, but here is called Ibn Abī Bishr. Cf. Khallikān, II, 227; "al-Ash'arī," *Enc. Islam*, I, 480; Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, 377-79.

of the Qur'ān.²³ When he was in the congregational mosque of al-Baṣrah on a Friday, he arose from his chair²⁴ calling out at the top of his lungs:

Whoever has known me has known me and whoever has not known me, to him I make myself known. I am so-in-so, the son of so-in-so, who used to proclaim the creation of the Qur'ān and that Allāh will not be seen through the eyesight [of men] and that if I do wrong things, it is I who do them. Behold, I am repenting, uprooted, committed to refuting the Mu'tazilah, casting off their disgraces and shameful errors.

About him there was a great deal of jesting and joking. Ibn Abī Bishr died ———. Among his books there were:

Flashes (Al-Lumma'); The Abridgment; Elucidation of the Proof; Explanation, concerning theology (uṣūl al-dīn);²⁵ Exposition and Analysis Refuting the People of Deceit and Error.

Among His Associates

Al-Dimmānī and Hammawayh, both of whom were from among the people of Sirāf.²⁶ He [al-Ash'arī] sought their help in connection with reproaches and defamation. Both of them were learned in accordance with his doctrine, but no book of theirs is known.

One of the Mujbirah

Al-Kūshānī, whose name was ———, had discussions with al-Ṣālihi. He wrote a number of books which were in accord with the doctrines of his associates, and among which there were:

Creation of Actions;²⁷ The Vision.²⁸

²³ See Glossary, Mu'tazilah.

²⁴ This very likely refers to the top step of a pulpit on which the leader sat when conducting the Friday service, but it might also refer to the chair which a professor used when he lectured or taught his class.

²⁵ Compare this title with *Al-Ibānah 'an Uṣūl al-Diyānah* ("Explanation from the Sources of Religion"), the usual form of the title, in the Bibliography.

²⁶ An important city of southern Persia; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 211.

²⁷ See n. 15. Instead of *af'al* ("actions"), Flügel has *aflāk* ("celestial spheres").

²⁸ This refers to the question of whether or not a believer might have a vision of God in Paradise by means of his own eyesight. See Ash'arī, *Theology of al-Ash'arī*, Chap. IV.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Fourth Section of the Fifth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed. It includes accounts of the theologians of the Khawārij, with the names of their books.¹

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: Although the leaders of this group [the Khawārij] were numerous, not all of them composed books. Furthermore, we may not have received information about some of them who, though not known to have written books, did actually write them, for their books were concealed and guarded.

Among Their Theologians: Al-Yamān ibn Ribāb

He was one of the leaders and chiefs of the Khawārij. He started as one of the Tha'ālibah, but later changed to the doctrines of the Bayhasīyah.² He was a debator, a theologian, and a writer of books, among which there were:

The Created [the Qur'ān]; Oneness; Judgments of the Believers; against the Mu'tazilah, about predestination; Discourses; Proofs of the Imamate of Abū Bakr; Refutation of the Murjī'ah; against the Mu'tazilah, about predestination; Refutation of Ḥammād ibn Abī Ḥanīfah.

Yahyā ibn Kāmil

Abū 'Alī Yahyā ibn Kāmil ibn Tulayḥah al-Jahdari³ was at first an associate of Bishr al-Marrīsī and one of the Murjī'ah. Then he

¹ This title follows MS 1934.

² For these sects see the Glossary.

³ This word is not clearly written in the Tonk and 1934 MSS, but evidently comes from the Jahdar Tribe; see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 213.

changed over to the doctrine of the Ibādīyah. Among his books there were:

The questions transmitted from him to *Ja'far* ibn Ḥarb, entitled *The Magnificent* (Al-Jalīlah); *The Created* [the Qur'ān]; *Oneness*, a refutation of the Ghulāt and the sects of the Shī'ah.

Al-Ṣayrafi

He was Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb, one of the theologians of the Khawārij and a Hilālī from the Banū Hilāl.⁴ Among his books there were: ———.

'Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd al-Ibādī

He was one of the greatest of the Khawārij and one of their theologians. Among his books there were:

Oneness; against the Mu'tazilah; *Al-Istiṭā'ah*; *Refutation of the Rāfiḍah*.

Ḥafṣ ibn Ashaym

He was one of the Khawārij, among whose books there was *Schisms and Their Refutation*, quoted from *Jubayr* ibn Ghālib.

Among Their Men Who Were Dialectic Metaphysicians

Ṣāliḥ, *Dā'ūd*, and *Ziyād al-A'ṣam*. They wrote controversial epistles, but no book of theirs is known.

Among the Leaders of the Ibādīyah Who Did Write Books

Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq al-Ibādī, among whose books there were:

Refutation of the Qadarīyah; *The Imamate*.

Ṣāliḥ al-Nājī

He was one of the important men of the Banū Nājiyah.⁵ Among his books there were:

Oneness; *Refutation of Those Who Disagree*.

⁴ See Khallikān, I, 241, for this tribe.

⁵ For this tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 146 bottom; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 55.

Al-Haytham ibn al-Haytham

He was also a Nājī from the Banū Nājiyah.⁶ Among his books there were:

The Imamate; Refutation of the Heretics.

Khaffāb ibn ———

Among his books there were: ———.

⁶ This sentence is in the Tonk MS alone.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Fifth Section of the Fifth Chapter

*of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed. It includes accounts of the pilgrims, the ascetics, the devotees, and the Ṣūfīs who were theologians by means of mental seizures and hallucinations.*¹

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: I have read written in the handwriting of Abū Muḥammad Ja'far al-Khuldī, who was one of the leaders of the persons who became Ṣūfīs, a pious man and an ascetic, and I have also heard him relate this same statement, the one I read written in his handwriting, and which was as follows:

I took [the following list of ascetics] from al-Junayd Abū al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad, who said to me, "I took it from Abū al-Ḥasan al-Sarī ibn al-Mughallis al-Saqāṭī, and al-Sarī from Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, Ma'rūf al-Karkhī having taken it from Farqad al-Sanjī, and Farqad in turn from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Al-Ḥasan took it from Anas ibn Mālik. Al-Ḥasan, furthermore, met with seventy of the men who fought at the Battle of Badr."

The Names of the Devotees, Ascetics, and Ṣūfīs, as Listed in the Handwriting of Ja'far ibn Nuṣayr al-Khuldī²

¹ The title is taken from MS 1934. The word translated "pilgrims" is *al-suyyāh*, which might also mean persons who travel about, seeking pious exercises. The word translated "hallucinations" might mean "psychological suggestions."

² The phrase following the word "Ṣūfīs" is not found in the Tonk or 1934 MSS. Instead, they have simply the words "from his handwriting." This list should be compared with the names given by 'Alī b. 'Uthmān, pp. 88 ff., and 'Abd Allāh, *Al-Luma'*, pp. xxiii ff. Most of the names can also be found in Sha'rānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, and 'Aṭṭār, *Memorial des saints*.

Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, already mentioned; Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn; Ḥarīm ibn Ḥayyān; 'Alqamah al-Aswad; Ibrāhīm [ibn Yazīd] al-Nakhā'i; al-Sha'bī; Mālīk ibn Dīnār; Muḥammad ibn Wāsi'; 'Aṭā al-Sulamī; Mālīk ibn Anas; Sufyān al-Thawrī, mention of whom will follow; al-Awzā'i, mention of whom will follow; Thābit al-Bunānī; Ibrāhīm al-Taymī; Sulaymān al-Taymī, already mentioned; Farqad al-Sabakhī; Ibn al-Sammāk; 'Utbah [ibn Sallām] al-Ghulām; Ṣāliḥ al-Murri, who was a villager; Ibrāhīm ibn Adham; 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Zayd; Ibn al-Munkadir; Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb al-Fārisī; al-Rabī' ibn Khuthaym; Abū Mu'āwiyah al-Aswad; Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī; Yūsuf ibn Asbāt; Abū Sulaymān al-Darānī; Ibn Abī al-Ḥawārī; Dā'ūd al-Ṭā'i; Faṭḥ al-Mawṣilī; Shaybān al-Rā'i; al-Mu'āfā' ibn 'Imrān; al-Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyād.

Yahyā ibn Mu'ādh al-Rāzī

He was one of the ascetics who practiced nighttime prayer and was a devotee with a number of disciples. He died during the year two hundred and six [A.D. 821/22]. Among his books there was *Desire of the Desirous* (*Murād al-Murīdīn*).³

Al-Yamānī⁴ 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, surnamed Abū Ḥafṣ

He was one of the ascetics who engaged in Ṣūfī practices. Among his books there was *Rising at Night and Nighttime Prayer*,

Bishr ibn al-Ḥārith

He was a devotee and ascetic who died during the year two hundred and twenty-seven [A.D. 841/42]. Among his books there was *Asceticism*.

The Names of the Authors among the Ascetics and Ṣūfīs, with Mention of the Books Which They Composed

³ In the Flügel edition the title is incomplete.

⁴ The Tonk MS omits the passage about al-Yamānī and gives the paragraphs preceding and following in a different order.

Al-*Hārith* ibn Asad

He was [called] al-Muḥāsibī al-Baghdādī.⁵ He was one of the ascetics and theologians who taught piety with asceticism in the world (worldly affairs). He was also a preacher. He was, moreover, a legal authority and a theologian who produced books about the Ḥadīth and was acquainted with the schools of thought of the ascetics. He died during the year two hundred and forty-three [A.D. 857/58]. Among his books there was *Reflection and Consideration*.

Al-Khaṭīb [al-Baghdādī] said, "He wrote many books about asceticism, the fundamentals of religion, and refutation of the Mu'tazilah."⁶

'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Yaḥyā al-Makkī

He belonged to the group of al-*Hārith* [ibn Asad]. He was 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muslim ibn Maymūn al-Kinānī, a theologian and leader (in the forefront), an ascetic and devotee. He wrote books about theology and asceticism. He died ———. Among his books there was *The Turning Aside*, about what occurred between him and Bishr al-Marīsī.

Maṣṣūr ibn 'Ammār

He was surnamed Abū al-Sarī and was an irreproachable ascetic. The [writings] by Maṣṣūr he called sessions, not naming them books.⁷

About the concealed; Embellishment (Al-Dibāj); Description of the Camel;⁸ The Way;⁹ about mention of death; about the excellence of thought with (knowledge of) Allāh; about the choice and religion;¹⁰

⁵ MS 1934 omits al-Baghdādī.

⁶ In MS 1934 this paragraph is an insertion in a different handwriting. It is a quotation from Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh*, VIII, 211 l. 18 (see Bibliography). Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī was almost certainly born about twelve years after the death of al-Nadīm.

⁷ The word *majlis* ("session") rather than *kitāb* ("book") precedes each title in this list.

⁸ This may be *al-ibl* ("camel") or *al-aball* ("hypocrite").

⁹ Flügel gives *al-sabīl* ("way"), whereas MS 1934 has a word like *al-nayl* ("reaching," "acquiring") or *al-nīl* ("azure"). The last two forms also have other meanings.

¹⁰ The word translated as "choice" is *al-'inah*, which has so many meanings that it is impossible to be sure exactly what it signifies in this passage.

about affliction;¹¹ The Clouds over the People in (of) the Fire;¹² about 'Wait for us, that we may borrow from your light';¹³ about plunging into the fire; The Assignment to Allāh, Exalted and Sublime;¹⁴ Following Tracks in the Raid;¹⁵ The Covered, about mention of death.

Al-Burjulānī

He was Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn, surnamed Abū Ja'far. He was one of those who composed books about asceticism and abstinence. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Companionship (Communion); The Enslaved by Love;¹⁶ Bountifulness and Generosity (Al-Jūd wa-al-Karam); Holy Aspiration (Al-Himmah); Patience (Al-Ṣabr); Obedience (Al-Ṭa'ah).

'Utbah [ibn Sallām] al-Ghulām

He was one of the ascetics, among whose books there was his epistle about rites of the pilgrimage.

Ibn Abī al-Dunyā

His name was 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd,¹⁷ surnamed Abū Bakr. He was from the Quraysh, from the offspring¹⁸

¹¹ The Arabic for "affliction" is *al-balā*. For a better understanding of this word, see 'Alī B. 'Uthmān, p. 388.

¹² This evidently refers to Judgment and Hell, but no reference has been found in the Qur'ān to identify the metaphor.

¹³ This quotation is from the Qur'ān 57:13. In the clause which follows, MS 1934 gives "into the fire." Flügel erroneously has "into the fire" with "that we may borrow from your light" in the wrong position, and as a separate "session."

¹⁴ "Assignment to" is in Arabic *al-faraḍ 'alā*, from MS 1934. It might also mean "payment to." Flügel gives *al-'araḍ 'alā*, which might mean "request to," or one of many other meanings.

¹⁵ "Following tracks" is the suggested meaning of an unusual form given by Flügel as *al-taḡfūrīyah*. The form given in MS 1934 looks like *al-taḡqūrīyah*, an unidentified word. It may be a form implying "poverty" or else in a different sense referring to a camel with a broken back.

¹⁶ This refers to the love of God. For the Ṣūfī terms in the four titles which follow, see 'Alī B. 'Uthmān as follows: *al-jūd*, p. 317; *al-himmah*, pp. 155, 235; *al-ṣabr*, p. 86; *al-ṭa'ah*, pp. 203, 226, 287.

¹⁷ Flügel gives this name in its complete form, as translated. The 1934 and Tonk MSS give the name in complete form except for a blank space after the last *ibn*, where Flügel includes 'Ubayd. Taghri-Birdī, Part II, p. 86, has 'Abd Allāh instead of 'Ubayd Allāh.

¹⁸ Flügel gives *walā'* ("relationship"), whereas the 1934 and Tonk MSS have *wuld* ("offspring").

of ———. He served as tutor to al-*Muktafi* bi-Allāh and was also a devotee and an ascetic, acquainted with historical traditions and quotations. He died on Tuesday during the fourteenth night of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [the sixth Muslim month], in the year two hundred and eighty-one [A.D. 894/95]. Among his books there were:

The Deceits of Satan; The Dream (Magnanimity); Understanding (Fiqh) of the Prophet, for Whom Be Peace;¹⁹ The Reproach of Amusements; The Reproach of Obscenity; Pardon (Compassion); The Reproach of Intoxicating Liquor; Affirmation; The Excellence of the Month of Ramaḍān; Charity of al-Fiṭr;²⁰ The Marrying of *Fāṭimah*, for Whom May There Be Peace;²¹ [Qur'ānic] Reading; Voices (Sounds); Command for Good and Interdiction of Evil; Solicitude, Sorrow, and Grief.

Sincerity and Resolution; Pestilences; Patience and Civilities of Speech; Rare Forms (Unusual Anecdotes); Desired Aims; Followers;²² Traditions of the Quraysh; Reproach of the World; Description of the Scales (al-Mizān);²³ Description of al-Ṣiraṭ;²⁴ Al-Mawqif;²⁵ The Tree of Ṭūbā;²⁶ Sidrah al-Muntahī;²⁷ The Noble Qualities of Good Dispositions; Mention of Death and the Tombs; Action of al-Munkar;²⁸ Piety; The Rites of the Pilgrimage of *Mālik* ibn Dinār.

¹⁹ For the Ṣūfī use of *fiqh* ("understanding") see 'Abd Allāh, *Al-Lumā'*, p. 6.

²⁰ It is the custom for Muslims to give alms at the feast called *I'd al-Fiṭr* at the end of Ramaḍān. For the Ṣūfī idea of charity, *ibid.*, p. 42.

²¹ *Fāṭimah* was the Prophet's daughter married to 'Alī. The translation follows MS 1934 for the pious phrase. Flügel gives "May Allāh be well pleased with her."

²² At this point the Tonk MS introduces a title which is not given in this translation because it is not found elsewhere and is probably an error.

²³ These were the scales used to weigh souls on the Day of Judgment. See Qur'ān 42:17; 55:7-9.

²⁴ *Al-ṣiraṭ* was used for the "right way" and also for the bridge over which the righteous passed to cross the flames of Hell to Heaven. See Qur'ān 1:6(5); 6:126 (127); 38:22(21). See also the *The Holy Quran*, edited by A. Yūsuf 'Alī, n. 2518 to Sūrah 19, v. 71.

²⁵ This probably refers to the place of the Last Judgment, but may also refer to a pilgrimage station, especially the stopping place by Mount 'Arafāt.

²⁶ A legendary tree in Heaven. It is not mentioned in the Qur'ān, but the Qur'ān 13:29 speaks of *ṭūbā* as the blessedness of the hereafter.

²⁷ A tree in the seventh Heaven. See Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 817.

²⁸ One of the two angels of death who examined and sometimes punished the dead in their graves. See "Munkar," *Enc. Islam*, III, 724.

Ibn al-*Junayd*²⁹

His name was ———. Among his books there were:³⁰

Love (Al-Maḥabbah); Fear (Al-Khawf); Abstinence from Evil (Al-Wara'); The Pious (Al-Rahbān).

Al-Misrī, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad

He was by origin from Sāmarrā, but he moved to Egypt, later returning to Baghdād. His birth was at Sāmarrā during the year two hundred and fifty-seven [A.D. 870/71], and there he was brought up. He was pious and an ascetic. He was a jurist acquainted with the Ḥadīth. He died during the year three hundred and thirty-eight [A.D. 949/50]. Among his books about asceticism there were:

The Great Book, which included forty chapters, among which there were: Rising at Night [for prayer]; Bound by Mutual Love; Constant Awareness [of God]; Silence; Fear; Repentance; Patience; Portents and Persons Possessed by Spirits;³¹ The Small Compendium for Morals; The Ḥadīth about Asceticism;³² the new book about reconciliation; Sincerity.

He also wrote [books] about the law:

Rites of the Pilgrimage; Ritual Purification; Prayer; Shares of Inheritance; Intention [probably for prayer]; The Poor Tax; Fasts; Superiority of Poverty over Riches.³³

Another Group of Persons Who Became Ṣūfis

Ghulām Khalīl

His name was 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ghallāb ibn Khālīd ibn Farās al-Bāhili, known as Ghulām Khalīl.³⁴ He died ———. Among his books there were:

²⁹ This was not the famous Ibn al-*Junayd* surnamed Abū al-Qāsim.

³⁰ To understand the titles, see 'Alī b. 'Uthmān, pp. 157, 178, 305, for *al-maḥabbah*; p. 371 for *al-khawf*, p. 17 for *al-wara'*. *Al-rahbān* means excessively fearful of Hell and is evidently the word intended here rather than *al-ruhbān* ("monks").

³¹ The Tonk MS has *al-āyāt* ("signs," "portents"), MS 1934 does not make the word clear, while Flügel has *al-ināth* ("females").

³² This probably quoted sayings of the Prophet about renunciation.

³³ For transliterations of the Arabic terms for these titles, see 'Alī b. 'Uthmān, Index 2, p. 432. Arberry, *Sufism*, also explains the rites mentioned in this passage.

³⁴ For *ghulām*, see Glossary.

Petition (Prayer, *Al-Du'ā'*); Attachment to Allāh, May His Name Be Glorified; Prayer (*Al-Ṣalāh*); Sermons.

Sahl al-Tustarī

He was 'Abd Allāh ibn Yūnus ibn 'Isā ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Rāfi' al-Tustarī. He became a Ṣūfī. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Moments (Subtilities) of the Lovers [Lovers of Allāh]; Sermons of Those with the Knowledge;⁸⁶ The Answers of Men of Conviction.

Faṭḥ al-Mawṣilī

He was by origin a *mamlūk* [white-skinned slave] and was one of the ascetics who became a Ṣūfī. No book of his is known, but his words are remembered and his expressions are still current.

Abū Ḥamzah the Ṣūfī

His name was Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm. Among his books there were:

Those Who Succeeded⁸⁶ among Persons Traveling about Seeking Piety, the Devotees, and Persons Who Became Ṣūfis—it was quoted by a Ṣūfī named Abū al-Ḥasan *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad al-Dinawarī, and I have seen this as belonging to this man;⁸⁷ Substitutes; Abodes of the Devotees.

Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā

He was al-Azdī or al-Ādamī, I am not sure which. Among his books there was *Trust*, which was quoted by Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Ma'n ibn Hishām al-Qārī.

Al-Junayd [Abū al-Qāsim]

He was [al-Junayd] ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Junayd, not a descendant of the first one. He was one of the theologians of the Ṣūfī doctrine, and he lived after three hundred [A.D. 912/13].⁸⁸

⁸⁶ See 'Alī b. 'Uthmān, pp. 100, 382, for the Ṣūfī use of *'arīf* ("know").

⁸⁷ For the word translated "succeeded," Flügel gives *al-muntammīn*, whereas the Tonk MS has the simpler and perhaps more accurate form, *al-mutimmīn*. The word probably signifies those who achieved ecstatic union with the Deity.

⁸⁸ The Tonk MS gives this version, whereas Flügel repeats the words translated as "and among his books there were."

⁸⁹ Although mentioned briefly, this was a well-known mystic and ascetic; see Biog. Index. The year three hundred is probably an error, as Khallikān, 1,338–39, says he died A.D. 910.

Statement about the Doctrines of the Ismā'īliyah³⁹

What Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Rizām said in his book in which he refuted the Ismā'īliyah and exposed their schools of thought, I am presenting in Abū 'Abd Allāh's own words, so that I can be free from responsibility for the truth and falsehood of the matter.

He said that 'Abd Allāh ibn Maymūn, this Maymūn being known as al-Qaddāh, was from the people of Qūraj al-'Abbās⁴⁰ near the city of al-Ahwāz. His father was *Maymūn*, to whom was related the group known as al-Maymūniyah. This [sect] seemed to be attached to Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad ibn Abī Zaynab,⁴¹ who declared the divinity of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, for whom may there be peace.⁴²

³⁹ "Doctrines" (*madhāhib*) is taken from the Tonk and 1934 MSS. Flügel gives the singular form, *madhab*. The background of the Ismā'īlī sect is as follows; The Shī'ī branch of Islām claimed that only the direct lineal descendants of the Prophet, through his daughter Fāṭimah and her husband 'Alī, had the right to be the caliphs. The 6th imam or lineal descendant, who died A.D. 765, was Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442, for a list of the imams). Ja'far al-Ṣādiq had numerous sons. One of the younger of these was regarded as his father's legal successor. He was Mūsā al-Kāẓim, whose followers form the main branch of the Shī'ah in Irān, Southern Irāq, and other places. Another son was Ismā'īl, who died prematurely, but his son known as Muḥammad al-Maktūm claimed the right to the succession for his branch of the family. His followers formed the Ismā'īliyah. This group developed a secret underground movement which for a number of generations threatened the existence of the 'Abbāsid caliphate, their headquarters being at Salamīyah, between Ḥamāh and Palmyra, in Syria. The genius who organized this underground movement was *Maymūn*. Some scholars think that he was the same person as Muḥammad al-Maktūm, but it is more probable that he was a retainer attached to the descendants of 'Alī. Maymūn and his son 'Abd Allāh organized the Ismā'īlī conspiracy, which had branches in Persia, al-Yaman, and Fāṭimid North Africa. The representatives of the Ismā'īliyah still existing today are the Bohra of India and the Khojas, whose chief is the Āgha Khān. See "Ismā'īliyah," *Enc. Islam*, II, 549; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 219.

⁴⁰ As the Tonk MS gives a different spelling and the name is not listed by Yāqūt, this was probably an unimportant village.

⁴¹ The sect following Abū al-Khaṭṭāb was called the Khaṭṭābiyah, so that this group was perhaps attached to Maymūn to start with and later absorbed by the followers of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb. It is not to be confused with the Maymūniyah branch of the Khawārij. See Baghdādī (Halkin), pp. 32, 62-65, 74; Ivanov, *Ibn al-Qaddah*, p. 92 ff.

⁴² The Flügel edition gives a different pious epithet: "May Allāh be well pleased with him." The translation follows the Tonk and 1934 MSS.

Maymūn and his son were Dayṣāniyūn⁴³ and for a long time 'Abd Allāh [the son] propagated the [Isma'īlī] doctrine as a prophet. He appeared to 'work miracles, declaring that the earth would roll up for him, or stretch to wherever he wished in the shortest possible time. He also used to give out news about what was happening in distant places. He had agents in the localities where he wished and, as he was kind to them, they helped him with his intrigues. They had birds which they set free to go from different localities to the place where he was, bringing news from their regions; so in this way he deceived them.⁴⁴

He moved to live at 'Askar-Mukram, but he was so hard pressed that he fled from there. Two of his houses in a locality known as Sābāt Abī Nūḥ were demolished.⁴⁵ One of them was rebuilt as a mosque, but the other is a ruin to this day. Upon going to al-Baṣrah to dwell with a group of the descendants of the 'Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib,⁴⁶ he was again so hard pressed that he fled to Salamīyah⁴⁷ near Ḥimṣ, where he purchased estates.

When he dispatched propagandists to Sawād al-Kūfah,⁴⁸ there was a [favorable] response from a man of that district known as Ḥamdān ibn al-Ash'ath, nicknamed Qarmaṭ because of the shriveling of his back and leg.⁴⁹ This Qarmaṭ was a farmer and a cattle drover

⁴³ This was the sect found by Ibn Dayṣān and regarded as very heretical by the Muslims.

⁴⁴ The Tonk MS gives this story more clearly than the other versions do. The last word of the paragraph, "them," refers to the people whom Maymūn deceived and who lived in his immediate neighborhood.

⁴⁵ 'Askar-Mukram was a city of southwestern Persia and Sābāt Abī Nūḥ was probably a street or locality in the city. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 676; " 'Askar Mukram," *Enc. Islam*, I, 488.

⁴⁶ For this tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 39; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 102.

⁴⁷ The old Salamyah or Salamīyah on the edge of the desert east of Ḥamāh and Ḥimṣ and west of Palmyra is still the center of some 35,000 members of the Ismā'īliyah. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 123; "Salamīya," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 93-94.

⁴⁸ Sawād al-Kūfah was a region of irrigated lands near the ancient Babylon. The Arabic word for a propaganda agent is *al-dā'i*, plural *al-du'āh*. The word for propaganda is *al-da'wah*.

⁴⁹ For the origin of this name, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 444 n. 3; for the man see Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 110; "Karmaṭians," *Enc. Islam*, II, 767; Silvestre de Sacy, I, clxix n. 1; clxxiv.

in a village known as Qass Bahrām, or Rās Qarmaṭ.⁵⁰ He was a crafty person, who enlisted to take part in his propaganda movement 'Abdān, the [alleged] author of books which were composed and for the most part falsely attributed to him.⁵¹ 'Abdān played his part in the propaganda in Sawād al-Kūfah, while Qarmaṭ stayed at Kalwādhi. 'Abd Allāh ibn Maymūn also assigned one of his sons to al-Ṭālaqān so he could correspond with him.⁵² This was during the year two hundred and sixty-one [A.D. 874/75].

When 'Abd Allāh died, his son Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh succeeded him. Then when Muḥammad died, there was disagreement among their propagandists and the members of their sect.⁵³ Some of them thought that his brother Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh was the successor, while others believed that the person to follow him was his son, also named Aḥmad but nicknamed Abū al-Shalaghlagh (al-Shala'la').

Then after that there arose in the movement Sa'īd ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Maymūn. This Ḥusayn died while his father was alive, but even previous to the time of Sa'īd the [Ismā'īlī] propaganda had spread among the Banū al-'Ulayṣ of the Kalb Tribe.⁵⁴

After leaving al-Baṣrah, 'Abd Allāh and his sons continued to press the claim that they were descended from 'Aqīl⁵⁵ and had determined the genealogy [of his descendants] at al-Baṣrah. Due to the sons of 'Abd Allāh the propaganda spread throughout the land, as the agents went to al-Rayy, Ṭabaristān, Khurāsān, al-Yaman, al-Aḥsā', al-Qaṭīf, and Fāris.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Qass Bahrām was evidently a hamlet at first named for a Christian and later for Qarmaṭ; see Silvestre de Sacy, I, clxvii n. 1.

⁵¹ For these books, see text near n. 84.

⁵² Kalwādhi was a town east of Baghdād; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 301. Al-Ṭālaqān was a large city in Khurāsān. See Silvestre de Sacy, III, 491; I, cxcvi.

⁵³ MS 1934 and the Tonk MS make it clear that the word translated "sect" is *niḥlah*.

⁵⁴ Ṭabarī, *Annales*, III, 2218 ff., in his account about the Ismā'īliyah explains that the tribe of the Banū al-'Ulayṣ ibn Ḍamḍam was a branch of the Banū Kalb Tribe.

⁵⁵ As 'Aqīl was a brother of the Caliph 'Alī, relationship with his offspring gave prestige.

⁵⁶ Al-Aḥsā' and al-Qaṭīf are on the east coast of Arabia. The 1934 and Tonk MSS give the final word as Fāris, or southwest Persia, rather than al-Quds, given by Flügel.

Then Sa'id went to Egypt, propagating the claim that he was a descendant of 'Alī and Fāṭimah, with the name of 'Ubayd Allāh. There he associated with al-Nūsharī [the governor], being honored by the adherents of the sultan. As he consolidated⁵⁷ his activities, information about him reached [the Caliph] al-Mu'taḍid, who ordered his arrest. Accordingly, he fled to al-Maghrib⁵⁸ where his propaganda was successful among two groups of the Berbers,⁵⁹ and where he met with experiences that are well known, the country facilitating things for him.

When he saw that the descendant for whom he laid claim was not accepted, he caused to appear a young man who was a newcomer and whom he asserted to be a descendant of Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il [al-Maktūm]. This was al-Ḥasan Abū al-Qāsim, who was al-Qā'im bi-al-Amr,⁶⁰ following 'Ubayd Allāh.⁶¹

⁵⁷ MS 1934 and the Tonk MS give *taḥazzaq* ("consolidated").

⁵⁸ This term is used for North Africa, but in this passage refers to what is today Tunisia.

⁵⁹ See "Berbers," *Enc. Islam*, I, 698.

⁶⁰ This was the title by which he was known in history as the second Fāṭimid caliph. It signifies the one rising up in the affair after 'Ubayd Allāh.

⁶¹ As the Fāṭimid, or Ismā'īlī, caliphate almost wrecked the Sunni regime of Baghdād, numerous authors tried to prove that the Fāṭimid caliphs were imposters and not true descendants of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah. Other historians defended the authenticity of the Fāṭimid lineage, while some, including the author of *Al-Fihrist*, were neutral. See Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), I, 41; Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, I, 263; II, 496, 515, 528; Taghrī-Birdī, Part IV, p. 75; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 694; Khallikān, II, 77; Silvestre de Sacy, I, cccli, translated from al-Nuwayrī; Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siasset Namēh*, pp. 269, 288; Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 107 ff; Maqrīzī, *Iti 'āḡ al-Ḥunafā'*, p. 57; Athīr, Part VIII, p. 212. Other references can be found in Lewis, *The Origins of Ismā'ilism*, p. 101.

The account in *Al-Fihrist* confuses the descendants of Muḥammad al-Maktūm with those of Maymūn. See the Appendix to this translation, which is a table of succession which follows a letter written by Sa'id al-Mahdī; see Hamdānī, *On the Genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs*.

As all of these men were pretenders to the throne, they were sought after by the Baghdād police. Muḥammad al-Maktūm may really have been the son of an elder brother named 'Abd Allāh but have pretended to be the son of Ismā'il, who had died prematurely, and was therefore not taken seriously by the police. He and his heirs lived in secret, first in Persia and later at Salamīyah in Syria.

A great deal of light is thrown on the disputed question of the entrance of Sa'id al-Mahdī into the line of succession, when it is realized that his father was evidently a younger brother and not the true heir to the imamate. This revealing information is contained in a quotation; see Ḥusayn, *Al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyyah*, 34th majlis. The passage evidently points to Muḥammad Abū al-Shalaghlagh, who as the elder

During his [al-Qā'im's] lifetime, such a contempt for the Sharī'ah⁶² and the basic teachings of prophecy became evident among his followers that there rose up against him a man called Abū Yazīd al-Muḥtasib, whose real name was *Makhlad* ibn Kaydād. He was a Berber of the Zanātā from the Banū Yifrān,⁶³ an Ibādī and a Nikkāri.⁶⁴ He was known as Ṣāḥib al-Ḥimār. As his following and support grew in strength, he made war against him [al-Qā'im], besieging him in al-Mahdiyyah until al-Ḥasan [al-Qā'im] died during the siege.⁶⁵

Then there ruled in his place his son *Ismā'il*, who was surnamed Abū Ṭāhir [al-Manṣūr]. As he appeared to uphold the importance of the Sharī'ah, at the same time that Abū Yazīd [Makhlad ibn Kaydād] supported the sect of the Ibādīyah, the populace turned

brother safeguarded the line of succession to the imamate. The quotation is as follows: "Each one of his own sons whom he appointed to the imamate died, so that not one child was left to this man safeguarding the succession. Accordingly, al-Ḥasan ibn Nūḥ ibn Ḥawshib, the propaganda agent (*dā'i*) by whom Allāh had opened up al-Yamān, made a mantle upon which he wrote the name of the Imam al-Mahdī —and he sent it to this guardian of the succession whose sons had died. He [Muḥammad Abū al-Shalaghlagh] accordingly bestowed it upon the Imam al-Mahdī [his nephew]."

This ancient record indicates that the son of a younger brother served as the heir during his lifetime. This temporary ruler or Fāṭimid caliph called the imam, was *Sa'id* ibn al-Ḥusayn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī, founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty in North Africa. When he died, the succession returned to the grandson of the elder brother, that is, to the grandson of Muḥammad Abū al-Shalaghlagh. This grandson was the second Fāṭimid caliph, known as al-Qā'im. As al-Ḥasan ibn Nūḥ ibn Ḥawshib is not mentioned in *Al-Fihrist*, his name is not in the Biog. Index.

⁶² The Fāṭimids interpreted the Sharī'ah law and the Qur'ān in an allegorical way so as to prove the divine right of their own rulers to be the true caliphs. For the heterodox law of the Fāṭimids, see their great legal code, Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im al-Islām*.

⁶³ The Tonk and 1934 MSS garble these names, but they are evidently meant to be the Zanātā Tribe and its important subtribe called the Banū Yifrān; see Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, III, 179, 197.

⁶⁴ For Ibādī, see Glossary, Ibādīyah. MS 1934 gives Bakkāwī, which is evidently an error meant to be Nikkāri, which was a branch which broke off from the Khawārij in North Africa; *ibid.*, pp. 202 ff.

⁶⁵ Al-Mahdiyyah was founded by *Sa'id* al-Mahdī as a palace city about one hundred miles south of modern Tunis; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 694 l. 10; "al-Mahdiyya," *Enc. Islam*, III, 121.

away from him [Makhlad], so that he was killed and crucified. This was during the year three hundred and thirty-six [A.D. 947], but by the year forty the contempt for the Sharī'ah throughout the land seemed to be similar to what it had been at the time of al-Ḥasan [al-Qā'im], so Allāh hastened the death of Ismā'il [al-Manṣūr].

His son, Ma'add Abū Tamīm, reigned after him. This Ma'add died during the year ——— in the city of Miṣr, which he occupied in the year ———. There ruled in his place his son, Nizār ibn Ma'add, surnamed Abū Manṣūr [al-'Aziz].⁶⁶

From a Source Other than This Account

During the year eighty-seven [A.H. 287: A.D. 900],⁶⁷ [Sa'id ibn al-Ḥusayn] 'Ubayd Allāh [al-Mahdī] sent Abū Sa'id al-Sha'rānī to Khurāsān, where he gave a false impression to the leaders by professing to be a Shī'ī, leading people astray. When he died, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Marwazī took his place and became well established in the region until he was imprisoned by Naṣr ibn Aḥmad. He died in confinement.

He was succeeded by al-Nasafī, who misled Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, enticing him to join the [Ismā'īlī] movement, so that he approved paying an indemnity for the death of al-Marwazī [equal to] one hundred and nineteen gold coins (s., *dīnār*) and for each gold coin, a thousand gold coins.⁶⁸ He supposed that he was making this payment for the lord of North Africa, al-Qā'im bi-al-Amr.⁶⁹

When an illness overcame Naṣr, confining him to his bed, he repented of having complied with al-Nasafī, making this publicly known. When he died, his son Nūḥ assembled the legal authorities, making al-Nasafī attend also, so that they could examine, lay bare, and expose him. What is more, Nūḥ brought light upon forty of

⁶⁶ Ma'add Abū Tamīm is better known as al-Mu'izz, the fourth Fāṭimid caliph, whose army invaded Egypt, occupying Miṣr (al-Fustāt) in A.D. 969. He ordered the city of al-Qāhirah to be built and his son, usually called al-'Aziz, consolidated the regime in Egypt.

⁶⁷ The Flügel edition has thirty-seven, which is an error.

⁶⁸ For light on this passage, see the Flügel edition, p. 188 n.2.

⁶⁹ This was the second Fāṭimid caliph, who was ruling in North Africa

the gold coins (s., *dīnār*).⁷⁰ Accordingly, he executed al-Nasafī along with the chiefs of the movement and the leaders who were the head men attached to Naṣr, tearing them to pieces with every kind of violence.⁷¹

Another Account

The first one of the sons of [Maymūn] al-Qaddāh to go to al-Rayy, Ādharbayjān, and Ṭabaristān was a cotton carder. When he died his son succeeded him, and when his son also died, he was followed by a man known as *Ghiyāth*. When he passed away his son succeeded him and also a man known as al-Makhzūm.⁷² He in turn died and there took his place Abū Ḥātim al-Warsnānī, who was a dualist, then a Dahri,⁷³ later becoming a *zindīq* giving way to doubt.⁷⁴

As for al-Yaman, Fāris, and al-Aḥṣā', the propagandists reached those regions either with 'Abdān, the successor and brother-in-law of Ḥamdān [ibn al-Ash'ath] Qarmaṭ, or there may have been agents preceding him: it is Allāh who knows.

⁷⁰ The point seems to be that if Nūḥ discovered forty of the gold coins in Khurāsān, they could not have been sent to encourage the revolution in North Africa, thus revealing the double dealing of al-Nasafī.

⁷¹ Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, the ruler of Khurāsān, A.D. 914-43 was persuaded to support the Ismā'īlī cause by a favorite called al-Nasafī. As the members of the Sāmānid dynasty desired to be as independent as possible from the government at Baghdād, Naṣr evidently wished to encourage the members of the Ismā'īlī revolution not only in his own country but also in North Africa, for if the caliph at Baghdād was busy defending himself against the Fāṭimid rebels in the west, Khurāsān in the east could be free from interference.

When, however, the ruler's son Nūḥ realized that al-Nasafī was a fraud, he persuaded his sick father to make a public confession of having been cheated and to abdicate. Nūḥ then became the ruler and cleansed the realm of the Ismā'īlī heretics. See Nizām al-Mulk, *Siasat Namah*, pp. 268-81; Blochet, *Messianisme*, p. 67; "Naṣr b. Aḥmad," *Enc. Islam*, III, 872; "Sāmānids," IV, 122-23.

⁷² The name is omitted in the Tonk MS. It is written without consonant signs in the Flügel version and MS 1934, but it is evidently meant to be the Ismā'īlī propagandist Ja'far al-Makhzūm. Blochet, *Messianisme*, is perhaps mistaken in confusing him with Abū Ḥātim al-Warsnānī.

⁷³ See Glossary, *Dahrīyah*.

⁷⁴ MS 1934 and Flügel have *ḥaṣal*, freely translated "giving way." The Tonk MS has *jahil* ("was ignorant").

Another Account

Before the period of the sons of [Maymūn] al-Qaddāh, there were persons close to the Magians and their [Sāsānian] regime, for the restoration of which they strove. Sometimes [they worked] openly and sometimes secretly with intrigue, causing things to happen which were illegal in Islām.

It has been said that Abū Muslim, chief of the 'Abbāsīd movement, favored this cause and worked for it, but he was cut off before its attainment.⁷⁶ Among those who were dedicated [to the cause], coming out openly and making themselves known, there was Bābak al-Khurramī, an account of whom will be given in the Ninth Chapter.

One of the persons agreeing with 'Abd Allāh [ibn Maymūn] in connection with his movement was a man known as Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn, nicknamed Daydān, who was from the region of al-Karaj, being a secretary of Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abī Dulaf.⁷⁶ This man was trained in philosophy and skilled in the science of the stars [astrology]. Belonging to the Shu'ūbiyah, he was bitter against the Islāmic government. He believed with certainty in the Universal Soul (*al-Nafs*), the Intelligence (*al-'Aql*), Time (*al-Zamān*), Space (*al-Makān*), and Matter (*al-Ḥayūlā*).⁷⁷ He also supposed that there was control and spiritual action in the stars.

In speaking about him, a reliable person told me that he believed he had discovered in the astral determinations that there would be a transition from the Islāmic regime to the government of the Persians and to their religion, called the Majūsiyah. [This would take place] at the time of the eighth conjunction, as a movement in the Muthal-lathah from the sign of Scorpio, indicating the Faith [of Islām], to the sign of Sagittarius, indicating the Persian religion. He also

⁷⁶ See Mas'ūdī, VI, 186.

⁷⁶ For al-Karaj, a city near al-Rustāq in Persia, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 250 bottom, and Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, p. 2116. This Abū Dulaf was the governor of Iṣbahān, A.D. 879, and must not be confused with al-Qāsim ibn 'Isā al-'Ijlī, also called Abū Dulaf. Flügel misspells the name.

⁷⁷ These were metaphysical terms used by the Ismā'īlī as well as by the philosophers to express emanations from the deity; see Dodge, *Muslim World*, L, No. 3 (July 1960), 183-88; Baghdādī (*Halkin*) pp. 115, 116 nn. 3, 6.

said that he [Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn] used to exclaim, "Would that I might be the cause of this!"⁷⁸

As he [Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn] had extensive property, exalted enthusiasm, and great craftiness, he facilitated matters for the [Ismā'īlī] movement, giving Ibn al-Qaddāḥ [ʿAbd Allāh ibn Maymūn] authority in connection with it and aiding him with funds. He met him at al-ʿAskar⁷⁹ when he was setting out to seek the sultan's court, before the time of Ḥamūlah,⁸⁰ the vizier of Ibn Abū Dulaf, when he [Abū Dulaf] rose to his rank⁸¹ of the governorship of al-Ḥaramayn,⁸² with attendance upon and admission to the service.⁸³

When he died at the sultan's court, the movement was under the direction of Ibn al-Qaddāḥ. This is what we know about this subject, but it is Allāh who can distinguish the truth regarding it from the falsehood.

The Names of the Authors of the Books of the Ismā'īliyah and the Titles of the Books

As ʿAbdān, who has already been mentioned,⁸⁴ was the most prolific of the community in producing books and compilations, everyone writing a book attributed it to him. ʿAbdān had a catalogue of the books which he compiled, among which there were:

⁷⁸ The Muthallathah is the term used for the three stars called *Δελτωρόν* or *Τρίγωνον*, but here it more probably refers to signs of the zodiac. Here the trilogy is evidently Libra=Scorpio=Sagittarius. Probably several planets met in Scorpio, destined to meet later in Sagittarius. The translation is free. See "Astrology," *Enc. Islam*, I, 496; "Muthallath," *Enc. Islam*, III, 794 top.

⁷⁹ This was evidently ʿAskar-Mukram, a city of southwestern Persia; see "ʿAskar Mukram," *Enc. Islam*, I, 488.

⁸⁰ Flügel gives Ḥammawayh, who was the director of posts about A.D. 807; see Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 712, 718, 764. MS 1934 has Ḥamūlah, who was vizier to the family of Abū Dulaf. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn very likely left the service of Ibn Abī Dulaf in order to seek service with the caliph. Then Ibn Abī Dulaf was evidently honored as Governor of the Two Holy Cities and given a place at the royal court. Probably it was at this time that Ḥamūlah became his vizier. Both MS 1934 and Flügel omit "Ibn" before Abū Dulaf, apparently an error.

⁸¹ Flügel has *khuṣbah* ("sermon"), but the word is probably meant to be *ḥiṣbah* ("rank," "dignity").

⁸² Makkah and al-Madīnah.

⁸³ The word translated "service" is *al-ṭāʿah*, probably implying service in the entourage of the caliph, although it may have a religious significance. For references, see n. 16.

⁸⁴ See n. 51, and also Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, II, 516.

The Millstone and the Wheel; Ordinances and Supports; The Shining; The Clear; The Field (Al-Maydān).

Among his large books there were:

The Flames (Opinions); The National Events (Al-Malāḥim); The Goal (Purpose).

These are books of attainment (*bulghah*)⁸⁵ which are extant, being passed from hand to hand. It has, however, been said about the rest of the [books of the] catalogue, "We have never seen them, nor known anyone who has seen them."

They [the Ismā'īlīyah] Have Seven Stages, Which Are:⁸⁶

The First Stage, for the common people; the Second Stage, for persons somewhat more advanced; the Third Stage, for a person who has been with the movement for a year; the Fourth Stage, for a person who has been with the movement for two years; the Fifth Stage, for a person who has been with the movement for three years; the Sixth Stage, for a person who has been with the movement for four years; the Seventh Stage, in which there is the culmination and principal exposition of the movement.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: I read this and found in it material weighty in disclosing things that are prohibited, and showing contempt for the laws and those who uphold them.

During the past twenty years the movement has lost momentum and its propaganda agents have become fewer, so that I no longer see books compiled about it. At the beginning of the period of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, however, it was in evidence, accepted and divulged, with propagandists sought after in every region and district.⁸⁷ This is what I have learned in this country [al-'Irāq], but it is

⁸⁵ *Bulghah* probably signifies books which helped a convert to be promoted from one stage of attainment to another in the Ismā'īlī system.

⁸⁶ The word translated as "stages" is *bālaghāt*. This was probably the initiation system for a *dā'i*, or propaganda agent, as the ordinary person could not be expected to complete such a long course. This passage should be compared with Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ*, Part II, pp. 227-35; Silvestre de Sacy, I, lxx-clxxxvii; O'Leary, *Short History of the Fatimid Caliphate*, pp. 21-32; Dodge, *Muslim World*, L, No. 2 (April 1960), 140-41.

⁸⁷ This probably refers to the time when Mu'izz al-Dawlah seized Baghdād, A.D. 945.

possible that the movement is continuing in the regions of al-Jabal and Khurāsān.

In Egypt the situation is obscure, for from the head of the movement ruling the region nothing appears, which explains what is being said about him and his forefathers. The matter is different [from what he claims]. Al-salām.⁸⁸

Among the Compilers (Authors)

There was al-Nasafī, who has already been mentioned. Among his books there were:

Intentions (Titles, Indications, Manners) of Religion; Sources of the Law; The Chosen Movement.⁸⁹

Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī

His name was ———. Among his books there were:

The large book, Decoration, about four hundred leaves [in length];
The Compilation, about the law and other subjects.⁹⁰

The Banū (Sons of) Ḥammād

They were from al-Mawṣil and were supporters of the [Ismāʿīlī] movement in al-Jazīrah and of those under its patronage, before [the time when] Abū Yaʿqūb, the successor of the Imam al-Muqīm, was at al-Rayy.⁹¹ They compiled books, which they attributed to ʿAbdān and among which there were:

The Shining Truth; The Manifest Truth; In the Name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate.⁹²

⁸⁸ The Fātimid caliphs did not explain the authenticity of their descent from Muḥammad and his daughter, Fātimah, so that there was uncertainty with regards to the matter. *Al-salām* ("greeting") was a common form for ending a communication.

⁸⁹ Flügel seems to err in this title. The translation is taken from the Tonk and 1934 MSS, which have *Al-Daʿwah al-Muntakhabah* ("The Chosen Movement"), referring to the Ismāʿīliyah.

⁹⁰ His famous book, *Al-Isḥāḥ*, is not mentioned here. See Ivanov, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, pp. 90 ff.

⁹¹ When al-Nadīm was in al-Mawṣil, he evidently heard of the Banū Ḥammād, who are not mentioned elsewhere. The Imam al-Muqīm was almost certainly the Ismāʿīlī leader al-Nasafī, whose place was taken by Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī, his pupil, when he was killed, A.D. 943. See Hamdānī, *Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, pp. 251, 252. Al-Jazīrah was probably northern ʿIrāq.

⁹² MS 1934 omits "the Compassionate," but the Tonk MS and Flügel version include it.

A Man Known as Ibn Ḥamdān

His name was ———. I saw him at al-Mawṣil, [where] he was [continuing] the movement after the death of the sons of Ḥammād. He wrote many books, among which there were: *The Seventh Philosophy*;⁹³ ———.

Ibn Naṣīf

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh, a chief of the [Ismā'īlī] movement, who was to have had the leadership as successor to Abū Ya'qūb.⁹⁴ But Abū Ya'qūb changed his opinion of him because of information which reached him. So he sent a company of Persians to kill him treacherously in his house.⁹⁵ No written book of his is known. He was killed during the year ———.

Al-Dabīlī

He was a rival of Abū 'Abd Allāh [ibn Naṣīf], the two of them competing for the leadership. He outlived him by some years, dying ———. He did not write any books.

Al-Ḥasanābādī

His name was ———. I saw him when I went to him with a group of his adherents. He was dwelling in a quarter between the two palaces⁹⁶ and was elegant in manner, extraordinary in the style of his expression and speech and in what he recounted. He went to Ḍharbayjān because of something which happened to him at Baghdād, after the exile of *Shayrmaḍī*, the Daylamī, with whom he had connections.⁹⁷

⁹³ This may have been about the seventh stage of initiation among the Ismā'īlīyah, which dealt with philosophical matters (see n. 86). If the Banū Ḥammād were leaders before A.D. 943, when al-Nasafī was killed, and Ibn Ḥamdān served as leader after they died, it is likely that the author of *Al-Fihrist* was a young man when he went to al-Mawṣil and met this Ismā'īlī leader.

⁹⁴ This is evidently meant to be Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī, who died soon after A.D. 971.

⁹⁵ MS 1934 gives the form *dār* ("house"). The Tonk MS says "They beat him treacherously and killed him."

⁹⁶ These were probably on the East Bank of the Tigris at Baghdād; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, map opposite p. 231.

⁹⁷ The Tonk MS has, instead of this last phrase, "because he was exiled on account of him."

Al-Ḥallāj: His Religious Beliefs and Accounts of Him, with the Names of His Books and the Books of His Followers

His name was al-Ḥusayn ibn Maṣṣūr. There is a difference of opinion about his country and place of upbringing. It is said that he was from Khurāsān, from Naysābūr. Then it is said that he was from Marw (Merv), and it is also said that he was from al-Ṭālaqān.⁹⁸ Some of his adherents said that he was from al-Rayy, while others said from al-Jibāl,⁹⁹ but nothing is clear about him or his town (region).

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥusayn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir:

Al-Ḥusayn ibn Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj was a crafty man and a conjurer who ventured into the Ṣūfī schools of thought, affecting their ways of speech. He laid claim to every science, but nevertheless [his claims] were futile. He even knew something about the science of alchemy (al-kīmīyā'). He was ignorant, bold, obsequious, but courageous in the presence of sultans, attempting great things and ardently desiring a change of governments (dynasties). Among his adherents he claimed divinity, speaking of divine union.¹⁰⁰ He presented the tenets of the Shī'ah to the kings, but to the common people the doctrines of the Ṣūfis. In enlarging upon this he claimed that the Divine Power had alighted within him, so that he was He, Almighty God, may He be glorified and sanctified. In connection with this he said "He is my nonexistence, exalted and great."¹⁰¹

He used to travel among the towns. Then when he was arrested, he was turned over to Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Isā [the vizier], who upon examining him found that he lacked knowledge about the Qur'ān and its sciences,¹⁰² as well as about the law, the Ḥadīth, and also the poetry and sciences of the Arabs. So 'Alī ibn 'Isā said to him, "To learn about your purification and obligations will be more profitable for you than the [writing of] epistles in which you do not know what you are talking about. How

⁹⁸ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 857, for Naysābūr; IV, 507, for Marw; III, 491, for Ṭālaqān.

⁹⁹ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 892, for Rayy; II, 15, 22, for Jibāl.

¹⁰⁰ *Hulūl* ("divine union") is ecstatic union with God; see "Hulūl," *Enc. Islam*, II, 333; Ḥallāj, *Akhhār*, I, 139, 395; Shehadi, p. 26.

¹⁰¹ A correction in MS 1934 suggests that this form means nonexistence; see Ḥallāj, *Akhhār*, sect. 50, third line of the poem. When the mystic loses his sense of personal existence in ecstatic union, his personality is merged with that of God.

¹⁰² These sciences are concerned with the grammar, language, form of reading, theology, and law of the Qur'ān, as well as with the sayings of the Prophet.

often have you written to the people, 'Woe art thou, for Dhū al-Nūr¹⁰³ the scintillating is about to descend and after his scintillating to shine! Verily, what a great need thou hast for training!'

So he gave an order concerning him and he was tied up [for public ridicule], first on the East Side in the vicinity of the Majlis al-Shurṭah, and then on the West Side.¹⁰⁴ After that he was taken to the court of the sultan and placed in prison.¹⁰⁵ He was obliged to compromise with them about the Sunnah, but they did not believe that he spoke sincerely. He was quoted as claiming that at the start he used to call upon the favor of the family of Muḥammad,¹⁰⁶ but he was slandered and taken off with a rope,¹⁰⁷ to be beaten with scourges.

It is said that he appealed to Abū Sahl [Ismā'īl] al-Nawbakhtī, who replied to his messenger, "I am the head of a sect with thousands of people backing me, who will follow him if I follow him."¹⁰⁸ So make hair grow on my forehead, for the hair there has disappeared. I do not wish anything else from him." The messenger, however, did not come back to him.¹⁰⁹

One day he moved his hand, scattering musk over the people. Another day he moved his hand, scattering money. Then one of the discerning persons present said to him, "Now I see well-known money, but I shall believe in you, as will the people with me, if you give me money on which there is your own name and that of your father." He replied, "But how? No such thing is made!" Then he [the questioner] said, "Whoever has caused something nonexistent to appear has produced something which is not made."¹¹⁰

¹⁰³ "Dhū al-Nūr" ("Lord of Light") probably refers to the Mahdī or Jesus Christ coming with flaming power on the Day of Judgment. An unpublished manuscript of Ibn Aybak, p. 78, said that the Mahdī would be like a "column of light, falling from Heaven to Earth."

¹⁰⁴ It is likely that al-Hallāj was tied up in Baghdād for the public to see, first at the east end and then at the west end of the main city bridge, running from the Majlis al-Shurṭah, or police station, to the start of the Khurāsān Highway; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, map following p. 106.

¹⁰⁵ See Hallāj, *Akhbār*, I, 231-33.

¹⁰⁶ The phrase translated "used to call upon the favor of the family of Muḥammad" probably means that al-Hallāj claimed to be loyal to the Prophet. But they did not believe him and slandered him.

¹⁰⁷ Flügel gives *jabal* but questions its accuracy, so that MS 1934 is probably right in giving *ḥabl* ("rope").

¹⁰⁸ Abū Sahl Ismā'īl al-Nawbakhtī was the intellectual leader of the Imāmiyah.

¹⁰⁹ This story should be compared with the similar one told about al-Shalamaghānī; see Chap. V, sect. 2, near n. 26.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Hallāj, *Akhbār*, I, 156.

He was handed over to *Naṣr al-Ḥājib*,¹¹¹ whom he misled. In his books there was written, "Verily, I am He who drowned the people of *Nūḥ* (Noah) and destroyed 'Ād and Thamūd."¹¹² When his cause spread and became public, trustworthy information about it was given to the sultan [*al-Muqtadir*], who declared that he should be beaten with a thousand strokes and his two hands cut off. After that he burned him in the fire, at the end of the year three hundred and nine [A.D. 922].¹¹³

The Reason for His Arrest

I have read what was written in the handwriting of *Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Sinān*:

The case of *al-Ḥallāj* became known and talk about it spread during the year two hundred and ninety-nine [A.D. 911/12]. The reason why he was arrested was because the postmaster at *al-Sūs* passed through a locality in *al-Sūs* called *al-Rabḍ fī al-Qaṭ'ah*,¹¹⁴ where he saw a woman in one of the lanes exclaiming, "Leave me alone or I'll tell [about you]." So he said to the Arabs with him, "Seize her!" Then he said to her, "What's the matter with you?" She denied [having spoken], until he brought her to his house and threatened her. Then she said, "Next to my house there has come to live a man who is known as *al-Ḥallāj* and who has a group of people coming to him secretly every night and day, saying unlawful things."

He forthwith turned to a band of his associates, who were adherents of the sultan, ordering them to raid the place. They did so and found a man with a white head and beard, whom they seized upon along with all that

¹¹¹ *Abū al-Qāsim Naṣr* was the chamberlain (*al-ḥājib*) of the Caliph *al-Muqtadir*.

¹¹² Here *al-Ḥallāj* identifies himself with *Allāh*. For the Flood of the time of Noah and the destruction of the Pre-Islāmic tribes, see *Qur'ān* 7: 59-84.

¹¹³ There are different accounts of how *al-Ḥallāj* was punished, perhaps due to the fact that the word *ṣalb* can mean either tied up for public ridicule or crucified. The preceding passage makes it clear that when he was first brought to *Baghdād*, *al-Ḥallāj* was tied up on both sides of the *Tigris* for the public to revile. Then he was placed in prison, where for a time he gained the good will of the chamberlain, members of the court, and the Caliph *al-Muqtadir* himself. Later the vizier used his influence to have him executed. He was beaten and mutilated. It is likely that he was crucified before his body was burned. As the Muslims believed in bodily resurrection of the dead, this burning was a severe measure to take. Cf. *Ḥallāj, Akhbār*, I, 232, 304-12; also illustrations: I, 182; II, 622, 770, 916.

¹¹⁴ *Sūs* was the ancient *Susa*; see *Yāqūt, Geog.*, III, 188; "al-Sūs," *Enc. Islām*, IV, 565. MS 1934 has "al-Rabḍ fī al-Qaṭ'ah," which means "the Suburb in the Separated Quarter." Compare this passage with *Ḥallāj, Akhbār*, I, 228 ff.

he had with him, for there were quantities of coins, musk, clothing, safflower,¹¹⁵ ambergris, and saffron. Then he said, "What do you want from me?" They replied, "You are al-Ḥallāj." He said, "No, I am not he and I don't even know him."

They took him to the home of 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, the postmaster, and imprisoned him in a house, making sure of him and taking over his notes, books, and cloth, while the news spread about the town, so that the people gathered to look at him. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn asked him, "Are you al-Ḥallāj?" He denied this. Then one of the men of al-Sūs said, "I know him by a scar made by a blow on his head." So they searched for this and found it.

Now the sultan had arrested one of the young men of al-Ḥallāj known as al-Dabbās, whom he kept in prison for a long time, treating him abominably. Then he released him and, after taking his guarantee and making him swear to look for al-Ḥallāj, he provided him with funds. While he [al-Dabbās] was going after him through the land, he happened to enter Sūs at this time and to learn the news. He hastened to notify the sultan about the affair, confirming it. So he [al-Ḥallāj] was brought [to Baghdād] and there befell him what happened.

The person who sought to have him executed, taking the initiative in the affair, was Ḥāmid ibn al-'Abbās [the vizier]. The sultan was on the point of setting him free, as he [al-Ḥallāj] confused him, the servants, and the women of his court by praying, amulets, and charms. He used to eat little, pray much, and fast for extended periods, so that he misled and captivated them.¹¹⁶

Naṣr [al-Ḥājib] al-Qushūrī called him "the Righteous Shaykh," but he was mistaken¹¹⁷ so that Ḥāmid brought the case to a definite conclusion, accusing some about the matter. Then he [al-Ḥallāj] said, "I invoke curses upon you!" [whereupon] Ḥāmid exclaimed, "Now it is certain that you claim what you are suspected of!" So he was killed and burned.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Ḥallāj, *Akhhār*, has "birds," but MS 1934 and the Tonk MS confirm "safflower" as correct. This is a yellowish-red dye made from the flower of *Carthamus tinctorius*. Evidently al-Ḥallāj used this and other things to work magic so as to impress the illiterate people.

¹¹⁶ For his miracles in the palace, see Ḥallāj, *Akhhār*, I, 235 ff.

¹¹⁷ The Tonk MS adds three extra words here and also shows other variations, probably due to careless copying.

¹¹⁸ It is probable that al-Ḥallāj cursed the vizier in a way which proved that he claimed divinity, thus giving final reason for execution. It is likely that this entire section is quoted from Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Sinān.

Names of the Books of al-Ḥallāj¹¹⁹

Ṭā'(Ṭ) Sin(S). Al-Azal (Eternity) and the Greatest Jewel (Supreme Essence) and the Light-Giving Olive Tree;¹²⁰ Letters of the Ḥadīth, and the Eternal and Universal Names; The Shade Extended, the Water Poured Forth, and the Continuing Life; The Conception (Act of Becoming) of Light, Life, and Spirit; Al-Ṣayhūr;¹²¹ Explanation of 'Say, He Allāh is One';¹²² The Continuing in Eternity and Eternally Continued; Recital of the Qur'ān and the Furqān;¹²³ The Disposition of Man and the Explanation (Khalq al-Insān wa-al-Bayān); The Cunning of Satan and the Command of the Sultan; Roots and Branches.¹²⁴

Secret of the World and the One Sent (Raised from the Dead); Justice and Oneness;¹²⁵ Politics, Caliphs, and Governors (Emirs); Knowledge of Survival (Eternity) and Annihilation;¹²⁶ The Form of Things Which Overshadow; The Light of the Light;¹²⁷ Revelations (Supernatural Communications); Spheres, the World, and the One Who Knows; Praise of the Prophet and the Most Excellent Example;¹²⁸ The Unusual and the Clear [in Good Literary Style]; The [Primordial] Point¹²⁹ and the Beginning of Creation; The Resurrection and the Mystic Ecstasies

¹¹⁹ To understand these titles, consult Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, II, 815-16; Ḥallāj, *Ṭawāsīn*, pp. 1-8, 80 ff. Massignon has corrected the Flügel text by comparing it with a parallel list of titles. The translation follows the corrections. The Tonk and 1934 MSS give some of these works, but confuse them.

¹²⁰ Ṭā' Sin are the letters at the beginning of Sūrah 27, which according to a cryptic system stood for "Divine Apparition" (Ṭā') and "Eternal Glory of Allāh" (Sin). See Massignon, *Origines du lexique*, pp. 81, 82. Al-Ḥallāj used these two letters for his short writings; see Ḥallāj, *Ṭawāsīn*. For the light-giving olive tree, see Qur'ān 24:35.

¹²¹ All editions of *Al-Fihrist* have *al-ṣayhūn*, perhaps signifying Mt. Zion, but Ḥallāj, *Ṭawāsīn*, p. 142 n. 1, is probably correct in suggesting *al-ṣayhūr*, which indicates being scalded in hell; cf. Qur'ān 22:20(21).

¹²² See Qur'ān 112:1.

¹²³ See "Furqān," *Enc. Islam*, II, 120; Qur'ān 25:1; also *Muslim World*, XLV, No. 2 (April 1955), 109-12, an unsigned editorial entitled "The Criterion."

¹²⁴ This title probably refers to principles and applications of the law.

¹²⁵ See Glossary, "Mu'tazilah," for this phrase.

¹²⁶ In Arabic this is '*Ilm al-Baqā' wa-al-Fanā'*', evidently referring to the mystic practice of annihilation of personality in ecstatic union with God, giving a consciousness of the eternal.

¹²⁷ See Qur'ān 24:35.

¹²⁸ The Arabic words translated as "most excellent example" are *al-mathal al-a'lā*, mentioned in the Qur'ān 30:27 (26).

¹²⁹ The Flügel text seems to be incorrect. The Tonk and 1934 MSS give *al-nuqtah* ("point"). Cf. Ḥallāj, *Ṭawāsīn*, p. 29, and Massignon, *Origines du lexique*, p. 39.

(Resurrections); The Greatness and Majesty; Prayer and Divine Blessings (Prayer and Forms of Prayer); Treasures of Good Things, known as Separate Alif and Composite Alif.¹³⁰

The Ecstasies of Those with the Knowledge;¹³¹ The Nature of Aspects of the Qur'ān and of Reasoning; Sincerity and Pure Intention (al-Ikhlās);¹³² The Examples and the Abwāb; Certainty; Oneness (Al-Tawhīd); "The Star When It Sets";¹³³ "The Scattering Broadcast";¹³⁴ about 'He who revealed to you the Qur'ān will return you to the place of returning';¹³⁵ The Pearl, addressed to Naṣr al-Qushūrī; Government (Politics), addressed to al-Ḥusayn ibn Ḥamdān; He Is He;¹³⁶ How He Was and How He Will Be;¹³⁷ The First Existence;¹³⁸ Red Sulphur; Al-Samarī and His Answer; The Second Existence;¹³⁹ No—How; Analogy and Truth;¹⁴⁰ Analogy (Form) with Figure of Speech.

'Abd Allāh ibn Bukayr¹⁴¹

He was one of the Shī'ah. He was quoted by al-Ḥasan ibn ['Alī ibn] al-Faḍḍāl. Among his books there was a book about the sources.

Al-Ḥusayn ibn Mukhāraq

He was one of the leaders of the Shī'ah. Among his books there were:

The Commentary; The Compilation of Science.

¹³⁰ See Ḥallāj, *Ṭawāsīn*, p. 58, diagrams 4 and 5, and p. 100.

¹³¹ Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, II, 819 bottom, gives *Mawājīd al-'Ārifīn*. For 'ārif, see Ḥallāj, *Ṭawāsīn*, p. 83; Massignon, *Origines du lexique*, p. 248 middle.

¹³² See Massignon, *Origines du lexique*, pp. 191–92.

¹³³ See Qur'ān 53:1.

¹³⁴ See Qur'ān 51:1.

¹³⁵ See Qur'ān 28:85.

¹³⁶ See Ḥallāj, *Ṭawāsīn*, p. 129.

¹³⁷ See Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, II, 641 bottom. On the margin of MS 1934 there is the note, "In this book there is going forward and backward."

¹³⁸ See Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, II, 561; and Qur'ān 50:15 (14) for the first existence or creation. The next title probably refers to the Philosopher's Stone.

¹³⁹ See Qur'ān 50:15 (14) for the second existence or creation.

¹⁴⁰ See Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, II, 568.

¹⁴¹ This name and the seven which follow it are Shī'ī scholars, who are mentioned by al-Ṭūsī but not by other well-known authorities.

Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Kūfī

He was one of the illustrious members of the Imāmīyah. Among his books there were:

The Wills; a book about the law, according to the system of al-Māzinī.¹⁴²

Ibn Kūrah

Abū Sulaymān Dā’ūd ibn Kūrah was one of the people of Qumm.¹⁴³ Among his books there was *Compassion*.

Qunbarah

His name was Ismā’īl ibn Muḥammad. He came from the people of Qumm and among his books there was *Knowledge*.

Al-Ḥasanī

He was Abū ‘Abd Allāh, among whose books there were: Traditions about the Authorities on the Ḥadīth; Traditions about Mu’āwiyah; The Virtues; Investigation (Uncovering),

Al-Balawī

His name was ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Balawī, from Ballī, a tribe of Egypt. He was a preacher, legal authority, and scholar, among whose books there were:

Abwāb; Knowledge; Religion and Its Ordinances.’

Ibn ‘Imrān

He was Abū Ja’far Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn ‘Imrān of Qumm, a master of the law,¹⁴⁴ among whose books there was *Rare Forms* (*Al-Nawādir*), a large book¹⁴⁵ [properly] called *Rare Forms of Learning* (*Nawādir al-Ḥikmah*). This book, *Rare Forms*

¹⁴² This title is found in the Tonk MS and Ṭūsī, p. 211, sect. 455, but not in MS 1934 or the Flügel edition.

¹⁴³ For Qumm, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 175. MS 1934 omits the name here, but includes it in the paragraph following.

¹⁴⁴ The words translated “master of the law” are in Arabic *ṣāhib al-fiqh*. This might also mean “having intelligence,” or with a more technical significance might mean “possessing an understanding of God,” presumably by means of mystic practices.

¹⁴⁵ The rest of this paragraph is not in either MS 1934 or the Flügel text, but is taken from the Tonk MS. It should be compared with Ṭūsī, pp. 273–74, sect. 598.

of *Learning*, comprises twenty-two chapters. The first one is "Oneness" (*Al-Tawhīd*) and the last ones are "Ordinances" (*Al-Ḥudūd*), "Fines" (*Al-Dīyāt*), "Testimonies" (*Al-Shahādāt*), "Law Suits" (*Al-Qadāyā*), and "Judgments" (*Al-Aḥkām*). He was one of the people of Qumm who became assimilated among the Arabs.

The Zaydiyyah¹⁴⁶

Al-Dā'i ilā Allāh al-Imām al-Nāṣir li-al-Ḥaqq al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd ibn 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, for whom may there be peace, belonged to the schisms of the Zaydiyyah. He was born ——— and died during the year ———. Among his books there were:

Ritual Purification; The Call to Prayer and the Performance of It (*Al-Adhān wa-al-Iqāmah*); Prayer; Sources of the Poor Tax (*Uṣūl al-Zakāt*); Fasting; Rites of the Pilgrimage; The Journey (*Al-Sayr*) (or Ways of Life [*Al-Siyar*]); Oaths and Vows; The Pledge; Selling the Mothers of Children; Administration of an Oath; The Option to Purchase or Pre-empt Adjoining Property (*Al-Shuf'ah*); Oppression (Plunder); Ordinances.

These are all of his books that we have seen. Some of the Zaydiyyah believe that he wrote about a hundred books, but we have not seen them. If some observer does see any one of them while we are writing [this book], I will add it in its proper place, if Allāh so wills.

Al-Dā'i¹⁴⁷ ilā al-Ḥaqq al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, the Lord of Ṭabaristān

He appeared there during the year two hundred and fifty [A.D. 864] and died in Ṭabaristān ruling over it during the year two hundred and seventy [A.D. 883/84].¹⁴⁸ Then there arose in his place

¹⁴⁶ See Glossary for this sect.

¹⁴⁷ The Ismā'īliyah used the term *dā'i* for a member of their religious and propaganda hierarchy, but here it signifies "the caller to righteousness." These Zaydī leaders did much to bring the semi-pagan people of Daylam and Ṭabaristān to accept Islām.

¹⁴⁸ For the regions in this sentence and the one which follows, see "Tabaristan," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 579; "Dailam," I, 896.

his brother al-Dā'i ilā al-Ḥaqq *Muḥammad* ibn Zayd, who ruled al-Daylam. Among the books of al-Ḥasan there were:

Compilation of the Law; The Explanation; The Proof, about the imamate.

Al-'Alawī al-Rassī¹⁴⁹

He was al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, the lord of Ṣa'dah and one of the Zaydiyyah, from whom was descended the Qāsimīyah¹⁵⁰ branch of the Zaydiyyah. Among his books there were:

Drinks; The Imamate; Oaths and Vows; Self-Discipline (Siyāsāt al-Nafs); Refutation of the Rāfiḍah.

Al-Hādī

He was *Yahyā* ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusanī, among whose books there were:

Prayer; Compilation of the Law.

Al-Murādī

Abū Ja'far *Muḥammad* ibn Maṣṣūr al-Murādī al-Zaydī was one of the Zaydiyyah among whose books there were:

The Large Commentary; The Small Commentary; *Aḥmad* ibn 'Isā; Nature of the Justly Appointed Imams (Imams Who Deviated); about ordinances, such as ritual purification, prayer, and other things, according to the [way of] reading books about the law. Then he wrote also, Al-Khamīs [the army with its five parts]; his epistle to al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd in Ṭabaristān, in connection with the speech of some of those who were seeking.¹⁵¹

Al-'Ayyāshī

Abū al-Naḍr *Muḥammad* ibn Maṣ'ūd al-'Ayyāshī was one of the people of Samarqand. It is also said that he was one of the Banū

¹⁴⁹ Instead of al-Rassī, Flügel gives Bursī, which must be an error. For al-Rassī, see "Rassids," *Enc. Islam*, III, 1126.

¹⁵⁰ For Ṣa'dah, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 389. For the Qāsimīyah, see Ḥakīmī, *Yaman*, pp. 314-15.

¹⁵¹ The Tonk MS has certain variations, but they are probably due to careless copying. This epistle may, perhaps, have been about the dialects of some of the pagan tribes in northern Persia who were seeking acceptance into Islām, so as to escape capture and slavery.

Tamīm¹⁵² and a legal authority belonging to the Imāmīyah branch of the Shī'ah. He was one of those [scholars] of his period and time who was devoted to an abundance of learning, his books being a matter of importance in the regions of Khurāsān.

Junayd ibn Muḥammad ibn Nu'aym, surnamed Abū Aḥmad, wrote to Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-'Alawī a letter at the end of which there was a copy of the compositions of al-'Ayyāshī. I have made my record in accordance with this arrangement of his adherent.¹⁵³

Commentary; Prayer; Ritual Purifications; Abridgment of "Prayer"; Abridgment of "Menstruation";¹⁵⁴ Fasting; Abridgment of "Fasting"; Funerals; Abridgment of "Funerals"; Rites of the Pilgrimage; Abridgment of "Rites of the Pilgrimage"; The Instructed and the Educated; Maledictions; The Poor Tax; Division of the Poor Tax; The Poor Tax at the Breaking of the Fast; Drinks; Punishment for Drinking; Sacrifices; Al-'Aqīqah;¹⁵⁵ Marriage; The Dowry; Divorce; Piety; Humble Replies; Adoration of the Qur'ān;¹⁵⁶ The Agreement (Saying) between the Two Sayings; Knowledge of the Copyists.

Medicine; The Dream; The Stars, Augury, Following the Traces,¹⁵⁷ and Divination by Flight of Birds; The Lot;¹⁵⁸ The Furqān;¹⁵⁹ The Difference between Legal and Illegal Eatables; Sellers (Buyers); Advanced Payment; Al-Ṣarf;¹⁶⁰ The Pledge; Partnership; Competition; The Option to Purchase or Pre-empt Adjoining Property (Al-Shuf'ah);

¹⁵² See "Tamīm," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 643.

¹⁵³ Cf. Ṭūsī, p. 317, sect. 290. These must be the titles of chapters or small monographs.

¹⁵⁴ Al-Ṭūsī and Flügel give "menstruation," which seems to be correct, although MS 1934 and the Tonk MS have *Abridgment of the Abridgment*.

¹⁵⁵ This may mean a sheep slaughtered for a newborn child, or a turban, or the foreskin removed at circumcision.

¹⁵⁶ Flügel suggests that this may be *tajwīd* ("intonation"), but both MS 1934 and the Tonk MS give clearly *sujūd* ("adoration" or "worship").

¹⁵⁷ Probably palmistry.

¹⁵⁸ At a shrine an Arab could have an arrow drawn out for him and then his fortune told as indicated by the marking on the arrow. This could also be used for gambling.

¹⁵⁹ *Al-furqān* can mean "difference" or "distinction," or else have a more technical meaning (see n. 123). The translation follows the Tonk MS which, unlike Flügel and MS 1934, gives the word as a separate title, presumably with the technical significance.

¹⁶⁰ As this title is with others about trade, it probably refers to exchange of money or goods, rather than to its meaning in grammar.

Seeking Acquittal; Trade; The Judgments and Training of Judges; Ordinance for Adultery; Ordinance for Stealing; Ordinance of the Accuser.

Ransoms for Murder (Payments of Blood Money); Expiations for Murder; Wanton Amusements (Musical Instruments); Metaphors of Poetry; Horse Racing and Throwing [Javalins]; Division of the Booty and the Spoil; The Debt, Undertaking Responsibility, and the Commission;¹⁶¹ Suretyship (Management) and Giving Out for Planting; Wages (Rentals); The Period of Time; Asceticism; Pious Endowments;¹⁶² Al-Qiblah; The Poll Tax and the Land Tax; Obedience [to Allāh];¹⁶³ Proof of Miracles; Menstruation; Al-'Umrāh.¹⁶⁴

Makkah and the Sacred Enclosure; Marriage of Slaves (Mamālik); What Is Disliked about (from) an Assembly among Them; Stories of Sin;¹⁶⁵ Crime of Slaves and Crime against Them; Crime of the Foreigner; Ordinances; Conditions; Blood Money for an Embryo; Wealth;¹⁶⁶ Encouragement for Marriage; Persons Equal and Socially Equivalent and Testimonies in [Connection with] Marriage; Ransom of Captives and Defrauding of Plunder;¹⁶⁷ Rewarding of Combatants; Fighting the Idolaters; The Holy War; The Prophets and the Imams;¹⁶⁸ Executors of a Will.

Treating with Tact (Dissimulation); Indications of the Imams; Fasting and Expiations; Combining Two Prayers; Places of Worship [Mosques]; Sins (Crimes); The Obligation for Obedience of the 'Ulamā'; Charity according to (Other than) What Is Prescribed; The

¹⁶¹ This title is given in Arabic by Flügel and MS 1934 as *Al-Dayn wa-al-Hamālah wa-al-Hawālah*. The second word might mean "tribute" instead of "undertaking responsibility." The Tonk MS has *Al-Dayn wa-al-Hawālah wa-al-Qaffālah* ("The Debt, the Commission, and the Returning").

¹⁶² Instead of *Pious Endowments (Al-Aḥbas)*, the Tonk MS has *Species (Al-Ajnās)*.

¹⁶³ See II, 16.

¹⁶⁴ The lesser pilgrimage to Makkah; see "Umra," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1016.

¹⁶⁵ MS 1934 lacks consonant signs. Flügel has *Jazāfāt al-Khaṣā'* ("Estimates of Error") and the Tonk MS gives *Khurāfāt al-Khaṣā'* ("Stories of Sin").

¹⁶⁶ Flügel has *Al-Ghaybah*, which would imply abstinence from all but God; see 'Alī b. 'Uthmān, p. 248. MS 1934 has *Al-Ghanyah* ("Wealth").

¹⁶⁷ Flügel has *al-ghulūl* ("defrauding of plunder"); MS 1934 gives the same word without consonant marks, whereas the Tonk MS has *al-'ulūj* ("infidels").

¹⁶⁸ The reference is probably to the Shī'ī imams; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. The title which follows may also refer to descendants of the Prophet and his son-in-law 'Alī as persons executing the divine right to rule and inheriting the special knowledge bequeathed to them. It may, however, be a legal document, without reference to the Prophet's family.

Ka'bah; Whipping the Drinker;¹⁶⁹ What It Is Lawful for a Pilgrim to Kill;¹⁷⁰ Obligations of the Pilgrimage; Hidden Meanings in Reading of the Qur'ān (Bā'in al-Qir'ān); The Garden and the Fire [Heaven and Hell]; Hunting; Sacrificial Victims; Suckling Children; Temporary Marriage.

Preparing (Smoothing) Property; Wills; Inheritances; Beneficence and the Free Gift; Good Qualities of Character; The Rights of Brothers; The Oaths; Vows; Lineage and Relationship (Walā'); Asking for Permission; Social Recreation of Women; Witnesses; Conditions; The Oath with the Witness; Manumission and Registration [of a Slave]; Aversion and Divorce;¹⁷¹ Acts of Kindness; Selections and Choice; Al-'Idad;¹⁷² Al-Zihār; Al-Īla; Al-Li'ān; Al-Raj'ah.

The Attribute and the Oneness; Prayer for the Imams; Refutation of Whoever Fasts and Then Breaks the Fast before Seeing the New Moon; Clothing; Robes; The Inmate of 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn [Zayn al-'Abidin]; He Who Loathes Marriage;¹⁷³ Confirmation for Wiping of the Two Feet;¹⁷⁴ Answers to Questions Coming from a Number of Countries; The Fast of the Sunnah and of Supererogation;¹⁷⁵ Ramifications (Derivatives) of the Ordinance of Fasting; Knowledge of the Explanation;¹⁷⁶ Cutting Off [the Hand] and Robbery;¹⁷⁷ Battles;

¹⁶⁹ The Sunnite law prescribed eighty lashes and the Shī'ī forty; see Gaudefroy-Denomy, *Muslim Institutions*, p. 156.

¹⁷⁰ See Qur'ān 5:96 ff.

¹⁷¹ This title and the others which follow seem to deal with marriage and divorce, although the two which immediately follow may be devoted to more general topics.

¹⁷² *Al-'iddah*, pl. *al-'iddat*, refers to the number of days of menstruation which must pass before a divorced or widowed woman can remarry. The purpose of this procedure is to determine the true father of the woman's next child. See "*Idda*," *Enc. Islam*, II, 445. The Tonk and 1934 MSS give *al-'iddat*; the Flügel text gives *al-'iddah*. *Al-zihār* is the pronouncement of the divorce formula, "Thou art to me as my mother's back." *Al-ila* (*i'la*) is swearing not to cohabit with a wife for four months if she is free, or two months if she is a slave, as a religious penance. *Al-li'ān* is a pronouncement of a curse of judgment, presumably for divorce. *Al-raj'ah* is the receiving back of a divorced wife. Another possibility is *al-rij'ah*, a widow returning home after her husband's death.

¹⁷³ Both Tūsi, p. 318, and Flügel have *He Who Loathes Marriage*. MS 1934 omits "marriage" (*al-mumākahah*).

¹⁷⁴ See Qur'ān 5:7 (8); Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 49.

¹⁷⁵ See "*Ṣawm*," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 196. "Fast of the Sunnah" refers to the fast required by the Qur'ān.

¹⁷⁶ See Qur'ān 55:4 (3).

¹⁷⁷ See Qur'ān 5:41 (40).

Al-Marwah;¹⁷⁸ Revelation; Excellencies of the Qur'ān; Ablution; The Fifth;¹⁷⁹ Rare Forms (Unusual Anecdotes); Day and Night; Abridgment of "Day and Night."

Water for [Ritual] Ablution; Adultery and Chastity; Ritual Cleansing;¹⁸⁰ Ablution with Earth (Sand); Ritual Purification of Clothing; Prayer of the Settlement (al-Ḥaḍar); Prayer of the Journey; The Love of Guardians (Executors); Places of Worship [mosques]; Abridgment of Ritual Purifications; Beginning of (Introduction to) the Ordinance of Prayer; Clothing for Prayer; Supererogatory Prayers of the Daytime; The Times of al-Zuhr and al-'Aṣr;¹⁸¹ The Call to Prayer; Ordinances of Prayer; Neglect;¹⁸² Prayer of the Sick; Friday Prayer; Obligatory and Voluntary Prayer; Prayer for the Two Feasts;¹⁸³ Prayer of Fear; Prayer of the Eclipse of the Sun;¹⁸⁴ Prayer for Rain; Prayer on a Ship; Washing of the Dead; Lamentations (Mournings);¹⁸⁵ Prayer for Funerals; The Beginning.¹⁸⁶

What He [al-'Ayyāshī] Compiled from the Traditions of the Common People

The Life of Abū Bakr;¹⁸⁷ The Life of 'Umar; The Life of 'Uthmān; The Life of Mu'āwiyah; Measures of What Is Good; The Evident.

¹⁷⁸ This may mean "manliness," or refer to the hill at Makkah called al-Marwah. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 133; "as-Ṣafā," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 51.

¹⁷⁹ This refers to the fifth part of the spoil assigned to the Prophet; see Qur'ān 8: 41 (40).

¹⁸⁰ *Al-istinjā'* is ablution, especially after a bowel movement; *al-tayammum* is ablution with sand when water is not available. The body and clothing had to be purified if contaminated, as by blood, urine, or semen. See "Istindjā'," *Enc. Islam*, II, 562; "Tayammum," IV, 708.

¹⁸¹ These were the noon and afternoon prayers.

¹⁸² The Tonk MS has what is evidently a mistake for this title and adds another title, *The Night*.

¹⁸³ 'Īd al-Fiṭr, at the end of Ramaḍān, and 'Īd al-Aḍḥā, when sheep are sacrificed on the pilgrimage.

¹⁸⁴ Ṭūsī, p. 320, and Flügel add "and eclipse of the moon."

¹⁸⁵ Ṭūsī, p. 320, and Flügel repeat the title *Sins* (*Al-Ma'āthim*), given in the fifth paragraph of this list, whereas MS 1934 and the Tonk MS give *Lamentations* (*Al-Ma'ātim*).

¹⁸⁶ Ṭūsī, p. 320, has *Al-Badā'*, MS 1934 and Flügel give *Al-Badā'*, while the Tonk MS has *Al-Badāyah* ("The Beginning").

¹⁸⁷ Needless to say, these first four titles were the lives of the first three and the fifth caliphs.

Haydar [ibn Muḥammad ibn Nu‘aym]. mentioned that his books numbered two hundred and eight, from which total twenty-seven books are left.

Ibn Bābawayh

His name was ‘*Alī* ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā al-Qummī and he was one of the jurists and trustworthy authorities of the Shī‘ah. I have read what was written in the handwriting of his son, Abū Ja‘far *Muḥammad* ibn ‘*Alī* [ibn al-Ḥusayn] on the back of a section [of a manuscript]: “For so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, I have sorted out the books of my father, ‘*Alī* ibn al-Ḥusayn, and they number two hundred. My own books number eighteen.”¹⁸⁸

Ibn al-Junayd

Abū ‘*Alī* Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Junayd lived near to our own time and was one of the leaders of the Imāmiyah sect of the Shī‘ah.¹⁸⁹ Among his books there were:

The Light of Certain Belief and the Triumph of Those with the Knowledge;¹⁹⁰ The Discrimination of One Who Knows and [in] the Sorting-Out of Counterfeit; Scriptures,¹⁹¹ which was a refutation of the apostates; Gardens of Holiness, about the precepts which he chose for himself; Awakening the Heedless with Divine Knowledge; Deriving the Desired from a Variety of Sermons; Flames Burning for Deceiving Devils,¹⁹² in which he refuted Abū al-Qāsim ibn al-Baqqāl al-Mutawassīṭ.

Understanding the Sources of Court Decisions, following the course of the epistles of al-Ṭabarī;¹⁹³ Eradication of Passion from the Hearts of

¹⁸⁸ The Tonk MS contains an additional record, probably inserted by a copyist, as follows, “Then he composed after that something additional to the number mentioned, the total amounting to about three hundred books.” Ṭūsī, p. 304, sect. 661, assigns the large number of books to the son, Muḥammad, and does not give a specific number for the books of the father.

¹⁸⁹ This scholar must be distinguished from the great mystic al-Junayd, surnamed Abū al-Qāsim.

¹⁹⁰ Compare these titles with Ṭūsī, pp. 268–69, sect. 592, to note the variations.

¹⁹¹ The Tonk MS has *The Scriptures and the Lights* (*Al-Asfār wa-al-Anwār*). In MS 1934 and the Flügel edition the word translated “apostate” is *al-murtaddah*, which may be a proper name.

¹⁹² Ṭūsī, p. 268, sect. 592, has “tongues” instead of “devils.”

¹⁹³ Ṭūsī, *ibid.*, ends with “al-Ṭabarī,” but Flügel and MS 1934 add “to his secretaries,” while the Tonk MS adds “to himself.”

the Brothers, about the meaning of the book "Wealth";¹⁹⁴ The Holiness of al-Ṭūr and the Fountain of Light, about the meaning of prayer for the Prophet;¹⁹⁵ Refutation of Whoever Allows Abrogation of Whatever Has Completed His [Allāh's] Law and Glorified His Benefits,¹⁹⁶ about the beautiful literary style of the language of the Arabs and their allusions to their desires, dealing with the meaning of allusions regarding things for which the common people and others besides them do not know the reasons.¹⁹⁷

He also wrote many other books, among which there were:

Rendering of Judicial Decisions by the Shi'ah—it is a large book, with about twenty chapters, arranged like the lengthy legal books; Al-Aḥmadī, about Muḥammadan law; The Way of Happiness for People of Good Fortune; a catalogue of his books, compiled by him section by section.¹⁹⁸

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Bābawayh¹⁹⁹

Among his books there was *Guiding to the Right Road*. His books amounted to about three hundred. A catalogue of the names of his books is extant.

Abū Sulaymān Dā'ūd ibn Abī Zayd

He was one of the people of Naysābūr, where he lived in al-Najjārīn on Sikkat Ṭarkhān, in the house of 'Sakhtawayh. He was one of the Shi'ah handing down quotations who was known

¹⁹⁴ The word translated as "eradication" (*al-rān*) is found in Flügel and on the margin of MS 1934. "Wealth" (*al-ghunyah*) is taken from MS 1934. Al-Ṭūsī (see n. 190), Flügel, and the Tonk MS give instead *al-ghaybah*, which probably refers to absence of all but thoughts of Allāh; see 'Alī b. 'Uthmān, p. 248.

¹⁹⁵ *Al-Ṭūr* is the Arabic name for Mount Sinai; see Qur'ān 52:1; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 558; "al-Ṭūr," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 868. The Tonk MS omits this name.

¹⁹⁶ Al-Ṭūsī (see n. 190) ends with the word "abrogating." Instead of "His benefits" the last words may be "its benefits."

¹⁹⁷ MS 1934, unlike Flügel, makes it clear that this description is composed as one sentence.

¹⁹⁸ This paragraph occurs only in the Tonk MS, although Ṭūsī, p. 269, mentions some of the same items. The title *Al-Aḥmadī* may refer to the man by that name in the Biog. Index, or to something entirely different, as it is not clearly written in the Tonk MS.

¹⁹⁹ Flügel and MS 1934 have only "Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī. Among his books there was *Guiding*." The extra material comes from the Tonk MS.

for the veracity of his tongue. He was one of the companions of 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, [al-'Askarī] with whom may Allāh be well pleased. Among his books there were:

Guidance; Refutation of the Rāfiḍah.²⁰⁰

Al-Jalūdi

Abū Aḥmad 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Isā al-Jalūdi was one of the great men of the Imāmiyah sect of the Shī'ah and of those who quoted the old traditions and biographies. I have mentioned his books about biography in their place, in the chapter about historians and genealogists. Among his books about the law there were:

He Who Is Guided and He Who Is Seeking Guidance; Temporary Marriage and What Happens When Dissolving It.²⁰¹

Abū al-Ḥasan

His name was *Muḥammad* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Kātib and his birth was during the year two hundred and eighty-one [A.D. 894/95] at al-Ḥasanīyah.²⁰² Publicly he endorsed the school of al-Shāfi'i, but secretly he held the opinions of the Imāmiyah [sect] of the Shī'ah. He was skilled in the law of both schools. I am mentioning his books based on the code of al-Shāfi'i in their proper place. Among his books based on the Shī'i code there were:

Unveiling the Veil; Preparation; Al-'Iddah;²⁰³ Examining (Observing); Dissolution of the 'Abbāsīyah;²⁰⁴ Place of Killing;²⁰⁵ The Beneficial in the Ḥadīth; The Way.

²⁰⁰ Al-Najjārīn was probably the Carpenters' Bazaar, and the Darb Ṭarkhān an alley near it where they sold *ṭarkhān*, a kind of vegetable. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-'Askarī was the 10th Shī'i imam; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. MS 1934 omits the book titles; the Tonk MS alone gives the second one.

²⁰¹ The versions vary in giving the word translated as "dissolving," but the meaning seems to be clear.

²⁰² Al-Ḥasanīyah may be the town listed by Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 270.

²⁰³ See n. 172.

²⁰⁴ This may refer to the regime of the Banū al-'Abbās caliphs, or to their semi-ruined palace; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 600.

²⁰⁵ Ṭūsī, p. 264, sect. 586, and the Tonk MS give *al-maḡtal* ("place of killing"), which is probably more correct than *al-mu'tall* ("infirm"), given by Flügel.

Al-Şafwānī

Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Qudā'ah al-Şafwānī was an uneducated man whom I met during the year three hundred and forty-six [A.D. 957/58]. He was a tall, thin, and well-dressed man who pretended that he could not read or write, but a reliable authority told me that he only feigned this. He died in the year ———. Among his books there were:

Investigation and Proof; The Humankind of the World (Affability of the Scholar); Day and Night; The Precious Object of Him Who Seeks and the Thing Sought after by Him Who Desires; Temporary Marriage and Its Dissolving, with a Refutation of Anyone Who Forbids It; Friendship for the Family of the Apostle and Mention of the Hatreds of Their Enemies.²⁰⁶

Ibn al-Ja'ābī al-Qādī

He was Abū Bakr 'Amr ibn Muḥammad ibn Salīm ibn al-Barā', known as al-Ja'ābī, one of the most excellent of the Shī'ah. He went to *Sayf al-Dawlah*,²⁰⁷ becoming attached to him and serving him exclusively. He died during the year ———. Among his books there was *Mention of the Men of Learning and Virtue, Who Cherished Love for the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī, for Whom May There Be Peace, with an Explanation about This and Mention, Also, of Something from the Traditions about Him*.²⁰⁸

Abū Bishr Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-'Ammī

He lived near to our own time. He took dictation from al-Jalūdī, and died after the year fifty [A.H. 350: A.D. 961]. Among his books there was *Proof of the Prophets, Guardians*,²⁰⁹ and *Saints*,

²⁰⁶ Ṭūsī, p. 271, sect. 595, gives this title in a form different from that of the other versions. He has *aḥwāl*, meaning "states" or "conditions," among other things, instead of *aḥān*, here translated as "hatreds."

²⁰⁷ The Tonk MS adds ibn Ḥamdān.

²⁰⁸ The epithet for 'Alī is taken from MS 1934, which is probably correct. Flügel gives a different epithet and the Tonk MS has a variation at the end of the title; both variations are unimportant.

²⁰⁹ This probably refers to the Shī'ī imams, who guarded the divine right to rule and the special knowledge for interpretation of the law inherited from 'Alī.

Ibn al-Mu'allim Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān

He belongs to our own time. With him there culminates leadership among his associates of the Imāmīyah [sect] of the Shī'ah, in connection with law, theology, and ancient traditions. He was born during the year three hundred and thirty-eight [A.D. 949/50]. Among his books there are something less than two hundred books, large and small, with a well-known and noted catalogue of their names, among which there are:²¹⁰

The Required (Al-Muqtaḍā), about the law; The Supports (Al-Arkān), also about the law; The Complete (Al-Kāmil); Clarification (Al-Idāḥ); Uncovering (Al-Ifḍāḥ); Giving Satisfaction (Al-Iqnā'); The Unique Individual (Al-Fard); Refutation of Ibn 'Abbād, concerning the imamate; Guidance (Al-Irshād); an epistle to his son, which was not completed; Refutation of 'Alī ibn 'Isā, about the imamate; Refutation of Ibn Qutaybah, concerning narrative and what is made clear; Fountains and Good Works (Al-'Uyūn wa-al-Maḥāsin); Confirming Judicial Decisions (Taqrīr al-Aḥkām).

Sources of the Law (Uṣūl al-Fiqh); Refutation of al-Jāḥiẓ, regarding the excellence of the Mu'tazilah; Refutation of [Ja'far] Ibn Ḥarb, about the imamate; Refutation of Ibn al-Ikhshid; The Improvement (Making Beneficial) of the Light (Taṣliḥ al-Nūr); about the judicial decisions of the public (ahl al-jumlaḥ); The Explanation, with a refutation of Qutrub concerning exegesis of the glorious Qur'ān; Refutation of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī, concerning exegesis of the Qur'ān; Sayings (Al-Qālāt); Chief Questions and Noblest Arguments (Ru'ūs al-Masā'il wa-Aṭrāf al-Dalā'il); Making Easy (Al-Tamhīd), about the exegesis of the glorious Qur'ān; The Conquering (Al-Intiṣār); Examining (Al-Istibṣār).

A Varied Group of the Shī'ah Whose Schools of Thought Are Not Known

Abū Ṭālib 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ya'qūb al-Anbārī

He lived at Wāsiṭ and it is said that he was a Shī'ī of the Nāwū-sīyah [sect].²¹¹ Būbāsh ibn al-Ḥasan, [surnamed] Abū al-Qāsim,

²¹⁰ The list of books which follows is only given in the Tonk MS, which is so difficult to read that the titles may not be given with entire accuracy.

²¹¹ Ṭūsī, p. 186, sect. 400, gives al-Nāwūsiyah; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 190, has al-Nāwisiyah; MS 1934 and Flügel give al-Bābūshīyah; and the Tonk MS has al-Bānūshīyah.

told me that he wrote one hundred and forty books and epistles, among which there were:

The Explanation, concerning the true state of man; The Clear, about knowledge of religion; The Imamate.

Al-Ja'fari

He was related to the doctrines²¹² of *Ja'far* al-Ṣādiq, with whom may Allāh be well pleased. His name was 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad and with him there was associated the group known as the Ja'fariyah. Among his books there were:

The Imamate; Virtues.

²¹² "Doctrines" (*madhāhib*) is taken from the Tonk and 1934 MSS. Flügel gives the singular form, *madhab*.

The Sixth Part

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars among the ancients and moderns who composed books, with the names of the books which they composed. The composition of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, known as Abū al-Faraj ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Warrāq.¹

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Sixth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, in eight sections, with accounts of the scholars and the books which they composed—accounts of the jurists.

The First Section

with accounts of the adherents of Mālik and the names of the books which they composed.

Account of Mālik

Mālik ibn Anas ibn Abī 'Āmir was from Ḥimyar, but counted as one of the Banū Taym ibn Murrah, a branch of the Quraysh, who cared for him for three years.² He was very light in color, to the extent of blondness, tall, large-headed, and bald. He wore fine 'Adan (Aden) clothes, shaved his moustache close, and did not dye his white hair.

¹ Under this heading, on the left side of the page, there is written, "An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His servant, Muḥammad ibn Ishāq." For the significance of this inscription, see the account of the Beatty MS in the Introduction. On the right side, lower down, is written "Chapter on the Jurists in the Book *Al-Fihrist*."

² For the great Ḥimyar Tribe of South Arabia, see "Ḥimyar," *Enc. Islam*, II, 310. For the Banū Taym, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 33 bottom.

He went to the mosque, attended prayers, visited the sick, and administered justice. Later, however, he stopped [attending] sessions at the mosque and prayed in his own home. He also gave up following funerals, for which he was blamed, but he said not everyone could give his excuse.³

Accusation was maliciously brought against him to *Ja'far* ibn Sulaymān, the governor of al-Madīnah, who was told, "He does not consider your appointment to be valid." So he [the governor] summoned him, stripped him, and beat him with whips.⁴ Then they stretched him until his shoulder was dislocated, seriously injuring him. But after that he continued to hold a high and exalted position, as though the blows were an adornment to him.

He was one of the righteous servants of Allāh, the legal authority of al-Ḥijāz, and during his time its intellectual leader. He died during the year one hundred and seventy-nine [A.D. 795/96], when he was eighty-five years old. He was buried in the Baqī'.⁵ Among his books there were:

The Level Path (*Al-Muwaṭṭā'*); his epistle to al-Rashīd, which was quoted by Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was a descendant of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, with whom may Allāh be well pleased.

The Adherents of Mālik Who Learned from Him and Quoted Him⁶ Al-Qa'nabī

His name was 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslimah ibn Qa'nab al-Ḥārithī, and he was surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān. He quoted Mālik in connection with his sources of the law and [the book] *The Level Path (Al-Muwaṭṭā')*.⁷ He died during the year two hundred and twenty-one [A.D. 836], and was a reliable and righteous man.

³ This probably means that when he grew too old to follow funerals, he said that not everybody had the excuse that he had, referring to old age.

⁴ These may have been rawhide scourges or rods of bamboo or some similar material. See also "Mālik ibn Anas," *Enc. Islam*, III, 206.

⁵ This was Baqī' al-Gharqad, the cemetery of al-Madīnah. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 703.

⁶ In this title the word *aṣḥab* is translated as "adherents," as some of the men mentioned were probably not pupils of Mālik, but persons who supported his legal system. Accounts of Mālik can be found in Khallikān, II, 545; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'*, p. 530; "Mālik b. Anas" *Enc. Islam*, III, 205-209; and also in books on Muslim law.

⁷ As the system of medieval education did not encourage new ideas, most of the scholars quoted the great masters, writing commentaries about their works, rather than initiating new opinions of their own.

'Abd Allāh ibn Wāḥb

He quoted from the books and ordinances of Mālik, including his *The Level Path* (*Al-Muwaffā*'), and was upright and reliable.

Ma'n ibn 'Isā al-Quzzāz

He was one of the most respected of the adherents of Mālik, under whom he studied and whose books and compositions he quoted.

Dā'ūd ibn Abī Dhanbar and His Son, Sa'id

They both quoted Mālik, Dā'ūd being a reliable authority.

Abū Bakr [ibn 'Abd Allāh] and Ismā'il, the Sons of Abū Uways

Mughīrah ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Harsī

'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Salamah

He was called al-Mājashūn. *Sukaynah*, the daughter of al-Ḥusayn, for both of whom [father and daughter] may there be peace, nicknamed Abū Salamah with this name, *al-mājashūn*, which is a dye used at al-Madīnah. Being one of the most respected followers of Mālik, he wrote books about the law. Among them he compiled a large book, which included ———,

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Hakam al-Miṣrī

He quoted Mālik in his book, *The Sunnah*, about the law.

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Qāsim

He was an Egyptian who quoted Mālik, learning from him.

Ashhab ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz

He was an Egyptian, who quoted Mālik.

Al-Layth ibn Sa'd

He was one of the followers of Mālik and a member of his school [of law], but he later had opinions of his own. He corresponded with Mālik, asking him questions. His books about [the method of] personal opinion were:

History; Questions, about the law.

Ibn al-Mu'adhdhal

He was 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Ghaylān al-Miṣrī.⁸ He studied under 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mājashūn, whereas *Ismā'il* ibn Ishāq al-Qāḍī learned from Ibn al-Mu'adhdhal. Ibn al-Mu'adhdhal also studied with 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Qāsim and 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb. Ibn al-Mu'adhdhal died ———. His books were: ———.

Ishāq ibn Hammād, Abū Ismā'il

He died during the year two hundred and seventy-five [A.D. 888/89].

Account of *Ismā'il* ibn Ishāq al-Qāḍī and His Son

They both followed the code of *Mālik*. *Ismā'il* ibn Ishāq ibn *Ismā'il* ibn Hammād ibn Zayd ibn Dirham, surnamed ———, was the person who explained the legal system of *Mālik*, causing it to become widespread. He argued about it, writing books and calling people's attention to it, making them enthusiastic about it.

He was virtuous, a legal authority endowed with superior qualities, and a judge. *Ismā'il* ibn Ishāq died during the year two hundred and eighty-two [A.D. 895/96], Wednesday night, the seventh before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [last Muslim month]. Among his books there were:

Judicial Decisions of the Qur'ān, a large book; Terrors of the Resurrection, about three hundred leaves; Al-Mabsūṭ (Spread Out, Cheerful); Proofs of the Qur'ān; Witnesses of (According to) "The Level Path" (Al-Muwaṭṭā'); Raids; Refutation of *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan, which he did not finish.⁹

Hammād ibn Ishāq

He was the brother of *Ismā'il* [ibn Ishāq], and an authority on the law. Among his books there were: ———.

⁸ This name is in the Tonk MS, but not in the other texts. The name which follows, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mājashūn, is not listed in the Biog. Index, as it evidently is in an abbreviated form. It very likely is intended to be the great-grandson of a man named al-Mājashūn; see 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh in the Biog. Index. Or perhaps it is meant to be the grandson of al-Mājashūn. See Biog. Index, 'Abd al-'Azīz, and also "Mālik ibn Anas," *Enc. Islam*, III, 208.

⁹ This must have been Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybanī, who lived two generations earlier than *Ismā'il* and followed Abū Ḥanīfah rather than *Mālik*.

Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥammād ibn Ishāq

He was of the stock of his brother, and belonged to the school of law of *Mālik*. He was surnamed Abū Ishāq. He died ———. Among his books there were;

Refutation of *al-Shāfi'ī*; Funerals; The Holy War; Indications of Prophecy.

Muḥammad ibn al-Jahm, surnamed Abū Bakr

He followed the code of *Mālik*, from whom he learned about the law. Among his books there were:

Exposition of the Short Abridgment of [*Abd Allāh*] ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam; Refutation of *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan, completing the book of *Ismā'il* ibn Ishāq.

Abū Ya'qūb al-Rāzī

He was a jurist, appointed to administer the judiciary of al-Ahwāz. His [other] compositions are not known, but he did write *Questions*.

Abū al-Faraj al-Mālikī

He was 'Umar ibn Muḥammad, who belonged to the school [of law] of *Mālik*. He lived close to our own time, dying during the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 942/43]. He was born in the year ———. Among his books there were:

The Inclusive, about the law; The Shining, about the sources of the law.

Ibn *Massāb*

His name was ——— and he wrote marginal notes.

'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Sahl

He followed the code of *Mālik*, and was a judge and one of the associates of *Ismā'il* ibn Ishāq. Among his books there were:

Compilation of the Ordinances; the large Abridgment of the Law; the small Abridgment.

Al-Abharī

He was Abū Bakr *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Šālīḥ al-Abharī. He was born at Abhar in the region of al-Jabal, during the year two hundred and seventy-eight [A.D. 891/92]. He died on Saturday, the fifth of Shawwāl [tenth Muslim month], during the year three hundred and seventy-five [A.D. 985/86]. Among his books there were:

The Small Exposition of the Book of ['Abd Allāh] ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam [al-Misrī]; The Large Exposition of the Book of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam;¹⁰ Refutation of al-Muzanī, concerning thirty questions about —— of al-Madīnah; the delightful book about Sources of the Law; The Superiority of al-Madīnah over Makkah.

Ghulām al-Abharī

He was Abū Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Abharī, Ghulām Abū Bakr. He died ——. Among his books there were: Questions of Disagreement; Refutation of Ibn 'Ulayyah, seventy questions which he did not complete, about the questions of al-Muzanī.

Al-Qayrawānī

He is 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, who follows the code of Mālik and is one of the most excellent men of our time. Among his books there are:

The Derived Classification; a book which he has called The Abridgment, embracing nearly fifty thousand questions; Rare Forms in the Law.

¹⁰ This was Abū Ibrāhīm al-Muzanī, an Egyptian jurist who was a follower of al-Shāfi'ī rather than Mālik.

Abū Ḥanīfah

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Second Section of the Sixth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed; accounts of Abū Ḥanīfah and his 'Irāqī adherents, adherents of [the method of] personal opinion.¹

The name of Abū Ḥanīfah was al-Nu'mān ibn Thābit ibn Zūṭī. He was a silk worker at al-Kūfah. Zūṭī was one of the protégés of Taym Allāh ibn Tha'labah from Kābul. It is also said that he was a protégé of the Banū Qafal.² He was one of the second generation who had met a number of the Companions.³ He was a pious and ascetic person, as was also his son Ḥammād [ibn al-Nu'mān]. Among his sons there was Ḥanmād, surnamed Abū Ismā'il, who died at al-Kūfah. The sons of Ḥammād were Abū Ḥayyān, Ismā'il, 'Uthmān, and 'Umar.⁴ Ismā'il ibn Ḥammād administered the judiciary of al-Baṣrah for al-Ma'mūn.

¹ In MS 1934, the name Abū Ḥanīfah is placed on a page by itself preceding the title of the section. For the legal code of this authority, see "Abū Ḥanīfa," *Enc. Islam*, I, 90; Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 294; Khaddūrī, *Law in the Middle East*, p. 38; Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), III, 6; Wafā', *Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyah*, and the jurist's own famous book, *Al-Fiqr al-Akbār*. For the followers of Abū Ḥanīfah, see Maḥmaṣānī, *Falsafat*, p. 21.

² For Taym Allāh, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārīf*, p. 48, and "Ta'imallāh," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 623. For Kābul, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 220. The Banū Qafal was probably a local tribe.

³ *Al-tābi'ūn* were the "second generation," coming after al-Ṣaḥābah, Muḥammad's Companions, who followed him from Makkah to al-Madīnah.

⁴ Ismā'il is the only one of Ḥammād's sons listed in the Biog. Index.

A poet, whom I believe was *Musāwir* al-Warrāq, in praising Abū Ḥanīfah said:

If some day people measure us by rare legal interpretations,
We shall give them as a true standard the legacy of the system of
Abū Ḥanīfah.

If a jurist hears of it, he remembers it,
Setting it in ink in his own manuscript.

One of the authorities on the Ḥadīth, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak, said:

There adorned the land and those in it the Imam of the Muslims, Abū
Ḥanīfah,
With his Ḥadīth and his legal knowledge of the Ḥadīth, like the verses of
the Psalms in the Scripture.
Among the Easterners and Westerners and at al-Kūfah there is none
equal to him.
I saw that those finding fault with him were foolish, opposed to the
truth and weak in argument.⁵

Abū Ḥanīfah died during the year one hundred and fifty [A.D. 767] at the age of seventy. He was buried in the Cemetery of the Khayzurān, on the East Bank in 'Askar al-Mahdī.⁶ Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Umārah prayed for him [at his funeral].

Ibn Abī Khaythamah quoted this [preceding paragraph] from Sulaymān ibn Abī Shaykh. Among his [Abū Ḥanīfah's] books there were:

The Greatest Book of the Law; his epistle to al-Bustī; The Learner and the Taught, which was quoted by Muqātil; Refutation of the Qadariyah.⁷

Learning was his ingathering, land and sea, east and west, far and near. May Allāh be well pleased with him.

⁵ On the margins of MS 1934 there are a number of corrections, in addition to a lengthy note which is not part of the original text.

⁶ This quarter of Baghdād called 'Askar al-Mahdī is better known as al-Ruṣāfah. The cemetery was in East Baghdād. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 42, 189, 191, and Coke, *Baghdad*, p. 41. Ibn Abī Khaythamah in the sentence which follows was probably Ahmad ibn Zuhayr.

⁷ The 'Tonk MS, which omits several titles, adds "Al-Irjā", ('Postponing'), which was refuted by al-Bardha'i."

Ḥammād ibn Abī Sulaymān

He was a protégé of *Ibrāhīm* ibn Abī Mūsā al-Ash‘arī and a judge from whom Abū *Ḥanīfah* learned the law⁸ and the Ḥadīth. He died during the year one hundred and twenty [A.D. 738].

Account of Rabi‘ah al-Ra‘ī

He was Rabi‘ah ibn Abī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, the name of Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān being Farūkh. He was one of the protégés of the family of al-Munkadir of the Taym Tribe,⁹ and was surnamed Abū ‘Uthmān. He was a master of literary style and an orator. When he engaged in conversation, one [the listener] became wearied and bored. It is said that one day while he was speaking an Arabian was with him. Rabi‘ah asked him, “What does muddle-brained mean?” The Arabian replied, “What you are like today.”¹⁰

He died during the year one hundred and thirty-six [A.D. 753/54] at al-Anbār, in the Hāshimī city, which Abū al-‘Abbās [al-Saffāh] built.¹¹ Although he learned from Abū *Ḥanīfah*, he died before him. We do not know of anything which he wrote. May Allāh be merciful to him and pardon him.¹²

Zufar

He was Abū al-Hudhayl Zufar ibn al-Hudhayl ibn Qays of the Banū ‘Anbar.¹³ He died at al-Baṣrah during the year one hundred and fifty-eight [A.D. 774/75], outliving Abū *Ḥanīfah*. He studied the law, and [the method of] personal opinion won his support. His father, al-Hudhayl, administered Iṣbahān. Among his books there were; ———.

⁸ The Tonk MS has *al-ra’y* instead of *al-figr*.

⁹ See Qutaybah, *Ma‘ārif*, pp. 33 bottom, 34 top.

¹⁰ “Arabian” probably refers to a tribesman, Flügel misplaces the word. At the end of the sentence, the Tonk MS has, “What I am like today.”

¹¹ Al-Saffāh made al-Anbār his capital between A.D. 750 and 754, before Baghdād was built; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 367–68.

¹² Only the Flügel edition includes this sentence.

¹³ A branch of the Taym; see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 124 top.

Ibn Abī Laylā

He was Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā, the name of Abū Laylā being Bashshār.¹⁴ He was a descendant of Uḥayḥah ibn al-Julāḥ, but it is said that his lineage was unsound. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Shubramah said, in lampooning him:

How can they expect you to give a judicial decision
When you are not sure of judgment about yourself?
You suppose that you are descended from Ibn al-Julāḥ,
But far removed is your claim from your origin.

He administered justice for the Banū Umayyah and descendants of al-‘Abbās [Umayyads and ‘Abbāsids]. Even before the time of Abū Ḥanīfah he gave legal interpretations (*fatwās*) according to [the method of] personal opinion. He died during the year one hundred and forty-eight [A.D. 765/66], while he was administering the judiciary for Abū Ja‘far [al-Manṣūr]. Among his books there was *Ordinances*.

Account of Abū Yūsuf

His name was Ya‘qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥabīb ibn Sa‘d ibn Ḥabtah, Sa‘d being a *sayyid* of the Banū Ḥabtah.¹⁵ Abū Yūsuf quoted al-‘A‘mash and Hīshām ibn ‘Urwah. He was a memorizer of the Ḥadīth,¹⁶ and later became attached to Abū Ḥanīfah, [the method of the] personal opinion winning him over. He administered the judiciary of Baghdād, continuing to do so until he died, during the year one hundred and eighty-two [A.D. 798/99], during the caliphate of al-Rashīd.

He had a son named Yūsuf ibn Abī Yūsuf who was a judge during his father’s lifetime. He died after him, during the year one hundred and ninety-two [A.D. 807/808].

¹⁴ MS 1934 and the Tonk MS have Bashshār, whereas Flügel and Qutaybah, *Ma‘ārif*, p. 248, give Yassār. Khallikān, II, 84, expresses doubt about the name, which is omitted in the Biog. Index.

¹⁵ A *sayyid* is used either for a chief or for a descendant of the Prophet. The tribal name Ḥabtah cannot be identified and may not be properly written.

¹⁶ In order to supplement the verses of the Qur’ān for a knowledge of the law, theology, and ritual, it was necessary to use the Ḥadīth, which contains the sayings and precedents of the Prophet. Thus a scholar could earn a living by memorizing the Ḥadīth, in order to teach it and offer it for reference.

The books of Abū Yūsuf about the sources and sayings:¹⁷

Prayer; The Poor Tax; Fasts; Shares of Inheritance; Sellers (Buyers); Ordinances; Trusteeship; Wills; The Hunt and Sacrificial Victims; Forcing and Abstinence.¹⁸

Abū Yūsuf gave dictation which was quoted by *Bishr* ibn al-Walīd al-Qāḍī, comprising thirty-six books from the material derived from Abū Yūsuf.

Disputes about Land Boundaries; Refutation of *Mālik* ibn Anas; his epistle about the land tax, to al-*Rashīd*; Collections, which he composed for *Yahyā* ibn Khālīd and which included forty chapters mentioning men's disagreements and the personal opinion (al-ra'y) which he held.

Among Those who Quoted Abū Yūsuf

Mu'allā ibn Manṣūr al-Rāzī, surnamed Abū Yu'alā

He quoted his [Abū Yūsuf's] jurisprudence, sources [of the law], and books. He died at Baghdād during the year two hundred and eleven [A.D. 826/27].

Bishr ibn al-Walīd

He was Abū al-Walīd *Bishr* ibn al-Walīd al-Kindī, one of the important upholders of [the method of] personal opinion. He was advanced in age, of sure lineage, and self-restrained. He administered the judiciary for al-*Ma'mūn*. Abū Khālīd al-Muhallabī¹⁹ related;

Umar ibn 'Isā al-Anīsī, the judge, said to us, "One day, when we were at the court of al-*Ma'mūn*, there passed by us *Ibrāhīm* ibn Ghiyāth, whose intimacy al-*Ma'mūn* had purchased, providing him with a judgeship. Then *Bishr* said, 'We have seen an adulterous judge, a judge used for sodomy, and a judge committing sodomy, but now behold us observing a judge who is hired [as a pimp]!'"

He died ———.

¹⁷ In this sentence the word *al-uṣūl* ("sources") probably refers to the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth, while *al-amālī* ("sayings") refers to notes and commentaries dictated by leading jurists.

¹⁸ This probably refers to sexual intercourse, and abstinence during menstruation, after divorce, and during the daytime in the month of Ramaḍān.

¹⁹ See *Yazīd* ibn Muḥammad al-Muhallabī in the Biog. Index.

Muhammad ibn al-Ḥasan²⁰

He was surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh and was a protégé of the Banū Shaybān.²¹ He was born at Wāsiṭ and brought up at al-Kufah. He studied the Ḥadīth, hearing [the lectures of] *Mis'ar* ibn Kidām, *Mālik* ibn Mas'ūd, 'Umar ibn Dharr, al-*Awzā'i* and al-*Thawrī*. He attended the sessions (classes) of Abū Ḥanīfah, learning from him and being won over by [the method of] personal opinion. Then he moved to Baghdād, where he lived, and [pupils] heard about the Ḥadīth from him and from him also learned about [the method of] personal opinion.

He moved to al-Raqqah, where al-*Rashīd* appointed him to administer the judiciary, [but soon] dismissed him. When, however, al-*Rashīd* went to Khurāsān, he accompanied him. He died at al-Rayy during the year one hundred and eighty-nine [A.D. 804/805], which was the year in which al-*Kisā'i* died. He was fifty-eight years old.

He lived at Bāb al-Shām on Darb Abū Ḥanīfah, attending his classes and reading his books to him.²² Al-*Rāwandī*, who wrote the book *The Government*, was his neighbor on the same street. He used to gather together the *Rāwandīyah*, sons of the government,²³

²⁰ The T'ong MS inserts, "May Allāh have compassion for him."

²¹ For this tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 210.

²² Bāb al-Shām was either the Syrian Gate of the Round City, or else a suburb west of Baghdād; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 17, 203, and map following p. 14. Darb Abū Ḥanīfah ("the Street of Abū Ḥanīfah") probably means the street on which Abū Ḥanīfah lived and which may have been known by his name. In the Arabic "attending his classes" is literally "sitting in his midst." Probably Muhammad and other pupils used to take notes, so as to help their teacher incorporate them into books. On the other hand this reference may mean that Muhammad served as a personal secretary for Abū Ḥanīfah.

²³ For the book *The Government*, see Chap. III, sect. I, near n. 203. The *Rāwandīyah* were 600 tribesmen from Khurāsān, who in A.D. 758/59 went to al-'Irāq, declaring al-*Manṣūr* to be divine. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, p. 129; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 290; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 315-16; cf. Mas'ūdī, VI, 26, 54, 58. Evidently some of the *Rāwandīyah* settled in Baghdād. "Sons of the government" is given as *abnā' al-dawlah*, both by Flügel and MS 1934. The word *abnā'* may be badly copied, meant for a form of *abūna* ("he made clear") signifying that al-*Rāwandī* explained his book *The Government*. Both Muhammad and the *Rāwandīyah* met for classes in the local mosque and, as the tribesmen were Shī'ī extremists and Muhammad ibn al-Ḥasan was orthodox, they took delight in upsetting his lessons.

and he [al-Rāwandī] also planned that on the day when Muḥammad had his class he should come to sit in the mosque and to read it [the book *The Government*] to them. Then if one of the pupils of Muḥammad read from his books, they [the Rāwandīyah] shouted, silencing him. Muḥammad, therefore, stopped meeting at that mosque and went to the Mu'allaq Mosque, which is at Bāb Darb Asad, where it approaches the Sābāṭ Rūmī.²⁴ Rūmī was a transcriber. It was there, therefore, that the books were read to him.

The books of Muḥammad about the sources [of the law] were:²⁵ Prayer; The Poor Tax; Rites of the Pilgrimage; Rare Forms of (Unusual Anecdotes about) Prayer; Marriage; Divorce; Emancipation and Mothers of Children; Surrender and Sales; the large book, Selling on Commission (Al-Muḍārabah); the small book, Selling on Commission; the large book, Wages (Rentals); the small book, Wages (Rentals); Money Changing; Mortgage; The Option to Purchase or Pre-empt Adjoining Property (Al-Shuf'ah); Menstruation; the large book, Plantations; the small book, Plantations;²⁶ Consultation, that is partnership; Trusteeship; Lending (Borrowing).

Trusteeship; Transfer of a Debt; Security; Conditions; Claim and Proofs; Stratagems; large book, The Licensed (Permitted); small book, The Licensed; Division [of property in a will]; Ransom (Blood Money); Violating Agreements of al-Mudabbir and al-Mukātib;²⁷ Relationship (Al-Walā'); Nonalcoholic Drink; Stealing and Highway Robbery; The Hunt and the Sacrificial Victims; Emancipation in Illness; Selling

²⁴ Bāb Darb Asad was very likely the gateway of a street in the bazaar, which was locked at night to keep out thieves. Sābāṭ Rūmī ("Alley of Rūmī") was perhaps the passage leading to where al-Rūmī lived. As there were no textbooks and writing material was scarce, a scholar like Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan would often dictate to his pupils, largely from memory. They would make their own textbooks by taking dictation. Then they would read back to their master what they had written and, if it was correct, he would have a scribe rewrite the material in the form of a composed book. Rūmī was very likely employed to form a book from the notes of the pupils.

²⁵ Compare with the list in Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, Supplement, I, 289.

²⁶ Flügel and the Tonk MS have *al-kabīr* ("large") and *al-saghīr* ("small"), whereas MS 1934 has *al-kabīrah* and *al-saghīrah*. The first forms would refer to the sizes of the books and the second to the sizes of the plantations.

²⁷ *Khīyanāt* is "violating agreements." MS 1934 does not have consonant signs. Flügel gives *jūnayāt* ("iniquities"). *Al-mudabbir* is one who makes a declaration of freedom for a slave, effective at the time of the master's death. *Al-mukātib* is a slave who ransoms himself.

on Credit and Debt;²⁸ Denial and Testimony; Pious Endowments and Alms; Oppression (Violation); Houses; The Gift and Alms; Oaths, Vows, and Expiations; Wills.

Calculation of Wills; The Sound; The Hermaphrodite and the Impotent (al-Mafqūd);²⁹ Legal Interpretation by Personal Opinion; Aversion;³⁰ Approval; The Thing Picked Up (Discovered by Accident, The Foundling); The Thing Found and Held in Trust; The Fugitive;³¹ the small Compilation; Sources of the Law; there was also a book by Muḥammad known as The Pilgrimage, which included many chapters;³² The large Compilation; lectures of Muḥammad on the law, which were Al-Kaysāniyāt;³³ Increases; Increases of Increases; Choice; Fortresses (Refuges); Peculiarities;³⁴ Refutation of the People of al-Madīnah; Unusual Anecdotes about Muḥammad, a quotation of Ibn Rustam.

Al-Lu'lu'i

He was al-Ḥasan ibn Ziyād al-Lu'lu'i, surnamed Abū 'Alī,³⁵ one of the pupils of Abū Ḥanīfah, who studied under him and listened to him [lecture]. He was a superior man, learned in the doctrines of Abū Ḥanīfah in connection with [the method of] personal opinion. Yaḥyā ibn Ādam said, "I have never seen a jurist greater than al-Ḥasan ibn Ziyād." He died during the year two hundred and four [A.D. 819/20]. Al-Taḥāwī³⁶ said that his books were:

His quoting of "The Unique" (Al-Mujarrad) of Abū Ḥanīfah;³⁷ The Training of a Judge; Peculiarities (Customs); Meaning of the Faith; Expenses; The Land Tax; The Ordinances; Wills.

²⁸ The first word of the title may be *al-‘ayan* or *al-‘ayn*, meaning among other things "selling on credit," "ready money," "debt," "high interest." The word translated "debt" is *al-dayn*.

²⁹ The Tonk and 1934 MSS give *The Sound* as a separate title. Flügel makes it part of the title which follows.

³⁰ This is probably about forcing against the will in marriage.

³¹ This title probably refers to a slave.

³² MS 1934 omits "many chapters." The Tonk MS places this title and descriptive phrase close to the end of the list.

³³ See Ḥajjī Khalīfah, V, 268. These were lectures dictated by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan to Sulaymān ibn Sā'id al-Kaysānī.

³⁴ After this title the title of the large book *Wages (Rentals)* is repeated.

³⁵ MS 1934 leaves a blank for this surname.

³⁶ Probably Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Salāmah.

³⁷ As a pupil, he probably took down this book from dictation and issued it as a completed book edited by himself.

Hilāl ibn Yahyā

He was surnamed Abū Bakr and known as Hilāl al-Ra'y. He upheld the legal system of the people of al-'Irāq, and lived at al-Baṣrah, where he died during the year two hundred and forty-five [A.D. 859/60]. Among his books there were:

Pleading (Arraigning) at Court;³⁸ Explanation of the Conditions; Ordinances.

'Isā ibn Abān

Abū Mūsā 'Isā ibn Abān ibn Ṣadaqah was a jurist, rapid in making decisions. It is said that he drew upon *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan [al-Shaybānī] only to a small extent. It is also said that he did not meet with Abū Yūsuf and that the new ideas in connection with which he refuted al-Shāfi'i he took from a book of *Sufyān* ibn Saḥbān. 'Isā was a virtuous shaykh. He administered justice for ten years, and died during al-Muḥarram [the first Muslim month] in the year two hundred and twenty [A.D. 835]. There prayed for him [at the funeral] *Qutham* ibn Ja'far ibn Sulaymān.

I have read, written in the handwriting of al-Ḥijāzī:

'Isā ibn Abān ibn Ṣadaqah ibn 'Addī ibn Mardānshāh came from among the people of Fasā.³⁹ Ṣadaqah was responsible for the currency inspection and tax collection departments during the days of al-Manṣūr, and it was he who gave counsel to al-Manṣūr, blaming him for the leniency of his chamberlains and saying, "Employ men who are tough!" Then al-Manṣūr asked, "Who may they be?" He replied, "Buy a number from al-Yamāmah,⁴⁰ where they bring up foundlings." So he bought them, making them his chamberlains. Among them there was al-Rabī' al-Ḥājib.

The books of 'Isā ibn Abān were:

The Proofs;⁴¹ Information about the One; The Compilation; Confirmation of Analogy; Legal Interpretation by Personal Opinion.

³⁸ The texts give *al-muḥāfirah*, but the word is almost certainly meant for *al-muḥādarah*, which means pleading or arraigning at court.

³⁹ For this town in Persia, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 891.

⁴⁰ The well-known region of eastern Arabia.

⁴¹ Flügel gives the singular form.

Sufyān ibn Saḥbān

He was one of the upholders of [the method of] personal opinion, a jurist, and a theologian of the Murjī'ah. Among his books there were: ———.

Qadīd ibn Ja'far

He was a jurist and one of the upholders of [the method of] personal opinion. He learned from Abū Ḥanīfah and was also a Murjī'i. I have never seen any books of his about the law, but [his books] on theology were: ———.

Ibn Samā'ah

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Samā'ah al-Tamīmī. He learned from *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan and was a jurist, with written books and [material about] sources of the law. He died during the year two hundred and thirty-three [A.D. 847/48], having administered the judiciary on the West Side of Baghdād. Among his books there were:

The Training of a Judge; Documents and Judicial Records.

He also quoted the books of *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan, which we have already mentioned.

Al-Jūzajānī

He was Abū Sulaymān al-Jūzajānī, who learned from *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan [al-Shaybānī]. He was pious and devout, an authority on the law and the Ḥadīth. He lived on Darb Asad and studied the books of *Muḥammad* with him.

I read written in the handwriting of al-Ḥijāzī:

At the time of the rebellion against al-Amīn,⁴² he [al-Jūzajānī] saw a man who passed by rapidly, while a man waving (showing) his sword was running after him, shouting "Seize him!" So they held the fugitive for the pursuer, who overtook him and killed him.⁴³ Then Abū Sulaymān said to them, "Do you know the men?" They replied, "We don't know

⁴² This was when the army of al-Ma'mūn attacked al-Amīn, A.D. 815.

⁴³ Literally, "they took for him he who hastened by and the other overtook him and killed him."

either of them." So he [al-Jūzajānī] said, "Do you seize a man in order to let him be killed?" Then he swore that he would not live with them and moved to Ṭāqāt al-'Akkī,⁴⁴ where Ibn al-Balkhī heard his books [read or dictated]. By the time that the rebellion became quiet, he was established in the quarter. But he went [back] to Darb Asad and bought a house saying, "Today I have become a Baghdādī, for a man who has not lived in a city and acquired a house is not one of its people." Then he said, "'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, may Allāh be well pleased with him,⁴⁵ was a native of al-Kūfah, and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās of Ṭā'if, because they acquired houses in those places."

Abū Sulaymān lived in this quarter until he died, during the year ———. There was nothing which he composed, but he transmitted the books of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan.⁴⁶

'Alī al-Rāzī

He was surnamed ———. He upheld the legal system of the people of al-'Irāq, being one of their learned men. Among his books there were:

The large book, Questions; the small book, Questions; The Compilation.

Al-Khaṣṣāf

His name was Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn Muhayr al-Shaybānī al-Khaṣṣāf, surnamed Abū Bakr. He was a jurist and an expert for division and calculation [of inheritance], and acquainted with the legal systems of his associates. He held a high position under al-Muhtadī, so that the people said that he would revive the regime of Ibn Abī Duwād.⁴⁷

He was chief of the sect of the Jahmīyah and it was also al-Khaṣṣāf who wrote a book about the land tax for al-Muhtadī.

⁴⁴ The first arcade built in Baghdād, north of the Round City; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 130; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 489. The name which follows, Ibn al-Balkhī, cannot be identified.

⁴⁵ This pious epithet only appears in the Flügel edition.

⁴⁶ As a pupil he probably took down from dictation or else transcribed the books of his teacher. The text does not indicate when the quotation from al-Ḥijāzī ends.

⁴⁷ He was the judge who persuaded the Caliph al-Ma'mūn to enforce acceptance of the dogma that the Qur'ān was created; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 429.

When al-Muhtadī was assassinated, [the home of] al-Khaṣṣāf was pillaged and it is recorded that some of his books disappeared.⁴⁸

Among his books there was one which he wrote about rites of the pilgrimage which was not given out to the public. He died during the year ———. Among his books there were:

Stratagems;⁴⁹ Wills; large book, Conditions; small book, Conditions; Presenting a Wet Nurse (al-Ridā') (or the Suckling [al-Raḍḍā']); Documents and Judicial Records; The Training of the Judge; The Land Tax, for al-Muhtadī; Expenditures; Acknowledgment of Inheritors by Mutual Agreement; Al-'Aṣīr,⁵⁰ Its Legal Determinations and Calculations; Expenditures for Close Relations; Judicial Decisions Related to Pious Endowments; Measurement of the Ka'bah, the Mosque, and the Tomb.⁵¹

Ibn al-Thaljī

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Shujā' al-Thaljī, a man outstanding among his contemporary associates. He was a jurist, pious and loyal to his convictions, and it was he who analyzed the legal system of Abū Ḥanīfah, arguing on his behalf and showing his pretexts, while supporting him with the Ḥadīth and making him loved in men's hearts. He was, moreover, one of those who based [judicial decisions] on the Qur'ān, although he upheld the doctrine of the People of Justice and Oneness [the Mu'tazilah].

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: I have read written in the handwriting of al-Ḥijāzī:⁵²

Muḥammad ibn Shujā' said, "Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mus'abī, a friend of mine, related to me [as follows]: 'The Commander of the Faithful summoned me and said to me, "Choose for me among the jurists a man who has written about the Ḥadīth, using it for judicial decisions with

⁴⁸ Al-Muhtadī was assassinated A.D. 870, when Sāmarrā was plundered by the Turkish guards.

⁴⁹ Al-ḥiyāl ("stratagems") is probably correct. It refers to illegal methods or frauds.

⁵⁰ This word probably refers to the juice pressed from grapes which was used for distilling and also for making a kind of molasses called *dibs*.

⁵¹ The Ka'bah was the shrine at Makkah, while "the Mosque and the Tomb" evidently refers to the mosque where the Prophet was buried at al-Madīnah.

⁵² The 1934 and Tonk MSS give a different name, which cannot be identified, so that Flügel may be correct in giving al-Ḥijāzī.

personal opinion (*al-ra'y*). He must be tall of stature, of pleasant disposition, originating from Khurāsān, and reared in our regime, so that he may serve as advocate for our rule, until I bestow on him a judgeship." "He [Ishāq] continued, 'I said, "I know of no one answering this description other than Muḥammad ibn Shujā', so shall I confer with him about the matter?" He [the Caliph] said, "Do so and, if he consents, bring him to me." [When Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Shujā' was brought to the audience, it was said to him] "It is yours, oh, Abū 'Abd Allāh."⁵³ Then I [Muḥammad ibn Shujā'] replied, "Oh, Emir, I have no need for this, for a judgeship is advantageous for three reasons only: for a person to gain wealth, or honor, or fame. As for me, my wealth is plentiful, for I am rich. Even if the Emir should offer me money to distribute,⁵⁴ and even if I needed something from him, I would not accept it. As for fame, there has already come to me enough of it from the scholars and jurists!"

He died during the year two hundred and fifty-seven, or some say six [A.D. 869/70], on Tuesday the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [last Muslim month]. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir prayed for him [at the funeral] in the house of Ṭāhirah,⁵⁵ the daughter of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir. He was buried in the house in which he had lived. Among his books there were:

The large book, Confirmation of the Traces (*al-Āthār*); Rare Forms (Unusual Anecdotes); Selling on Commission (*Al-Muḍārabah*).

Qutaybah ibn Ziyād al-Qāḍī

He was one of the great authorities of his time for the legal systems of the people of al-'Irāq, being skillful in connection with statements and conditions. It was he who wrote the authorization

⁵³ The Arabic does not include the words in brackets, but this seems to give the meaning of the passage. As a follower of Abū Ḥanīfah, Muḥammad ibn Shujā' accepted the doctrine of personal opinion. He also based his legal judgments on the Qur'ānic legal passages and the Ḥadīth, even though as a Mu'tazilī he believed that the Qur'ān was created.

⁵⁴ At the beginning of this passage the 1934 and Tonk MSS omit "judgeship," which is included by Flügel. The word translated "distribute" is in the manuscripts but garbled by Flügel.

⁵⁵ Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir was probably the great-grandson of Ṭāhir ibn al-Husayn, founder of the autonomous dynasty in Khurāsān, and Ṭāhirah was probably his aunt; she is not listed in the Biog. Index. As Muḥammad ibn Shujā' came from Khurāsān, it was appropriate for these members of the family of Ṭāhir to help with the funeral.

for the pious foundation which *Aḥmad* ibn al-Junayd established, giving him a share in the foundation. Among his books there were: The Conditions, which I saw in its completed form; Documents and Judicial Records, Compacts and Covenants, a large book.

Al-Ṭaḥāwī

He was Abū Ja'far *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad ibn Salamah ibn Salāmah ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Azdī al-Ṭaḥāwī, from one of the villages of Egypt called Ṭaḥā.⁵⁶ He reached the age of eighty, but his beard was more black than white. He was a jurist employing the legal systems of the people of al-'Irāq. During his time he was unique for his learning and asceticism.⁵⁷ It is said that he worked over a book for *Aḥmad* ibn Ṭūlūn about the marriage of the lawfully owned, in which he made lawful for him marriage of slaves, but Allāh knows the truth about it. He died during the year three hundred and twenty-two [A.D. 934]. Among his books there were: Disagreements among the Jurists—it was a large book, which he did not finish, but he did produce nearly eighty chapters arranged systematically, like books on relationship (al-walā'), so that it is not necessary for us to mention them. In addition to this there were among his books: the large book about Conditions; the small book about Conditions; The Small Abridgment; The Large Abridgment; Commentary on the "Large Compilation" of Muḥammad;⁵⁸ Commentary on the "Small Compilation"; Documents and Judicial Records; Wills; Shares of Inheritance; Explanation of the Confusion in the Ḥadīth of the Apostle of Allāh, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace, about one thousand leaves [in length]; Refutation of the Book "The Untrustworthy," against al-*Karābīsī*;⁵⁹ Judicial Decisions of the Qur'ān; Explanation of the Meaning of Traces (al-Āthār); The Dogma; a small book, Adjustment between Our Young and Our More Experienced.

'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Qummī

He was one of the famous 'Irāqī jurists and excellent scholars who were authors. He was surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. He dealt with the books of al-*Shāfi'i*, refuting them. Among his books there were:

⁵⁶ For this town and his true birthplace, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 516.

⁵⁷ The Tonk MS adds "and as an authority for the law and the Ḥadīth."

⁵⁸ This was almost certainly Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī.

⁵⁹ The translation follows the Tonk and 1934 MSS, as Flügel gives *Refutation* as one title the *The Untrustworthy* as a separate following title. For this book, see Chap. V, sect. 3, near n. 21.

A large book, Judicial Decisions of the Qur'ān; Some Matters on Which al-Shāfi'i Disagreed with the People of al-'Irāq, concerning the Judicial Decisions of the Qur'ān; Confirmation of Analogy, Legal Interpretation, and Knowledge of the One [Allāh].⁶⁰

Abū Ḥāzīm al-Qāḍī

He was 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, a man of great ability, who derived his learning from the shaykhs of al-Baṣrah. He administered the judiciary at Damascus, al-Kūfah, and al-Karkh. Al-Ṭahāwī and al-Dabbās studied under him⁶¹ and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī became acquainted with him. Among his books there were: Documents and Judicial Records; Shares of Inheritance; The Training of the Judge.

Ibn Mawṣil

He was ———, [a jurist] employing the legal systems of the people of al-'Irāq. Among his books there were:

The large book, Conditions; Compacts and Judicial Records.

Abū Zayd Aḥmad ibn Zayd al-Shurūṭī

He was one of the people of al-'Irāq, among whose books there were:

Compacts; the large book, Conditions; the small book, Conditions.

Yahyā ibn Bakīr

He was from al-'Irāq, and among his books there was *Conditions*.

Al-Bardha'ī

His name was Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn. He was an 'Irāqī jurist with whom Abū al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī studied. He died during the uprising of the Qarāmaṭah,⁶² while he was on the pilgrimage. Among his books there were; ———.

⁶⁰ MS 1934 repeats the name 'Alī al-Rāzī, but it is evidently an error.

⁶¹ Al-Ṭahāwī was probably Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Salāmah. As al-Dabbās cannot be identified, the name is not in the Biog. Index. The form in MS 1934 is badly written and may be meant for a different name.

⁶² For the Qarāmaṭah, see the Glossary. Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bardha'ī probably died about A.D. 930, when these rebels attacked Makkah.

Al-Karkhī

Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Karkhī, the ‘Irāqī jurist, was a man whose counsel was sought and from whom learning was acquired. The most prominent legal authorities of the period studied under him and he was unique in his time because he was not obliged to defend himself, and was not involved in disputes. His birth was during the year ——— and he died in the year three hundred and forty [A.D. 951/52] during Shā‘ban [eighth Muslim month]. Among his books there were:

Abridgment in the Law; an investigation of drinks and making date wine legal.

Al-Rāzī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ———

He died on Sunday, the seventh of the first ten days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [last Muslim month], during the year three hundred and seventy [A.D. 980/81]. Among his books there were:

Commentary on the “Abridgment” of al-Ṭahāwī [*Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad*]; Judicial Decisions of the Qur’ān; Commentary on the “Large Compilation” of *Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan*, the first manuscript; the delightful book, Rites of the Pilgrimage; Commentary on the “Large Compilation,” the second manuscript.

[Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī] Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī

Mention of him has already been made in the chapter about theologians. The [books which] he composed about the law were:

Commentary on the “Abridgment” of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī; Drinks and Making Legal Date Wine; Prohibition of Temporary Marriage; Legality of Prayer in the Persian Language.

Ibn al-Ushnānī

He was an ‘Irāqī, among whose books there was *Conditions*.

Al-Farhī

He was an ‘Irāqī, among whose books there was *Conditions*.

Al-Shāfi'ī and His Adherents

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Third Section of the Sixth Chapter

*of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, with an account of al-Shāfi'ī and his adherents.*¹

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm: I read written in the handwriting of Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥijāzī in the book *Penetrating (Inside) Information in History* that he was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Idrīs, a descendant of Shāfi'ī ibn al-Sā'ib ibn 'Ubayd ibn 'Abd Yazīd ibn Hāshim ibn al-Muṭṭalib ibn 'Abd Manāf. I also read in his handwriting that he said:

There appeared a man of the Banū Abī Lahab,² of the region of North Africa, who came to Hārūn al-Rashīd accompanied by al-Shāfi'ī. Then al-Rashīd said to the Lahabī, "Do you brand yourself with this name [that of Abū Lahab]?" He went on, "Which of the two was the more important and influential, my ancestor or yours? You do not know the story of your own ancestor and what his position was." Then he made him hear about all sorts of disagreeable things with which he might have to deal and it was said that he ordered his imprisonment.³ He then turned

¹ In MS 1934, the phrase "Al-Shāfi'ī and His Adherents" is placed on a page by itself preceding the title of the section. *Aṣḥāb*, translated "adherents," almost certainly refers to pupils and also to later followers. The account of al-Shāfi'ī should be compared with Khallikān, II, 569; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI(6), 367; "al-Shāfi'ī", *Enc. Islam*, IV, 252.

² See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 60.

³ The word for "with which he might have to deal" might be translated in other ways, but this seems to give the meaning. The point of this story is that Abū Lahab was the principal opponent of the Prophet, whereas both the Caliph al-Rashīd and al-Shāfi'ī were descended from Hāshim, the Prophet's grandfather, by ancestors loyal to Islām.

to al-Shāfi'ī saying, "What has caused you to go along with him?" He [al-Shāfi'ī] replied, "I am a man who has had hard luck, and therefore I set forth to travel through the country seeking favor, so that is why I accompanied him." Then he [the Caliph] asked al-Faḍl ibn al-Rabī' [the chamberlain] to give him [al-Shāfi'ī] a present, which he did bestow [on him]. Then he [al-Shāfi'ī] lived in the City of Peace [Baghdād].

Muḥammad ibn Shujā' al-Thaljī said to us, "He used to pass us by, clad like a singer, riding a donkey, wearing a coarse mantle and with his hair curled." He went on to say:

He was attached to *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan for a year, so as to write down his books. They related to us what al-Rabī' ibn Sulaymān quoted from al-Shāfi'ī, who said, "I wrote down for Muḥammad a camel's load of books."⁴

Al-Shāfi'ī was firm in upholding the Shī'ī tenets. One day after a man had asked him a question and he had replied, the man said, "You have misquoted 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, with whom may Allāh be well pleased."⁵ Then he [al-Shāfi'ī] said to him, "Prove this about 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and I'll put my check on the ground and confess I went astray, so as to change my version to what he really said." That same day when there was a gathering of some of the descendants of Abū Ṭālib, he [al-Shāfi'ī] said, "I am not going to speak in a meeting where a single one of them [a single descendant of Abū Ṭālib] is present, because they are the most accurate speakers, having priority and excellence."⁶

He [*Muḥammad* ibn Shujā'] went on to say, "He went to Egypt during the year two hundred [A.D. 815/16] and dwelt there. Al-Rabī' ibn Sulaymān al-Miṣrī learned from him. Al-Shāfi'ī used to recite poetry." Abū al-Faṭḥ ibn al-Naḥwī said that Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ṣābūnī al-Miṣrī related, "I saw the tomb of Abū 'Abd Allāh

⁴ *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī was the well-known jurist. He was older than al-Shāfi'ī and evidently employed him either to take dictation or else to edit students' notes as an aid in compiling them into books.

⁵ Although al-Shāfi'ī may have been sympathetic with the Shī'ah, he had a legal code different from theirs and did not become involved in their politics.

⁶ The descendants of Abū Ṭālib were members of the Shī'ah, who believed that the only persons with the right to be caliphs were the lineal descendants of 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib. Al-Shāfi'ī felt that these descendants had more accurate traditions about their ancestors than anyone else.

al-Shāfi'ī in Egypt between Bayṭar Bilāl and al-Birkatayn. Over it there was a clearly visible board upon which there was written:

I have accomplished my time and some are pleased
Who are foolish with heedlessness and sleep,
As though my day [of death] was decreed for me,
But there was no [suitable] day for those rejoicing
in the affliction of others."⁷

He [al-Shāfi'ī] died during the year two hundred and four [A.D. 819/20] in Egypt. Among his books there were:

Al-Mabsūṭ, about the law. Al-Rabī' ibn Sulaymān and al-Za'frānī quoted it from him. This book includes:⁸ Ritual Purification; Prayer; The Poor Tax; Fasts; The Pilgrimage; Religious Self-Restraint (Seclusion); ———, thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: I read written in the handwriting of Ibn Abī Sayf⁹ that this was not his manuscript; The Epistle;¹⁰ Ritual Purification; The Imamate; Facing al-Qiblah; Friday [Prayer]; Prayer of Fear; The Two Feasts [al-Adhā and al-Fiṭr].

Prayer of the Eclipse of the Moon; Petition for Rain; Prayer of Voluntary Obedience; the small book, The Apostate; the large book, The Apostate; The Poor Tax; Fixing the Rate of the Poor Tax; Judicial Decisions of the Qur'ān; Rites of the Pilgrimage; Sellers (Buyers); Disagreements of *Mālik* and al-Shāfi'ī; Intentional Wounds; the large book, Mortgages; the small book, Mortgages; Disagreements in the Ḥadīth; Disagreements of the 'Irāqīs [scholars of al-'Irāq]; Oath with a

⁷ It is not clear where the quotation from Muḥammad ibn Shujā' ends. The tomb of al-Shāfi'ī is still one of the famous monuments of modern Cairo. It was on the edge of the cemetery of the ancient city. The two landmarks were evidently known as the Blacksmith's Shop (Bayṭar) of Bilāl and the Two Tanks (al-Birkatayn). The translation of the poem is taken from MS 1934, which varies in several details from the Flügel version.

⁸ The collection of the dictations and compositions of al-Shāfi'ī, which al-Rabī' ibn Sulaymān compiled in book form, was entitled *Al-Mabsūṭ*, which means "spread out," giving the connotation of making clear in an ample way. Somewhat later the material was revised as *Kitāb al-Umm*. For a modern edition, see Bibliography. For a summary of the contents in English, see Dodge, *Muslim Education*, p. 97. See also "al-Shāfi'ī," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 253. Most of the titles which follow are chapters rather than separate books. In *Kitāb al-Umm* numerous subjects are discussed in more than one chapter, causing repetition.

⁹ Ibn Abī Sayf was probably the disciple of the jurist; see Biog. Index, *Aḥmad* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sayf. Flügel, however, suggests Ibn Abī Yūsuf.

¹⁰ For this important work, *Al-Risālah*, see al-Shāfi'ī in the Bibliography.

Witness; Slaying the Idolaters; Fighting the Tyrants; Oppression; Captives and the Shackled; Marriage with Betrothal;¹¹ Sexual Abstinence and Menstruation.

Washing the Dead; Funerals; Racing and Throwing the Javelin; Custodianship and Reaching Maturity;¹² Ordinance and Hire of Animals; Suckling [an Infant]; Food and Drink; Al-Baḥīrah and al-Sā'ibah;¹³ Plantations; Al-'Umrā and al-Ruqbā [a bequest and a piece of property given for life, to be returned at time of death]; Drinks; The Virtues of the Quraysh; Al-Shi'ār;¹⁴ Marital Aversion and Divorce; The Problem of the Hermaphrodite; Religious Self-Restraint (Seclusion) for Religious Exercises; Renting a Palm Grove for Part of the Product; The Hunt; The Feast; The Option to Purchase or Pre-empt Adjoining Property (Al-Shuf'ah); Lending (Borrowing).

The Ordinance of Allāh; Wages (Rates of Hire), Persons Responsible for Payment, and the Man Who Hires Out a Beast of Burden; Reviving the Dead (Wasteland); Conditions; Al-Zihār;¹⁵ Al-Īla;¹⁶ Disagreement Between Man and Wife; Sacrificial Victims; Disagreement about Inheritance; Emancipation of the Mothers of Children; The Thing Found and Held in Trust; The Thing Picked Up (Discovered by Accident, The Foundling); Reaching the Age of Discretion (Maturity); small abridgment of "The Pilgrimage"; The Question of Semen; Licensing Divorce; Fasts; The Manager; Al-Mukātib [slave who ransoms himself]; Al-Walā wa-al-ḥilf;¹⁷ Wages (Rentals).

¹¹ The translation is based on the supposition that the Arabic original is *al-tarīs bi-al-khiṭbah*, although *tarīs* can also mean "stopping" and the other word might be *khutbah* ("sermon").

¹² The word translated "custodianship" usually refers to establishment of a pious endowment, but here it may have a different significance. In the title which follows, Flügel gives *al-riqāb* ("slaves") instead of *al-dawābb* ("animals"), which is in MS 1934 and is probably correct.

¹³ These are the tenth colt of a camel, allowed to wander freely, and the female camel freed because of bearing the colt or to fulfill some vow.

¹⁴ This is probably equally divided property, but may be a military symbol, the rites of the pilgrimage, or something else, as the word has many meanings.

¹⁵ This is the pronouncement of the divorce formula, "Thou art to me as my mother's back."

¹⁶ *Al-Īla* (*i'la*) is swearing not to cohabit with a wife for four months if she is free, or two months if she is a slave, as a religious penance. See Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 221.

¹⁷ *Al-walā* can mean "friendship" or "authority" and *al-ḥilf* means "compact" or "good faith." Flügel gives *al-walā*, for which see Glossary, "relationship." Cf. Chap. VI, sect. 4, n. 16.

Consensus of Opinion; The Marriage Dowry; Witnesses; How the People of al-'Irāq opposed 'Alī and 'Abd Allāh;¹⁸ Curses; the large abridgment of "The Pilgrimage"; Division of Booty; Drawing Lots (The Wager); The Poll Tax; Wills; Claim and Proofs; Prohibition of Fermented Liquor; Al-Raj'ah;¹⁹ Training of the Judge; The Number of Women [probably about marriage]; Highway Robbery and Stealing; Oath and Vows; Hunting and Sacrificial Victims; Money Changing; Refutation of *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan [al-Shaybānī]; Distress of Women [in Childbirth].

The Life of al-*Wāqidi*; The Life of al-*Awzā'i*; Judgment of the Sorcerer and Sorceress; Trust (Trusteeship) and Judicial Decisions; The Will of a Pregnant Woman; The Testimony of One Accusing of Adultery; Charity of the Living on Behalf of the Dead (Dying); The Man Who Places Goods with Another Man; The Loan; Inheritance; Judgment with Evidence; Repeal of Approval.

The Names of Those Who Quoted al-Shāfi'i and Learned from Him²⁰
Al-Rabī' ibn Sulaymān al-Murādi

He was one of the Murād, a tribe.²¹ He was surnamed Abū Sulaymān. He was in Egypt, where he gave the call to prayer and derived a living from the Sultan for his prayer calling. His origin was in Egypt. He quoted the sources of the law of al-Shāfi'i,²² entitling what he quoted *Al-Mabsūṭ*. He died in Egypt during the year two hundred and seventy [A.D. 883/84].

Al-Rabī' was quoted by: Ibn Sayf, who was Abū Bakr *Aḥmad* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sayf ibn Sa'īd; Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥamdān al-Ṭarā'ifi; Al-*Aṣamm* al-Naysābūrī; 'Abd Allāh ibn Sufyān al-Mawṣili.

¹⁸ 'Abd Allāh was probably the Prophet's cousin, who was governor of al-Baṣrah when Alī was the caliph; see Ibn 'Abbās Abū al-'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh. See Khallikān, I, 89, n.3; " 'Abd Allāh," *Enc. Islam*, I, 19.

¹⁹ *Al-raj'ah* is the receiving back of a divorced wife. Another possibility is *al-rif'ah*, a widow returning home after her husband's death.

²⁰ The Tonk MS has a pious epithet after al-Shāfi'i's name. The names which follow were almost certainly those of men who attended the lectures of al-Shāfi'i or served as disciples, helping him to compile his books.

²¹ See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 52, 53.

²² Al-Shāfi'i designated the following as the authoritative sources (*uṣūl*) for legal decisions: (1) the Qur'ān; (2) the Ḥadīth; (3) *al-ijmā'*, or consensus of opinion; (4) *al-qiyās*, or analogy.

Al-Za'farānī, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ

He quoted *Al-Mabsūṭ* from al-Shāfi'ī in the form that al-Rabī' quoted it. As he made a few variations, the people did not like it or study it [with him]. As jurists work in accordance with what al-Rabī' transmitted, it is not necessary for us to name the books quoted by al-Za'farānī, which became scarce, most of them being effaced, disappearing and never again being copied. He died during the year two hundred and sixty [A.D. 873/74].

Abū Thawr

He was Ibrāhīm ibn Khālid ibn al-Yamān, the jurist, from the Banū Kalb.²³ He studied with al-Shāfi'ī and quoted him. As he disagreed with him about some points, he adopted a legal system of his own, which he kept distinct from the system of al-Shāfi'ī, but he wrote a *Mabsūṭ* which followed the arrangement of the book of al-Shāfi'ī. Most of the people of Ādharbayjān and Armenia conduct their legal affairs according to his legal system. He died during the year two hundred and forty [A.D. 854/55].

Naming of the Books of Abū Thawr

Ritual Purification; Prayer; Fasts; Rites of the Pilgrimage.

Those Who Learned from Abū Thawr

Ibn al-Junayd

His name was ———. He was one of the most illustrious of his pupils and among their leaders.

'Ubayd ibn Khalaf al-Bazzāz

He was also one of the most eminent among his pupils.

Al-'Iyālī

He followed the code of Abū Thawr. He was Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-'Iyālī. Among his books there was *Refuges and Indemnities for Murder*.

²³ See "Kalb b. Wabara," *Enc. Islam*, II, 688.

Manṣūr ibn Ismā'īl ——— *al-Miṣrī*

He died ———. Among his books there was *Food for the Traveler in the Law*.

Among Those Who Learned from *al-Shāfi'ī*²⁴

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Hakam

He quoted *al-Shāfi'ī*, in contrast to his two brothers, who followed *Mālik*. He died ———. Among his books there was *The Ordinances*, according to the legal system of *al-Shāfi'ī*.

Ḥarmalah ibn Yaḥyā al-Miṣrī

He learned from *al-Shāfi'ī*.

Yaḥyā ibn Naṣr al-Iḥawlānī

He was one of the people of Egypt²⁵ who quoted *al-Shāfi'ī*. [His book:] *Al-Shāfi'ī*, refuting *Ibn 'Ulayyah*.

Al-Buwayṭī

His name was *Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā*, surnamed *Abū Yūsuf*, and he quoted *al-Shāfi'ī*. *Al-Rabī'* [ibn *Sulaymān*] said, "Al-Buwayṭī wrote to me from prison, commending me to the members of my circle²⁶ and saying, 'Be patient with them, for I heard *al-Shāfi'ī* say: "For their sake I humble my spirit that they may honor it, as a spirit which one does not humble is not honored."'"

Among the books of *al-Buwayṭī* there were:

The Large Abridgment; The Small Abridgment; The Ordinances.

Al-Rabī' ibn *Sulaymān* and *Abū Ismā'īl al-Tirmidhī* quoted *al-Buwayṭī*.

Al-Muzanī

He was *Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm al-Muzanī* from the *Muzaynah*,²⁷ one of the tribes of *al-Yaman*. He learned from *al-Shāfi'ī*

²⁴ The men included in this list followed the legal system of *al-Shāfi'ī*. Some of them lived too late to be his pupils and the others were probably not regular students of his, although they may have attended some of his lectures. The order follows that of MS 1934.

²⁵ MS 1934 omits "of Egypt."

²⁶ This was probably a class which met in a mosque or in the home of *al-Rabī'*.

²⁷ See *Durayd, Geneal.*, p. 111; *Qutaybah, Ma'ārif*, p. 36.

and was an ascetic, as well as a jurist according to the legal system of al-Shāfi'ī. Among the adherents of al-Shāfi'ī there was no jurist more learned than al-Muzanī and no man more virtuous than al-Buwayfī.

He died in Egypt on Wednesday and was buried on Thursday, at the end of the month of Rabi' al-Awwal [third Muslim month], during the year two hundred and sixty-four [A.D. 877/78]. Al-Rabi' ibn Sulaymān, who was a prayer caller and a friend of al-Shāfi'ī, prayed for him [at the funeral]. Among his books there were:

The Small Abridgment, which is in the hands of the people and upon which the followers of al-Shāfi'ī depend—they read and expound upon it, there being diverse ways of quoting it, most of which have been transmitted by al-Naysābūrī al-Aṣamm, whose name was ———, and Ibn al-Ikfānī 'Abd Allāh ibn Šāliḥ, and the brother of Ḥarūrī al-Jawharī, whose name was Aḥmad ibn Mūsā; The Large Abridgment, which has been abandoned; Compacts.

Al-Marwazī

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-Marwazī was a friend (pupil) of al-Muzanī. Among his books there were:

Exposition of the "Abridgment" of al-Muzanī, the first and the second; Divisions, about knowing the sources [of the law]; Conditions and Compacts; Wills and Evaluation of Houses; The Particular and the Universal.

Al-Zubayrī

Among the adherents of al-Shāfi'ī was al-Zubayrī, whose name was al-Zubayr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Aṣim ibn al-Mundhir ibn al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām. He died after three hundred [A.D. 912/13]. Among his books there were:

An abridgment of the law known as The Sufficiency (Al-Kāfi); Compilation of the Law; Shares of Inheritance.

Another al-Marwazī

His name was Aḥmad ibn Naṣr. Among his books there were: The large book, Disagreements among the Jurists; the small book, Disagreements among the Jurists.

Ibn Surayj

Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn Surayj was one of the illustrious Shāfi'ī jurists and theologians. There were debates between him and Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd in the presence of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Isā [the vizier]. He died during the year three hundred and five [A.D. 917/18]. Among his books there were:

Refutation of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan [al-Shaybānī]; Refutation of 'Isā ibn Abān; Similarity between al-Muzanī and al-Shāfi'ī; Answer of (for) al-Qāshānī; Abridgment of the Law.

Al-Sājī

Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyā' ibn Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sājī derived his knowledge from al-Muzanī and al-Rabī' [ibn Sulaymān] and also from the Egyptians. Among his books there was *Dis-agreement about the Law*.

Al-Qāshānī

He was Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, surnamed Abū Bakr, from Qāshān.²⁸ At first he followed the legal system of Dā'ūd [ibn 'Alī], but later he changed to the legal system of al-Shāfi'ī, becoming a leader and one of the chiefs in connection with it. Among his books there were:

Refutation of Dā'ūd in Connection with the Uselessness of Analogy;²⁹ Confirming Analogy;³⁰ large book, Judicial Interpretation; The Beginning of the Book on Judicial Interpretations;³¹ The Sources of Judicial Interpretation.

Al-Iṣṭakhrī

He was Abū Sa'id, a chief among the Shāfi'ī jurists and an authority for the Ḥadīth. He was trustworthy and virtuous, a

²⁸ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 15.

²⁹ Analogy was one of the four sources of the law recognized by al-Shāfi'ī, but Dā'ūd did not recognize it.

³⁰ After this title there is *li-al-Qāshānī*, which may simply mean that al-Qāshānī wrote the book, or may mean "confirming of analogy for al-Qāshānī" who at the start followed Dā'ūd and repudiated analogy.

³¹ The Arabic word translated "beginning" is *al-sadr*, which might mean the main part of the book.

jurist and a leader. He died during the year twenty-eight [A.H. 328: A.D. 939/40], on Friday the fourteenth night of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [sixth Muslim month], being buried in the Cemetery of the Dayr.³² Among his books there were:

The large book, Shares of Inheritance; Conditions, Compacts, Documents, and Judicial Records.

Ibn al-Ṣayrafī

He was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣayrafī al-Shāfi'ī. He was attached to Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Isā [the vizier], being a friend of his, as well as one of the illustrious Shāfi'ī jurists and theologians. He was born ——— and died on Friday, the twelfth night of Rabī' al-Awwal [third Muslim month], during the year three hundred and thirty [A.D. 941/42]. Among his books there were:

Explanation of the Indications of the Signs for the Sources of Judicial Decisions; Explanation of the "Epistle" of al-Shāfi'ī; Evaluation of Houses; Refutation of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ṭalīb al-Kātib's Book on the "Epistle" of al-Shāfi'ī; Division of Inheritance.

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān

He was a Shāfi'ī [jurist] whose name was ———. Among his books there were:

Consensus of Opinion and Disagreement; Treatise, about the sources of the law, all but the first treatise.

Al-Ṭabarī, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Qāsim

He was one of the followers of al-Shāfi'ī. Among his books there was *Abridgment of the Questions of Disagreement in Theology and Intellectual Examination*.

³² Maqbarat Bāb al-Dayr was a cemetery by an old monastery, between the river and the Baṣrah Gate at Baghdād. See Le Strange, *Baghdād*, p. 98, and map with p. 15, item 27.

Abū al-Ṭayyib ibn Salamah³³

Abū al-Ḥasan

He was *Muḥammad* ibn Aḥmad³⁴ ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Kātib, one of the illustrious men among the followers of al-Shāfi'ī. He was born during the year two hundred and eighty-one [A.D. 894/95] at al-Ḥasanīyah.³⁵ He wrote books based on the Shī'ī legal system and the following books based on the legal system of al-Shāfi'ī:

Faculties of Understanding;³⁶ Testing (Proving, Exerting); The Agreeable; Refutation of al-Karkhī; The Beneficial in the Ḥadīth.

If Allāh so wills, we shall mention his books based on the Shī'ī code in the proper place.³⁷

Ibn Sayf al-Fārīd

His name was ———. Among his books there were: ———.

Ibn al-Ashyab Abū 'Amrān Mūsā ibn al-Ashyab

He was a jurist following the legal system of al-Shāfi'ī, and also a theologian. Among his books there were: ———.

Abū al-Ṭayyib ibn Salamah

He was one of the followers of al-Shāfi'ī. He died ———. Among his books there were: ———.

Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Mulqī

Among his books there were: ———.

³³ In the Arabic texts this name is given here and also after three other names have been cited. There may be a repetition due to careless copying, or the same name may designate two different persons. The Tonk MS notes, "Abū al-Ṭayyib ibn Salamah, one of the followers of al-Shāfi'ī, an ascetic and devotee, no book of whose is known."

³⁴ The insertion of the name "ibn Aḥmad" is probably an error, as he was known as Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm.

³⁵ Al-Ḥasanīyah may be the town listed by Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 270.

³⁶ The Tonk MS has *al-naẓā'ir* ("venerable and revered men"), whereas the other versions have *al-baṣā'ir* ("faculties of understanding or mental insight").

³⁷ Evidently this passage was written before the author listed the books about the Shī'ah in the preceding passage; see Chap. V, sect. 5, near n. 202.

Al-Ahwāzī, Ibn al-Junayd, Abū al-Ḥasan ——— al-Qāḍī

Among his books there were: ———.

Abū al-Ḥānīd al-Baṣrī al-Qāḍī

He was one of the followers of al-Shāfi'ī. He died ———. He was *Aḥmad* ibn Bishr ibn 'Āmir al-'Āmirī. Among his books there were:

The Large Compilation, a thousand leaves [in length]; Looking Over (Gaining an Understanding of) the Sources of the Law; The Small Compilation.

Al-Ajurri

He was Abū Bakr *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ajurri, the jurist, one of those who were righteous and consecrated. He wrote many books about this [piety]. We have mentioned them in their proper place.³⁸ He lived at Makkah and died recently. He followed the legal system of al-Shāfi'ī. Among his books there were:

Abridgment of the Law; Judicial Decisions concerning Women; Advice, which included a number of chapters about the law.

Ibn *Shaqra'* al-Khaffāf

He was a Shāfi'ī [jurist], and was a resident of Makkah. His name was ———. Among his books there was *Conditions*.

Ibn *Rajā'* Abū al-'Abbās of al-Baṣrah

He was a Shāfi'ī and was the successor of the judge of al-Baṣrah. Among his books there were:

The Causes (Defects) of Conditions; the large book, *Conditions*, which I notice the followers of al-Shāfi'ī praise and regard as excellent.³⁹

Ibn *Dīnār* al-Hamdānī

Among his books there was the large book, *Conditions*, which is superlatively excellent and about one thousand leaves [in length].

³⁸ It has not been possible to find any mention of his books. Perhaps some passage containing the titles of these works has been lost.

³⁹ The *Tonk* MS adds the title *Against Dā'ūd in Connection with the Futility of Analogy*.

Abū al-Ḥasan, al-Nasawī

His name was ———. Among his books there was *Questions, Causes (Defects), and Differences*.

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir al-Naysabūrī

He was a Shāfi'ī jurist and one of the principal leaders. Among his books there were:

Questions, about the law; Corroborations of Analogy.

Al-Farajī, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Farajī

He was an expert on the shares of inheritance, among whose books there was the large book, *Explanation of the Judicial Decisions concerning the Shares of Inheritance*.

Ibn Abī Hurayrah Abū 'Alī

He died ———. Among his books there were:
Questions; Marginal Note, to the law and the questions.

Al-Qaffāl, Abū Bakr

Among his books there was *The Sources*.

Abū al-Ḥasan [ibn Aḥmad] ibn Khayrān

Among his books there were:
The Delightful (Al-Laṭīf); Introductions.

Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Fourth Section of the Sixth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, with an account of Dā'ūd and his adherents.¹

Abū Sulaymān Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd ibn Khalaf al-Iṣbahānī was the first to use *al-qawl al-ẓāhir*, depending upon the Book and the Sunnah and eliminating everything else connected with [the method of] personal opinion and analogy.² He was virtuous, sincere, and pious. He, Dā'ūd, died during the year two hundred and seventy [A.D. 883/84]. Among his books there were:

The Explanation; The Clear Explanation; the large book, Summons and Evidences; The Sources [of the Law]; Menstruation.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: I once read in an old handwriting something written just about the time of Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī, giving the names of Abū Sulaymān Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī's books, which I have listed according to the sequence which I found.³

¹ In MS 1934 the name Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī is written on a page by itself preceding the title. In the title itself the words "with an account of Dā'ūd and his adherents" are in large letters. It would be more literal to translate *fī akhbār* as "about traditions" instead of "with an account." "Adherents" includes pupils and later followers. Most of the authorities call him Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī ibn Khalaf. Before the beginning of the account, the Tonk MS adds the words "Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq."

² Here *al-qawl al-ẓāhir* ("the evident speech") refers to revelation, specifically that of the Prophet, made evident in the Qur'ān. For the legal school of this authority, see "Dā'ūd," *Enc. Islam*, I, 928, and "al-Zāhiriya," IV, 1192.

³ The five titles given first were very likely separate books, whereas the list given below is probably for chapters in a large legal work.

Ritual Purification; Menstruation; Prayer; The Call to Prayer; Al-Qiblah; The Times [for religious rites]; Neglect, four hundred leaves; Prayer for Rain; Beginning of Prayer; What Corrupts Prayer; Friday [Prayers]; Prayer of Fear; Prayer for the Eclipse of the Moon; Prayer for the Two Feasts [al-Adhā and al-Fiṭr].

The Imamate; Judgment for the Person Neglecting Prayer; Funerals; Washing the Dead; The Poor Tax, three hundred leaves; Charity for al-Fiṭr;⁴ Voluntary Fasts; Ordained Fasts, six hundred leaves; Sexual Withdrawal for Religious Purposes; Rites of the Pilgrimage; abridgment of "The Pilgrimage"; Marriage, one thousand leaves; The Dower [husband's dowry]; Suckling [an Infant]; Aversion Between Husband and Wife; Divorce with Wife's Agreement; Explanation of Who Has the Right to Bear Witness against One; Sexual Abstinence until after Menstruation and Purification; Al-Raj'ah;⁵ A Question of Booty;⁶ Al-Īla.⁷

Al-Zihār;⁸ Curses; The Destitute (Lost); Divorce; Divorce of the Sunnah; Oaths in Divorce; Divorce before Consumation; Divorce of the Intoxicated and the Drunkard; Al-'Idad;⁹ Sellers (Buyers); Money Changing; License for Trade; Partnership; Loaning (Borrowing);¹⁰ The Trust (Trusteeship); The Loan [without Security]; Transfer of Credit and Surety; Mortgages; Wages (Rentals); Giving Out Land for Planting; Renting a Palm Grove for Part of the Products; Dug-Outs and Refuges; Nonalcoholic Drink; The Option to Purchase or Pre-empt Adjoining Property (Al-Shuf'ah).

Offering One's Life as Surety; Trusteeship; Judicial Decisions about Fugitive Slaves; Ordinances; Robbery; Prohibition of Intoxicating

⁴ 'Īd al-Fiṭr, the feast at the end of Ramaḍān, when it is the custom to give alms to the poor.

⁵ Al-raj'ah is receiving back a divorced wife. Another possibility is al-rij'ah, a widow returning home after her husband's death.

⁶ This might also be "A Question about (fi) ———," the title following fi being omitted. "Booty" is fāy'.

⁷ Al-īla (i'la) is swearing not to cohabit with a wife for four months if she is free, or two months if she is a slave, as a religious penance. See Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 221.

⁸ Pronouncement of the divorce formula, "Thou art to me as my mother's back."

⁹ Al-'iddah, pl. al-'idad, refers to the number of days of menstruation which must pass before a divorced or widowed woman can remarry. The purpose of this procedure is to determine the true father of the woman's next child. See "'Idda," *Enc. Islam*, II, 445.

¹⁰ The Tonk MS has al-farā'id ("shares").

Liquor; Drinks; The Sorcerer;¹¹ Unintentional Murder; Intentional Murder; Truce (Oath);¹² The Embryo; Oaths and Expiations; Vows; Emancipation; Al-Mukātib [the slave who ransoms himself]; *Al-Mudabbir*;¹³ Initiation of a Wager; Hunting; Sacrificial Victims of the Muslims; Sacrificial Victims; New Birth (or The Sheep Slaughtered for a Newborn Child); Foods.

Clothing; Medicine; The Holy War; The March (or Biographies); Division of Booty; Share of the Relatives [of the Prophet]; Division of Charity Funds; The Land Tax; ——— and the Mine (Minerals); The Poll Tax; Division; The Foot Soldiers (Making War); The Course of Equity;¹⁴ The Apostate;¹⁵ Things Found and Lost; The Thing Picked Up (Discovered by Accident, The Foundling); Shares of Inheritance; Blood Relatives; Wills; Wills, about Evaluation.

Houses; Succession and Posterity;¹⁶ Hermaphrodites; The Times [for religious rites]; Gift and Charity; Judgment; The Training of a Judge; Judgment of an Absent Person (Foreigner); Documents; Compacts, three thousand leaves [in length]; Judicial Records; Judgment among Ahl al-Dhimmah; Summons and Witnesses, one thousand leaves; Acknowledgment of a Debt; Renunciation of Testimonies; Prohibition; Proclamation of Bankruptcy; Oppression; Reconciliation; Combat; What Gain Is Right; Defense of Statutes, Judgments, and Traditions, one thousand leaves; Refutation of Liars; The Ambiguous (Difficult to Solve).

The Morning Star and the Dawn, to al-Sā'ī;¹⁷ Description of the Disposition of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;

¹¹ MS 1934 gives a different form, probably an error.

¹² Instead of *al-qasāmah* ("truce," "oath"), the Arabic might be *al-qasamah* ("alms"). In the title which follows, the Tonk and 1934 MSS have *al-hayḍ* ("menstruation"), but a correction in MS 1934 and the Flügel edition gives *al-janīn* ("embryo").

¹³ This refers to one who makes a declaration of freedom for a slave, effective at the time of the master's death.

¹⁴ In Arabic this is *Sayr al-ʿĀdilah*. It may have a more technical meaning, or a simple meaning such as *The Course of Justice*.

¹⁵ The Tonk MS gives consonant signs, making this title *Al-Murtad* ("The Apostate"), whereas Flügel gives *Al-Murīd* ("The Seeker after Knowledge or God"). MS 1934 might be either of these forms.

¹⁶ This title is *Al-Walā' wa-al-Khulf*. If the second word is *al-Khulf*, it would mean "breach of promise," changing the meaning. Another possible translation for the title might be *Kinship and Succession*.

¹⁷ This title might also be translated as *The Apparent and the Manifest*. The words which follow it, *li-al-Sā'ī*, may mean "to the deceiver," but more likely mean that the book is addressed to a man called al-Sā'ī. Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part VI, p. 463, mentions 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Sā'ī, but this reference is too uncertain to place the name in the Biog. Index.

Flags of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;¹⁸ Knowledge; Invocation; The Future and the Past; Consensus of Opinion; Rendering Imitation Futile; Rendering Analogy Futile; Information about the One [Allāh]; Knowledge of What Is Necessary for Learning; The Proof; The Particular and the Universal; What Is Explained and Established; Ceasing to Make (Call) a Person an Unbeliever; The Epistle of al-Rabī' ibn Sulaymān; The Epistle of Abū al-Walīd; The Epistle of al-Qaṭṭān; The Epistle of Hārūn [ibn 'Abd Allāh] al-Shārī; Giving Counsel, five hundred leaves; Clear Explanation, four thousand leaves; Temporary Marriage.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: I have transcribed these [preceding] book titles from an old piece [of manuscript] in the handwriting of Maḥmūd al-Marwazī. I suppose that this man upheld the legal system of Dā'ūd, but he is unknown.

Dā'ūd had questions sent to him from various regions and places, among which there were:¹⁹

Questions of Iṣbahān; Questions about Secret Matters; Questions of al-Baṣrah;²⁰ Questions of al-Khwārizm; The Sufficient, about the statement of al-Muṭṭalibī, meaning al-Shāfi'ī;²¹ Two Questions, in connection with which al-Shāfi'ī is contradictory; the first books include a volume called The March (or Biographies).

Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd

He was surnamed Abū Bakr and was a jurist upholding his father's legal system, and was an excellent man, pious and cultured. He was a poet and historical traditionalist, as well as one of the interesting and honest writers. I have mentioned the books of poetry and literature which he wrote in their proper place, in the chapter on the historical traditionalists, genealogists, and men of letters.²²

¹⁸ Instead of "flags" (*a'lām*) the word may be *i'lām* ("distinguished courage"). The pious epithets in this and the preceding title are not in MS 1934.

¹⁹ It is probable that these books were answers to questions addressed to him.

²⁰ Instead of al-Baṣrah the Tonk MS has al-Naṣraniyyāt. Khwārizm, in the following title, is the modern Khīvā; see "Khwārizm," *Enc. Islam*, II, 908.

²¹ As al-Shāfi'ī was descended from the Prophet's grandfather, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, he was called al-Muṭṭalibī.

²² The only previous mention seems to be in connection with the jurists; see the account of Ibn Surayj in Chap. VI, sect. 3, after n. 27.

His birth was during the year ——— and he died in the year ———. Among his books on the law there were:

Admonitions; Apologies (Excuses); Means of Knowing the Sources of the Law; Abridgment (Al-*Ijāz*) (or Fulfilling a Promise [Al-*Injāz*]); Refutation of Ibn *Sharshīr*; Refutation of Abū 'Isā al-*Ḍarīr*; Obtaining Justice from Abū Ja'far al-*Ṭabarī*.

Ibn Jābir

He was Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ——— ibn Jābir, one of the followers of Dā'ūd. He was one of their scholars and important men. Among his books there was *Differences*. No one ever wrote a longer book, and his associates regarded it as excellent.

Ibn al-Mughallas

He was Abū al-Hasan 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mughallas. Leadership among the followers of Dā'ūd culminated with him during his time and no equal of his appeared afterwards. He was superior, learned, gifted, truthful, reliable, and preeminent among the people as a whole. His home was at Baghdād on the River Mahdī,²³ where people from surrounding regions sought him out. He died on the fourth of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [sixth Muslim month], during the year three hundred and twenty-four [A.D. 935/36]. Among his books there were:

Explanation of the Answers of the Book of al-*Muzanī*;²⁴ Good Fortune (Judgment); The Manifest; Judgments of the Qur'ān; Divorce; Relationship (Al-*Walā'*).

Al-Manṣūrī

He was Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ, who upheld the legal system of Dā'ūd and was one of the most illustrious followers of Dā'ūd. His books were splendid and excellent, large in size. Among them there were:

The large book, The Lamp; The Guide; The Shining.

²³ A canal in the west part of the Shammaṣīyah Quarter of East Baghdād. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 47 (map), 175, 206.

²⁴ The translation follows MS 1934. The other versions give instead two titles, *The Explanation* and *The Book of al-Muzanī*.

Al-Raqqī

He was Abū Sa'īd ———, one of the scholars among those who followed the legal system of Dā'ūd.²⁵ Among his books there were: The Sources, which comprised one hundred chapters similar to the chapters of Dā'ūd, so that we are not obliged to record them. He also wrote the Commentary on "The Clear."²⁶

Al-Nahrabānī

His name was al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ubayd, Abū Sa'īd. Among his books there was *Rendering Futile Analogy*.

Ibn al-Khallāl

He was surnamed Abū al-Ṭayyib ———. Among his books there were:

Rendering Futile Analogy; Rendering Futile Witty Remarks;²⁷ Qualification of Wisdom about the sources of the law and comprising a number of chapters.

Al-Rabā'ī

His name was Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan, surnamed Abū Ishāq. He was one of the scholars who followed the legal system of Dā'ūd and lived near to our own time. He went from Baghdād to Egypt, where he died during the year ———. Among his books there was *Consideration of the Rendering Futile of Analogy*.

Ḥaydarah

He was surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan ———. He was one of the superior men and legal authorities, employing the legal system of his associates. I used to see him, for he was a friend of mine. He died ———. Among his books there was *Refutation of Those Who Uphold Analogy*.²⁸

²⁵ The Tonk MS adds, "He was religious, ascetic, virtuous, and one who memorized the Ḥadīth."

²⁶ "The clear" is in Arabic *al-mawḍiḥ* or *al-muḍiḥ*, and is probably a book title.

²⁷ MS 1934 omits *'ibtāl* ("rendering futile") but the other versions give it.

²⁸ Only the Tonk MS gives this title. It also states "He was one of the historical traditionalists, ascetics, and jurists."

The Judge al-Kharazī, May Allāh Strengthen Him²⁹

He is Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Aḥmad al-Iṣbahānī al-Kharazī, one of the scholars among the followers of *Dā’ūd* during our own time, and one of the capable members of their legal school. He is also one of the superior persons among his associates and the authors among them. He was born ———. ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah has placed him over the judicial administration of the lower quarter on the East Side of the City of Peace [Baghdād], until our own time, which is the year three hundred and seventy-seven [A.D. 987/88]. Among his books there is *Questions and Disagreement*.

²⁹ The Flügel edition gives al-Ḥuzrī, which is a mistake. The pious epithet is in MS 1934. He was evidently a friend of al-Nadīm.

The Jurists of the Shī'ah; Their Authorities on the Ḥadīth and Scholars

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Fifth Section of the Sixth Chapter

*of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, including accounts of the jurists of the Shī'ah, with the names of the books which they composed.*¹

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: Among the friends of the Commander of the Faithful, for whom may there be peace,² there was Sulaym ibn Qays al-Hilālī. As a fugitive from al-Ḥajjāj [ibn Yūsuf], who sought to kill him, he took refuge with Abān ibn Abī Ayyāsh, who gave him shelter. When death drew near to him he said to Abān, "I am indebted to you and now death is present with me. Oh, son of my brother, by order of the Apostle of Allāh, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, it is thus [as described in my book]." Then he gave him a book, which was the well-known book of Sulaym ibn Qays al-Hilālī, from which Abān ibn Abī Ayyāsh quoted, but which was not quoted by anyone else.

Abān said in his narrative, "Qays was a shaykh with an [inner] light which uplifted him. The first book to appear about the Shī'ah was the book of Sulaym ibn Qays al-Hilālī." Abān ibn Abī Ayyāsh quoted it, but it was not quoted by anybody else.

¹ In MS 1934, the phrase "The Jurists of the Shī'ah, Their Authorities on the Ḥadīth and Scholars" is placed on a page by itself preceding the title of the section. The Arabic word *al-muḥaddithūn* is translated "authorities on the Ḥadīth."

² Here the Commander of the Faithful may refer to 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan and called Zayn al-'Ābidīn. Although 'Alī was never recognized as caliph by the majority, the Shī'ah, including al-Nadīm, did recognize him as such. He lived at the time when al-Ḥajjāj, who was governor of al-'Irāq A.D. 694-714, was trying to crush Shī'ī opposition to the Umayyad caliphate.

The Books Composed about the Sources of the Law (Uṣūl al-Fiqh) with the Names of Those Who Compiled Them

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: I am mentioning the shaykhs of the Shī'ah who transmitted the law from their imams, without any special order.³ Among them there were:

Šāliḥ ibn Abī al-Aswad; 'Alī ibn Ghurāb; Abū Yaḥyā Layth al-Mutādī; Ruzayq ibn al-Zubayr; Abū al-Salamah al-Baṣrī; Ismā'il ibn Ziyād; Abū Aḥmad 'Umar ibn al-Raḍī; Dā'ūd ibn Farqad; 'Alī ibn Ra'āb; 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Mu'allā; Hishām ibn Sālīm; Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār; 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn al-Qāsim al-Anṣārī; Sayf ibn 'Amrah al-Nakhā'i; Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar al-Šana'ānī; 'Abd Allāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ; Al-Rabī' ibn Abī Mudrik; 'Umar ibn Abī Ziyād al-Ibzārī; Zakār ibn Yaḥyā al-Wāsiṭī; Abū Khālīd ibn 'Amr ibn Khālīd al-Wāsiṭī; Ḥarīz ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Azdī al-Sijistānī; 'Ubayd Allāh [ibn 'Alī] al-Ḥalabī; Zakarīyā' al-Mu'min; Thābit al-Ḍarīr; Muthannā ibn Asad al-Khayyāt; 'Umar ibn Udhaynah; 'Ammār ibn Mu'āwīyah al-Duhnī al-'Abdī al-Kūfī; Mu'āwīyah ibn 'Ammār al-Duhnī; and al-Ḥasan ibn Maḥbūb al-Sarrād, who was a guest among the associates of al-Riḍā, for whom may there be peace, and later of his son Muḥammad [al-Jawād].⁴

Abān ibn Taghlib

Among his books there were:

The delightful book, The Meaning of the Qur'ān; [Qur'ānic] Readings; From the Sources, about quotations according to the doctrines of the Shī'ah.

The Family of Zurārah ibn A'yan

Zurārah was a nickname. His real name was 'Abd Rabbah. His brother was Ḥumrān ibn A'yan, a grammarian, whose sons were Ḥamzah ibn Ḥumrān and Muḥammad ibn Ḥumrān.

There were also Bukayr ibn A'yan and his son 'Abd Allāh ibn Bukayr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn A'yan, and 'Abd al-Malik ibn A'yan,

³ For the imams of the Shī'ah, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. Before each of the names in the list which follows is the word *kitāb* ("the book of").

⁴ The words translated "a guest among the associates" are, in the Arabic text, *al-wārid min aṣḥāb*. Al-Riḍā and his son were the 8th and 9th Shī'ī imams. Someone who disliked the Shī'ah crossed out the pious epithets in this section of the Tonk MS and inserted the word "erroneous" in numerous places.

with his son *Durays* ibn 'Abd al-Malik, one of the adherents of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī [al-Bāqir], for whom may there be peace.

A'yan ibn Sunsun (Sunbus) was a Byzantine slave belonging to a man of the Banū Shaybān.⁵ After he had learned the Qur'ān, he [the master] emancipated him and offered to adopt him as one of his family. A'yan, however, refused saying, "Settle me with my own people." Sunsun was a priest in the Byzantine country.⁶

Bukayr was surnamed Abū al-Jahm and Zurārah, Abū 'Alī. This Zurārah was the leading Shī'ī scholar of the law, the Ḥadīth, the knowledge of theology, and the Shī'ī system. Among his sons there were al-Ḥusayn ibn Zurārah and al-Ḥasan ibn Zurārah, who were among the associates of Ja'far ibn Muḥammad [al-Ṣādiq].⁷ 'Ubayd ibn Zurārah, who was squint-eyed, quoted [his father] Zurārah ibn A'yan.

Yūnus ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān

He was one of the associates of Mūsā ibn Ja'far, for whom may there be peace, and one of the protégés of the family of Yaqtīn. He was the scholar of his period, a prolific compiler and author according to the doctrines of the Shī'ah. Among his books there were:

Causes (Defects) of al-Aḥādīth (the Traditions); Prayer; Fasts; The Poor Tax; Wills and Shares of Inheritance; Compilation of Traces (*al-Athār*); The Beginning.

Al-Bazanṭī

He was one of the scholars of the Shī'ah, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Naṣr al-Bazanṭī, an associate of Mūsā [ibn Ja'far], for whom may there be peace. Among his books there were:

⁵ For this tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 144, 155, 210.

⁶ MS 1934 has what appears to be Sunbus, whereas Ṭūsī, p. 141, has Sunsun. This man was said to be a *rāhiḥ* ("monk"), but as he had children, he must have been a priest, rather than a monk. In the Eastern Church, the priest must marry, whereas the monk is celibate. His son A'yan became a slave. But after he had learned the Qur'ān, his master set him free and offered to adopt him. He preferred, however, to return to his own kindred, perhaps referring to his brother and children.

⁷ Ja'far ibn Muḥammad was the 6th Shī'ī imam; His son Mūsā ibn Ja'far, mentioned in the following paragraph, was the 7th imam, called al-Kāzīm. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442, for list of the imams.

What he quoted from al-*Riḍā*, for whom may there be peace; The Compilation; Questions.

Al-Barqī

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Khālīd al-Barqī al-Qummī. He was an associate of al-*Riḍā* and later an associate also of his son Abū Ja'far [*Muḥammad* al-Jawād]. It is said that he was surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. Among his books there were:

The Obscure; Causing Perception; Good Qualities; The Men, in which he mentioned the persons who quoted the Commander of the Faithful, May Allāh Be Well Pleased with Him.⁸

Al-Ḥasan ibn Maḥbūb

He was al-Sarrād, which is al-Zarrād,⁹ and one of the associates of our master al-*Riḍā* and of his son, *Muḥammad* [al-Jawād], for both of whom may there be peace. Among his books there were: The Commentary; Marriage; Shares of Inheritance, Ordinances, and Indemnities for Murder.

I Read Written in the Handwriting of Abū 'Alī ibn Hammām

He said that the book *Good Qualities* (*Kitāb al-Maḥāsīn*) of [*Muḥammad* ibn Khālīd] al-Barqī included more than seventy chapters, it is even said eighty chapters. These chapters were with Abū 'Alī ibn Hammām.¹⁰

The Beloved; The Abhorred; Generations (Categories) of Men; The Virtues of Actions (Works); The Most Special of Actions; The Warning; Intimidation; The Frightening; Life and Purity (What is Best); Reasons (Defects) of the Ḥadīth; Meaning of the Ḥadīth and [Textual] Alterations;¹¹ The Distinct (Meeting of the Ways); Pretexts; The Delightful Book; Advantages (Things Giving Benefit); Interpretation of Dreams; The Fast for Days; Heaven,

⁸ This almost certainly refers to 'Alī, the Prophet's son-in-law.

⁹ Both these terms mean "a maker of chain armor." Al-*Riḍā* was 'Alī ibn Mūsā, the 8th Shī'ī imam, and his son was *Muḥammad* al-Jawād, the 9th imam.

¹⁰ This list seems to give the names of the principal parts composing *Kitāb al-Maḥāsīn* of al-Barqī. It is probable that each of these titles had subtitles, bringing the total to over seventy. Cf. Ṭūsī, pp. 37-40, sect. 74.

¹¹ For "taḥrīf," the word translated "alterations," see "Taḥrīf," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 618.

The Earths (Lands); The Towns (Regions); Mention of the Ka'bah; Animals and Species;¹² Tales of the Jinn and of Men; Excellencies of the Qur'ān; Flowers; Commands and Prohibitions; With What Allāh Addressed His Creation;¹³ The Prophets and Apostles; [The Battle of] the Camel;¹⁴ The Increasing of Wisdom;¹⁵ Forms (Varieties); Female Companions; Increasing;¹⁶ Training; The Forefathers (First Things); History; Reasons; Memorable Deeds; The Pure (*al-Aṣfiyah*); The Reasons (Forms, Misfortunes); Quotation; Rare Forms (Unusual Anecdotes).

His Son, *Aḥmad* ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Khālīd al-Barqī

Among his books there were:

Pretexts; Travel; The Towns (Regions); which was longer than the book of his father.

Al-Hasan [ibn Sa'id] al-Ahwāzī and *al-Husayn* al-Ahwāzī, the Two Sons of Sa'id

They were from among the people of al-Kūfah, protégés of 'Alī ibn al-Husayn [Zayn al-'Ābidīn] and among the associates of al-Riḍā, for whom may there be peace. They were the greatest scholars of their time for the law, the traces (*al-athār*), memorable deeds, and other things connected with the Shī'ī sciences.

They were al-Hasan and al-Husayn, the two sons of Sa'id ibn Ḥammād ibn Sa'id. They were associates, also, of Abū Ja'far ibn al-Riḍā [*Muḥammad* al-Jawād]. Among the books of al-Husayn there were:

The Commentary; Piety; The Oath and the Vow; Ritual Ablution; Prayer; Fasts; Marriage; Divorce; Drinks; Refutation of the Ghāliyah; The Invocation (Summons); Al-'Itq wa-al-Tadbīr.¹⁷

¹² Flügel gives *al-ajnās* ("species"), the Tonk MS has *al-aḥbās* ("religious endowments"), while MS 1934 lacks consonant signs.

¹³ See Qur'ān 2:117.

¹⁴ See Tūsi, p. 39, sect. 74 l. 15.

¹⁵ This may be *judūl al-hikmah* ("increasing of wisdom"), or *jadwal al-hikmah* ("rule of wisdom").

¹⁶ MS 1934 has what might be *al-tazāyad* ("increasing"); the Tonk MS has *al-sarā'ir* ("secrets"), while Flügel is uncertain.

¹⁷ Emancipation and the proclamation of freedom of a slave, to become effective at the death of the owner.

Zaydān ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Saʿīd

Among his books there was *Pleadings*.

Al-Ashʿarī

He was Abū Jaʿfar *Muḥammad* ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn ʿAmrān al-Ashʿarī. He was one of the scholars of the Shīʿah and one of those who quoted [other authorities], and also one of the jurists. Among his books there were:

The Compilation, which included one thousand and seventy sections about the law and morals;¹⁸ Rare Forms (Unusual Anecdotes); What Was Revealed in the Qurʾān about al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, for both of whom [father and son] may there be peace—it was quoted by Abū ʿAlī ibn Hammām al-Iskāfī.

ʿAlī ibn Hāshim

He was ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim, one of the scholars among the jurists. Among his books there were:

Memorable Deeds; Choice of the Qurʾān; Nearness of the Quoter of a Tradition to Its Source.

Ḥarīz ibn ʿAbd Allāh

Among his books there were:

The Poor Tax; Prayer; Fasts; Rare Forms (Unusual Anecdotes).

Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā

Among his books there were:

Buying and Selling; Commercial Transactions, Other than the First Ones; Love and Positions; Shares of Inheritance; Wills; Morals; Glad Tidings of the Believer.

ʿIsā ibn Mihrān

Among his books there were:

The Difference between the Nation and the Family; Authorities on the Ḥadīth; The Laws Having Numerous Significations (The Laws Shared Together, Al-Sunan al-Mushtarakah); Death; Research (Discovery); Memorable Deeds; Embellishment (Al-Dībāj).

¹⁸ Only the Tonk MS gives the number "one thousand and seventy." The other versions leave a blank. Compare these titles with the different order in Ṭūsī, p. 274 top, sect. 598.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Samā'ah

He was one of the associates of ———. Among his books there were:

Al-Qiblah; Prayer; Fasts.

Ibn Bilāl

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Bilāl ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Aḥmad al-Muhallabī. Among his books there was *Guidance and Explanation*.

From among the People of Qumm

[There was] al-Qummī, Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā, among whose books there were:

The large book, Medicine; the small book, Medicine; Earnings.

Sa'd ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qummī

Among his books there was *Showing Preference for Ranks* (*Taḥḍīr al-Darajāt*).

Ibn Mu'ammār

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Mu'ammār al-Kūfi, among whose books there was *Nearness of the Quoter of a Tradition to Its Source*.

Ibn Faḍḍāl

He was Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Faḍḍāl al-Taymulī from the Rabi'ah ibn Bakr and a protégé of the Taym Allāh ibn Tha'labah.¹⁹ He was one of the intimate companions of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Riḍā,²⁰ for whom may there be peace. Among his books there were:

The Commentary; The Beginning and the Subject;²¹ Medicine.

Ibn Jamhūr al-'Ammī

His name was Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Jamhūr al-'Ammī al-Baṣrī. He was numbered among the intimate companions of al-Riḍā, for whom may there be peace. Among his books there was *The Unique* (*Al-Wāḥidah*), about historical traditions, virtues and vices, which he divided into eight sections.

¹⁹ For these tribes, see "Bakr," *Enc. Islam*, I, 604; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 48.

²⁰ The 8th Shī'ī Imam, who died A.D. 818.

²¹ MS 1934 is garbled, but Flügel and a correction in the Tonk MS give *Al-Ibtidā' wa-al-Mubtadā'*. This form of the title is confirmed by Ṭūsī, p. 94 top, sect. 191.

Muḥammad ibn 'Isā ibn 'Ubayd ibn Yaḡṡīn

He was one of the people of Baghdād, and an associate of 'Alī ibn Muḥammad and al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, for both of whom may there be peace.²² Among his books there was *Desire and Hope*. Abū 'Alī ibn Hammām said, "The contents of this book were derived from *Muḥammad* [ibn al-Ḥusayn] ibn Jamhūr al-'Aminī. Al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Jamhūr told me that his father said, 'In this book there are mentioned the things which the Shī'ah hope for in connection with their preferences and ranks.'" The book resembled *Glad Tidings*.²³

Ismā'il ibn Mihrān

He was the brother of 'Isā ibn Mihrān. Among his books there was *The Combats*.

Abū Ja'far *Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Walīd al-Qumī*

Among his books there were:

Compilation of the Law; Commentary on the Qur'ān.

Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Āmir ibn Sulaymān al-Ṭā'i

Among his books there was *Judgments and Judicial Decisions*.

Al-Ādamī al-Rāzī

He was Abū Sa'īd *Sahl* ibn Ziyād al-Rāzī, one of the friends of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī [al-'Askarī], for whom may there be peace. Among his books there was *Invoking Aid*.²⁴

Al-Thaqafī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī

He was one of those who were trustworthy, scholarly, and writers of books. Among his books there was *Account of al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, for Whom May There Be Peace*.

²² These were the 10th and 11th Shī'i imams, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad called al-Ḥādī, who died A.D. 868, and al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-'Askarī, who died A.D. 874.

²³ See the book *Glad Tidings of the Believer* by Ṣafwān ibn Yaḡyā, after n. 18.

²⁴ This title, *Al-Istīṣār*, is only given in the Tonk MS.

Mūsā ibn Sa'dān

Among his books there, was *Sects (Parties)*.

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣā'igh

He was one of the *Imāmiyah* [sect] of al-Shī'ah. Among his books there was *Preachings*.

Bundār ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, the Jurist

He was a leader of the *Imāmiyah*. Among his books there were:

Ritual Purification; Prayer; Fasts; The Pilgrimage; The Poor Tax. He also [composed] books based on the sequence of the sources [of the law], and in addition: The Imamate from the Point of View of the Free;²⁵ Temporary Marriage; The Minor Pilgrimage.

The Family of *Yaqṭīn*, Appended, Its Proper Place Being at the Beginning²⁶

Yaqṭīn was one of the leading propagandists [for the Shī'ī beliefs], so that [the Caliph] *Marwān*²⁷ sought [to arrest him] and he took to flight. His son, 'Alī ibn *Yaqṭīn*, was born at al-Kūfah during the year one hundred and twenty-four [A.D. 741/42], but the mother fled with 'Alī and his brother, 'Ubayd, to al-Madīnah.

Then when the Hāshimīyah regime began,²⁸ *Yaqṭīn* came out in the open, while the mother of 'Alī returned home with both 'Alī and 'Ubayd. *Yaqṭīn* remained in the service of Abū al-'Abbās [al-Ṣaffāh] and Abū Ja'far [al-Manṣūr], although at the same time he upheld the cause of the members of the family of Abū Ṭālib, calling for their imamate. His son did likewise. He brought money and benevolences to *Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī*.²⁹ Although

²⁵ "The free" (*al-ḥurr*) is taken from MS 1934. Flügel has instead *al-khubr* ("news," "report"). The Tonk MS gives the title as simply *The Imamate*.

²⁶ As the members of this family lived earlier than the other scholars mentioned in this section, they should have been included nearer the beginning of the section.

²⁷ As *Yaqṭīn* was plotting to establish a descendant of 'Alī as caliph, *Marwān* tried to arrest him, so that he hid.

²⁸ Although he was a Shī'ī, he served the early 'Abbāsīd caliphs because they were related to the Prophet, even though they were not descendants of 'Alī.

²⁹ This was al-Ṣādiq, the 6th Shī'ī imam, who died A.D. 765. The caliphs feared that he might revolt and therefore mistrusted anyone who befriended him.

reports about him reached al-*Manṣūr* and al-*Mahdī*, Allāh saved him from their stratagems.³⁰

‘Alī ibn Yaqṭīn died at the City of Peace [Baghdād] during the year one hundred and eighty-two [A.D. 798/99] when he was fifty-seven years old. *Muḥammad* ibn al-Rashīd, the crown prince, prayed over [his body]. His father, Yaqṭīn, died after he did, during the year one hundred and eighty-five [A.D. 801]. [Among the books of] ‘Alī ibn Yaqṭīn there were;

What al-Ṣādiq asked him concerning the matter of conflicts; about his controversy with the doubter in the presence of *Ja‘far* [ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq].³¹

³⁰ These were the second and third ‘Abbāsīd caliphs, who ruled A.D. 754–775 and 775–785.

³¹ The phrase “with the doubter” is unclear. These book titles should be compared with Ṭūsī, p. 234, sect. 506, ll. 17, 18.

Jurists among the Authorities on the Ḥadīth and Adherents of the Ḥadīth

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Sixth Section of the Sixth Chapter

*of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, including accounts of the jurists who were adherents of the Ḥadīth.*¹

Account of Sufyān al-Thawrī

Sufyān ibn Sa'īd ibn Masrūq al-Thawrī was from [the tribe of] Thawr ibn 'Abd Manāh ibn Udd ibn Ṭābikhah ibn al-Yās ibn Muḍr ibn Nizār ibn Ma'add ibn 'Adnān.² It was said that among the descendants of Thawr there were thirty men, none of whom were less distinguished than al-Rabī' ibn Khuthaym.³ They were at al-Kūfah, not one of them at al-Baṣrah. Sufyān al-Thawrī, however, died at al-Baṣrah while fleeing from the Sultan, and was buried at night.⁴ This was during the year one hundred and sixty-one [A.D. 777/78] when he was sixty-four years old, for he was born during the year ninety-seven [A.D. 716/17]. He bequeathed his books to 'Ammār ibn Sayf, who effaced them and burned them.

¹ In MS 1934, the phrase "Jurists among the Authorities on the Ḥadīth and Adherents of the Ḥadīth" is placed on a page by itself preceding the title of the section. "Authorities on the Ḥadīth" is *al-muḥaddithūn*. "Adherents of the Ḥadīth" (*aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth*) refers to jurists who based their decisions on the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth rather than on consensus of opinion, analogy, and personal opinion.

² See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 36 l. 5.

³ He is probably mentioned because he was an ascetic like Sufyān and from the same ancestry.

⁴ When the caliph ordered him to serve as a judge, he refused and disobeyed, fleeing first to Arabia and then to al-Baṣrah where he died. Pious Muslims disliked serving as judges, as they feared that they might be obliged to settle cases according to some command from a ruling official, rather than according to the Qur'ān and the Sunnah.

Sufyān had no descendants, as his son died earlier than he did himself. So he assigned whatever he had to his sister and her children. He bequeathed nothing to al-Mubārak ibn Sa'īd [his brother]. Among his books there were:

The Large Compilation, which traced the course of the Ḥadīth and was quoted by a group [of scholars], among whom there were Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥakīm, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Walīd al-'Adanī, Ibrāhīm ibn Khālīd al-Ṣan'ānī, 'Abd al-Malik [ibn Ibrāhīm] al-Juddī, and, from a place other than al-Yaman, al-Ḥusayn ibn Ḥaṣṣ al-Iṣbahānī.⁵

The Small Compilation, which was quoted by a group [of scholars], among whom there were al-Ashja'i, Ghassān ibn 'Ubayd, al-Ḥusayn ibn Ḥaṣṣ al-Iṣbahānī, al-Mu'āfā' ibn 'Imrān al-Mawṣilī, 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abān, 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Ḥassān, Zayd ibn Abī al-Zarqā', and al-Qāsim ibn Yazīd al-Jarmī.

Shares of Inheritance; Epistle to 'Abbād ibn 'Abbād al-Arsūfī; Epistle.

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḡīrah ibn Abī Dhī'b

He was from the Banū 'Āmir ibn Lu'ay.⁶ He was a jurist and authority on the Ḥadīth, as well as a judge. He died during the year one hundred and fifty-nine [A.D. 775/76]. Among his books there was *Ordinances*, which included chapters on the law, [about subjects] such as prayer, ritual purification, fasts, the poor tax, rites of the pilgrimage, and other things.

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslan

He was [descended] from the protégés of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. He died at the beginning of the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Among his books there were:

The Abrogating and the Abrogated; The Commentary.

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī al-Zannād

The name of Abū al-Zannād was 'Abd Allāh ibn Dhakwān. He ['Abd al-Raḥmān] was one of the jurists who were also authorities

⁵ Al-Ṣan'ānī was very likely the man listed in the Biog. Index as Abu Thawr Ibrāhīm ibn Khālīd ibn al-Yamān. The context makes it clear that 'Abd al-Malik al-Juddī also came from al-Yaman.

⁶ For this tribe, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 33.

on the Ḥadīth. He died at Baghdād during the year one hundred and seventy-four [A.D. 790/91]. Among his books there were: Shares of Inheritance; The Opinion of the Seven Jurists from among the People of al-Madinah, with the Ways in Which They Differed.⁷

‘Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn ‘Amr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī

He died during the year one hundred and seventy-six [A.D. 792/93] at Baghdād, where he was a judge under Hārūn [al-Rashīd]. Among his books there was *The Raids*.

‘Abd al-Malik ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Jurayj

He was a protégé of the family of Usayd ibn Abī al-‘Īs ibn Umayyah.⁸ He was surnamed Abū al-Walīd and died during the year one hundred and fifty [A.D. 767/68]. Among his books there was *The Ordinances*, which included what books about the ordinances ordinarily comprise, such as ritual purification, prayer, fasts, the poor tax, and other things.

Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah al-Hilālī

He was a protégé ———. He died during the year one hundred and ninety-eight [A.D. 813/14]. He was a jurist and reciter of the Qur’ān. No book of his is known, but they used to hear him [lecture] and they do know of his commentary.⁹

Mughīrah ibn Miqṣam al-Dabbī

He was a protégé of theirs¹⁰ and was surnamed Abū Hishām. He died during the year one hundred and thirty-six [A.D. 752/53]. Among his books there was *Shares of Inheritance*.

⁷ For the seven judges of al-Madinah, see Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 243. Cf. also Maḥmūdī, *Falsafat*, pp. 24–26.

⁸ For this clan, see Qutaybah, *Ma’ārif*, p. 35; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 45.

⁹ A page in MS 1934 has been lost. It evidently began with the account of Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah and ended just before the list of book titles in the account of Ismā’il ibn ‘Ulayyah; see n. 20.

¹⁰ “Theirs” refers to the Dabbah Tribe; see “Dabba,” *Enc. Islam*, I, 884; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 117.

Zā'idah ibn Qudāmah al-Thaqafi

He was one of their number [one of the adherents of the Ḥadīth]. He was surnamed Abū al-Ṣalt. He died in the Byzantine Empire during the raid of al-Ḥasan ibn 'Aṭīyah, during the year sixty-one or sixty [A.D. 776/78].¹¹ Among his books there were:

The Ordinances, which included what has been mentioned as being contained by books about the ordinances; [Qur'ānic] Readings; The Commentary; Asceticism; Memorable Deeds.

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmānī *Muḥammad* ibn Fuḍayl ibn Ghazwān al-Ḍabbī

He was a protégé of theirs [the Ḍabbah Tribe] and was surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He died during the year one hundred and ninety-five [A.D. 810/11].¹² Among his books there were:

Ritual Purification; Prayer; Rites of the Pilgrimage; The Poor Tax, arranged to the end like the books of the jurists and also known as the Book of Ordinances;¹³ The Commentary; Asceticism; Fasts; The Invocation.¹⁴

Ibn Abī Zā'idah

Yahyā ibn Zakariyā' ibn Abī Zā'idah, surnamed Abū Sa'īd, died at al-Madā'in, where he was a judge, during the year one hundred and eighty-three [A.D. 799/800]. Among his books there was *The Ordinances*, like the first [books on ordinances, already mentioned].

Wakī' ibn al-Jarrāḥ ibn Malīḥ al-Ru'āsī

He was from the Banū 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah.¹⁵ He was surnamed Abū Sufyān. He died when leaving on the pilgrimage at Fayd, during the year one hundred and ninety-seven [A.D. 812/13], during al-Muḥarram [first Muslim month]. Among his books there was *The Ordinances*, like the first.

¹¹ The Tonk MS suggests a different date, but it seems to be due to careless copying.

¹² Here again the Tonk MS has a variation, giving the date as A.H. 175 (A.D. 791/92).

¹³ This was probably a compilation. For this type of book, see Chap. VI, sect. 3, n. 8, and the subjects dealt with in *Kitāb al-Umm*.

¹⁴ The Tonk MS omits the three last titles.

¹⁵ A name for certain tribes of the Hawāzin; see "'Āmir," *Enc. Islam*, I, 329. For Fayd, in the sentence which follows, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 927.

Abū Nu'aym al-Faḍl ibn Dukayn

He was a protégé by Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Taymī. He died during the year two hundred and nineteen [A.D. 834]. Among his books there were:

Rites of the Pilgrimage; Questions in the Law.

Yahyā ibn Ādam, surnamed Abū Zakariyā'

He was a protégé of the family of 'Uqbah ibn Abī Mu'ayt. He died at Fam al-Šilḥ¹⁶ during the year two hundred and three [A.D. 818/19]. Among his books there were:

The large book, Shares of Inheritance;¹⁷ The Land Tax; Gaining Possession.¹⁸

Ibn Abī 'Arūbah

His name was Sa'īd and the name of Abū 'Arūbah was Mihrān. He was surnamed Abū al-Naḍr, and he died during the year one hundred and fifty-seven [A.D. 773/74]. Among his books there was *The Ordinances*, like the first.

Ḥammād ibn Salamah

He was a protégé of the Banū Tamīm.¹⁹ He was surnamed Abū Salamah. He died during al-Muḥarranī [first Muslim month] at al-Baṣrah, in the year one hundred and sixty-five [A.D. 781/82]. Among his books there was *The Ordinances*, like the first.

Ismā'il ibn 'Ulayyah

She ['Ulayyah] was his mother. He was the son of Ibrāhīm, a protégé of the Banū Asad, surnamed Abū Bishr. His birth was during the year one hundred and sixteen [A.D. 734/35] and he died at Baghdād during Dhū al-Qa'dah [eleventh Muslim month], in the

¹⁶ A river north of Wāsiṭ; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 917.

¹⁷ The Tonk MS omits "large."

¹⁸ This is probably *al-zawāl* ("gaining possession," "seizing"), but it may be *al-zawāl* ("future," "change").

¹⁹ See "Tamīm," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 643.

year one hundred and ninety-three [A.D. 808/809], when he was eighty-three years and a few months old. Among his books there were:²⁰

The Commentary; Ritual Purification; Prayer; Rites of the Pilgrimage; Hunting; Slaughter [of Sacrificial Victims].

Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl, surnamed Abū Ishāq

He was born during the year one hundred and fifty-two [A.D. 769] and he died in the year two hundred and eighteen [A.D. 833]. Among his books there was *Ordinances*, like the first.²¹

Rawḥ ibn 'Ubādah al-Qaysī, surnamed Abū Muḥammad

He died after two hundred [A.D. 815/16]. Among his books there was *Ordinances*.

Makḥūl al-Shāmī

He was a protégé of a woman from the Hudhayl.²² He died during the year one hundred and sixteen [A.D. 734/35]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law;²³ Questions in the Law.

Al-Awzā'ī

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Amr, Abū 'Umar from al-Awzā', a tribe.²⁴ He died during the year one hundred and fifty-nine [A.D. 775/76]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; Questions in the Law.

²⁰ MS 1934 recommences at this point, after the loss of a page. This manuscript and Flügel do not include the two last titles, which are in the Tonk MS alone. For the Banū Asad, see "Asad," *Enc. Islam*, I, 474.

²¹ The Tonk MS alone includes this title.

²² For this tribe, see "Hudhail," *Enc. Islam*, II, 329.

²³ On this and following pages, this title, *Al-Sunan fī al-Fiqh*, is translated as *Ordinances in the Law*. It may be more correct to translate *fī* as "about" in this and other titles, making the translation "*The Ordinances, about the law.*"

²⁴ See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 249.

Al-Walīd ibn *Muslim*, surnamed *Abū al-'Abbās*

He was a protégé of the Quraysh [the Prophet's tribe]. He died during the year one hundred and ninety-four [A.D. 809/10] while returning from the pilgrimage. Among his books there were:
Ordinances in the Law; The Raids.

'Abd al-Razzāq ibn *Hammām* ibn *Nāfi'* al-*Ṣan'ānī*, surnamed *Abū Bakr*

He was a protégé of the *Ḥimyar*,²⁵ who died during the year two hundred and eleven [A.D. 826/27]. Among his books there were:
Ordinances in the Law; The Raids.

Hushaym ibn *Bashīr* al-*Sulamī*, surnamed *Abū Mu'āwīyah*

He was a protégé of the *Banū Sulaym*.²⁶ He died at *Baghdād* during the year one hundred and eighty-three [A.D. 799/800]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; The Commentary; [Qur'ānic] Readings.

Yazīd ibn *Hārūn*

He was a protégé of the *Banū Sulaym*, surnamed *Abū Khālīd*. He died at *Wāsiṭ* during the year two hundred and six [A.D. 821/22]. Among his books there was *Shares of Inheritance*.

Ishāq al-*Azraq*, surnamed *Abū Muḥammad*

He was the son of *Yūsuf*. He died at *Wāsiṭ* during the year one hundred and ninety-five [A.D. 810/11]. Among his books there were:

Rites of the Pilgrimage; Prayer; [Qur'ānic] Readings.

'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn *'Aṭā'* al-*'Ijlī* al-*Khaffāf*

He was surnamed *Abū Naṣr*. He was one of the people of al-*Baṣrah*, but he died at *Baghdād* some time after two hundred [A.D. 815/16]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; The Commentary; The Abrogating and the Abrogated.

²⁵ For this tribal group of al-Yaman, see "*Ḥimyar*," *Enc. Islam*, II, 310.

²⁶ "*Sulaim*," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 518.

*Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭahmān al-Hīrrāwī*²⁷

Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; Memorable Deeds; The Two Feasts [‘Id al-Aḏḥā and ‘Id al-Fiṭr]; The Commentary.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Wāqid al-Marwazī

Among his books there were:

The Commentary; Aspects in the Qur’ān; Ordinances in the Law.²⁸

‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak, surnamed Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān

He died at Hīt²⁹ when returning from a raid, during the year one hundred and eighty-one [A.D. 797/98]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; The Commentary; History; Asceticism; Piety and Charity.

Abū Dā’ūd al-Ṭayālīsī

His name was *Hammām* ibn ‘Abd al-Malik. He was one of the authorities for the Ḥadīth. He was surnamed Abū Yazīd and died during the year two hundred and twenty-seven [A.D. 841/42]. Among his books there was *Ordinances in the Law*, like the first.³⁰

Al-Firyābī al-Kabīr

He was an associate of *Sufyān* [ibn Sa’īd] and was one of the people of Caesarea.³¹ He was Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqid al-Firyābī. He learned from the scholars of al-Kūfah, and died ———. Among his books there were:

The Commentary; Ritual Purification; Prayer; Fasts; The Poor Tax; Rites of the Pilgrimage, continuing until he included all of the chapters about the law.

²⁷ This refers to his origin at Harāt in Afghanistan. The spelling might be al-Harawī, but Ziriklī, Part 9, p. 74, gives al-Hīrrāwī.

²⁸ This title is only in the Tonk MS.

²⁹ See "Hīt," *Enc. Islam*, II, 322.

³⁰ The Tonk MS alone has this title. On the margin of MS 1934 there is noted, "bi-Shām," probably indicating that he died at Damascus.

³¹ He was probably a pupil of Sufyān ibn Sa’īd al-Thawrī and was from Caesarea (Qaysariyah) in Palestine; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 214.

'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Shaybah

He was an authority for the Ḥadīth and a compiler. He died during the year two hundred and thirty-five [A.D. 849/50]. Among his books there were:³²

Ordinances in the Law; The Commentary; History; Seditions; [The Battle of] Šiffin; [The Battle of] the Camel; The Invasions; Al-Musnad, about the Ḥadīth.³³

'Uthmān ibn Abī Shaybah

He was an authority on the Ḥadīth and a compiler, who died during the year two hundred and thirty-seven [A.D. 851/52]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; The Commentary; Seditions;³⁴ Al-Musnad.

Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Abī Shaybah³⁵

He died during the year two hundred and ninety-seven [A.D. 909/10]. Among his books there was *Ordinances in the Law*.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.³⁶ Among his books there were:

Reasons; The Commentary; The Abrogating and Abrogated; Asceticism; Questions; Virtues; Shares of Inheritance; Rites of the Pilgrimage; Faith (Oath); Drinks;³⁷ Obedience of (for) the Prophet; Refutation of the Jahmīyah; Al-Musnad,³⁸ comprising more than forty thousand Ḥadīth.

³² The Tonk MS is unique in adding two titles: *Booty* and *The Khawārij at Nahravān*.

³³ *Al-musnad* means "attributed to authority." The title was made famous by the great collection of the Ḥadīth compiled by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.

³⁴ Instead of "seditions" the Flügel edition has *al-'ayn*, which might be "the eye," "the spring," or the letter 'ayn of the alphabet, but is probably a mistake.

³⁵ The Tonk MS inserts, before the name, Abū Ja'far ibn Ḥāfiz.

³⁶ In MS 1934 there is a vacant space before the list of books is given, evidently with the hopes that biographical data could be filled in.

³⁷ In MS 1934 the four last titles have been inserted in a handwriting different from that of the other passages.

³⁸ For this famous book, see Bibliography under Ḥanbal. The title means "Attributed to Authority." This great compendium of the Ḥadīth contained a huge collection of traditions, with the authorities who were said to have originated them.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal had a son named 'Abd Allāh, who was a reliable man from whom they heard [lectures about] the Ḥadīth.

There were also Ṣāliḥ ibn Aḥmad and his son Zuhayr ibn Ṣāliḥ, who died during the year three hundred and three [A.D. 915/16].

Al-Athram

He was one of the adherents of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. His name was Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Hānī, surnamed Abū Bakr. He was one of the Iskāf Banū Junayd,³⁹ and he died ———. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law, in accordance with the doctrines of Aḥmad and his evidences from the Ḥadīth; History; Reasons; The Abrogating and the Abrogated in the Ḥadīth.⁴⁰

Al-Marwazī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥajjāj

He adhered to the doctrines of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. He died ———. Among his books there was *The Ordinances with Testimonies from the Ḥadīth*.

Ishāq ibn Rāhwayh

The name of Rāhwayh was Ibrāhīm ibn ——— Marwazī. He was one of the most distinguished of the pupils of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; *Al-Musnad*; The Commentary.

Abū Khaythamah and His Sons

Abū Khaythamah Zuhayr ibn Ḥarb died during the year two hundred and thirty-four [A.D. 848/49]. Among his books there were:

Al-Musnad; Science.⁴¹

³⁹ These were the chiefs of the district of al-Nahrawān between Baghdād and Wāsiṭ; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 252.

⁴⁰ A good example of abrogating in al-Ḥadīth is in connection with the direction for prayer, which was first to Jerusalem, then to Makkah, and finally to "whichever way you turn you face Allāh." See quotation from al-Ṭabarī translated in Dodge, *Muslim Education*, p. 45.

⁴¹ The Tonk MS adds the title *Reasons (Al-'Ilal)*.

Ibn Abī Khaythamah, Abū Bakr *Aḥmad* ibn Zuhayr ibn Ḥarb

He was one of the historical traditionalists and a jurist. He died during the year two hundred and seventy-nine [A.D. 892/93]. Among his books there were:

History; Ancestors (Kinsmen); Arab Nomads (Al-A'rāb) (or Inflection [Al-I'rāb]); Traditions of the Poets.

His Son, Abū 'Abd Allāh, *Muḥammad* ibn Aḥmad ibn Zuhayr ibn Ḥarb

He was of the same stock as his father. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Poor Tax and the Categories of Property, with Their Proofs from the Ḥadīth; History, which did not appear in its entire form—perhaps he never finished it.

Al-Bukhārī

Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Ismā'il ibn al-Mughīrah al-Bukhārī was one of the reliable authorities for the Ḥadīth.⁴² Among his books there were:

The Large History; The Small History; Names and Surnames; The Feeble [referring to Ḥadīth quoted from doubtful sources]; Al-Ṣaḥīḥ (The Sound);⁴³ Ordinances in the Law; Training; The Medium-Size History; Creation of the Actions of Worshippers (Khalq Af'āl al-'Ibād); Reading behind the Imam.⁴⁴

Al-Ma'marī

His name was al-*Hasan* ibn 'Alī ibn Shabīb. He was one of the authorities on the Ḥadīth and also one of the jurists. He died ———. Among his books there was *Ordinances in the Law*.

⁴² The Tonk MS adds "virtuous and ascetic."

⁴³ This was perhaps the most important Muslim book after the Qur'ān. For the French translation, see Bibliography, Bukhārī, and for the table of contents in Arabic, see Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, p. xi; for the contents in English, see Dodge, *Muslim Education*, p. 92.

⁴⁴ The last three titles are omitted by the Tonk MS and added to MS 1934 with a strange handwriting. For the last two titles, see Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, Supplement, I, 265 top, which gives the last title as *Khayr al-Kalām fī al-Qirā' Khalf al-Imām*.

Abū 'Arūbah

His name was al-*Husayn* [ibn Muḥammad] ibn Mawdūd al-Ḥarrānī and he compiled the Ḥadīth of the shaykhs. Except for this he did not write any book.

Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī

He was one of the authorities on the Ḥadīth learned both in the Ḥadīth and the law.⁴⁵ Among his books there were;

Al-*Ṣaḥīḥ* (The Sound); Names and Surnames.

The Unique Things (Al-Waḥād); The Single; History; Generations (Categories).

'Alī ibn al-Madīnī

He should have been mentioned before this place. He was Ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far al-Madīnī. He was one of the authorities for the Ḥadīth, learned in the Ḥadīth. He died at Sāmarrā on Monday, three days before the end of Dhū al-Qa'dah [eleventh Muslim month], during the year two hundred and fifty-eight [A.D. 871/72], when he was seventy-two years old. Among his books there were: Al-Musnad with its reasons; Those Who Tell Half Truths; The Feeble [referring to Ḥadīth quoted from doubtful sources]; Reasons; Names and Surnames; Drinks; The Gracious Revelation.⁴⁶

Yahyā ibn Ma'īn

He died during the year two hundred and thirty-three [A.D. 847/48]. Among his books there was *History*, his pupils composed it from his [dictation], for he himself did not write it.

Surayj ibn Yūnus Abū al-Ḥārith al-Marwazī

He was one of the illustrious authorities on the Ḥadīth, being among their reliable members, and he was also one of the jurists and [Qur'ānic] readers. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Commentary; The Abrogating and the Abrogated; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Ordinances in the Law.

⁴⁵ The Tonk MS omits "al-Qushayrī" but adds "ascetic, pious, reliable." The collection *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ* was almost as important as that of al-Bukhārī; see Bibliography.

⁴⁶ Flügel omits the word translated as "gracious" (*al-laṭīf*).

Ḥaḥṣ al-Darīr

He was Abū 'Umar Ḥaḥṣ ibn 'Umar, from among the people of al-Baṣrah. He was one of the illustrious authorities on the Ḥadīth. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Judicial Decisions of the Qur'ān; Ordinances in the Law.

Al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān al-Rāzī and His Son al-'Abbās ibn al-Faḍl

He [al-Faḍl] mingled both with the elite and the ignorant. The Shī'ah claim him, so that a brief account about him is given in connection with them. The Ḥashwīyah also claim him, and his books pertaining to the Ḥashwīyah are:⁴⁷

The Commentary; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Ordinances in the Law,

Among the books of his son al-'Abbās ibn al-Faḍl there are:
Ordinances in the Law; [Qur'ānic] Readings.⁴⁸

Ibrāhīm al-Harbī

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Bashīr ibn 'Abd Allāh was one of the illustrious authorities on the Ḥadīth. He was learned in the Ḥadīth, scholarly, ascetic and acquainted with language [study]. He was also one of those who held [the Ḥadīth] in their memories. 'Abd Allāh was the son of Daysam al-Marwazī.⁴⁹ Ibrāhīm died during the year two hundred and eighty-five [A.D. 898]. Among his books there were:

Rare Forms in the Ḥadīth, which included "Al-Musnad"⁵⁰ of Abū Bakr, of 'Umar, of 'Uthmān, of 'Alī, of al-Zubayr [ibn al-'Awwām], of Ṭalḥah

⁴⁷ Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part V, p. 72, says that al-Nadīm called all who were not Shī'ī "ignorant" (*al-'āmmah*) and referred to the Sunnites as "the Ḥashwīyah," a term as a rule applied to persons holding anthropomorphic ideas; see "Ḥashwīyah," *Enc. Islam*, II, 287.

⁴⁸ These titles are in the Tonk MS alone; MS 1934 leaves a half page empty, meant to be filled in with titles.

⁴⁹ Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh*, Part VI, sect. 3059, p. 27, makes it clear that this relationship between 'Abd Allāh, the ancestor of Ibrāhīm, and Daysam al-Marwazī is correct. As these ancestors were not important persons, their names are not in the Biog. Index. The Tonk MS has al-Jawharī instead of al-Marwazī.

⁵⁰ This was evidently a compilation which quoted the Ḥadīth of the Prophet, based upon the original recollections of the important persons listed.

[ibn 'Ubayd Allāh], of Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, of al-'Abbās [ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib], of Shaybah ibn 'Uthmān, of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, of al-Miswar ibn Makhramah al-Zuhri, of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Rabī'ah,⁵¹ of al-Sā'ib al-Makhzūmī, of Khālīd ibn al-Walīd, of Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ, of Mu'āwiyah and others in addition to him, of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās,⁵² of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and of the mawālī,⁵³ which was the last that he included.

There were also other books:

Training; The Raids; Al-Tayanmum [ritualistic ablution with sand instead of water].

Muṭayyin ibn Ayyūb

He was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaynān al-Ḥaḍramī, one of the reliable authorities for the Ḥadīth. His birth was ———. He died during the year two hundred and ninety-eight [A.D. 910/11]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; The Commentary; Al-Musnad; Commentary on "Al-Musnad";⁵⁴ Training.

Al-Firyābī al-Saghīr⁵⁵

Abū Bakr Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Firyābī obtained his learning from shaykhs throughout the world, traveling over the earth. He died during the year three hundred [A.D. 913], the last day of the year. Among his books there was *The Ordinances*, which included many chapters, nearly fifty of them.

⁵¹ This name and the one which follows are not clearly written in the manuscripts, but they must be correct.

⁵² The Tonk MS adds a pious epithet.

⁵³ This probably means "lords," although it might mean "protégés."

⁵⁴ This may have been an explanation of his own book, or of the great collection of *Aḥmad* ibn Ḥanbal.

⁵⁵ He is called *al-Saghīr* and *al-Aṣghar* ("the Younger"), to distinguish him from the elder Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Firyābī. In this and the following accounts there are variations in the Tonk MS, but they are not important enough to mention them in detail.

Shabīb al-'Uṣfurī

His name was *Khalīfah* ibn Khayyāt and he was one of the people of al-Baṣrah. Among his books there were:

The Generations (Categories); History; Generations (Categories) of [Qur'ānic] Readers; History of the Infirm in Old Age, the Lame, the Sick, and the Blind; Divisions of the Qur'ān—Its Tenths, Sevenths, and Verses.

Al-Kajjī

He was Abū Muslim ———. His father moved from ——— to al-Baṣrah, where he [al-Kajjī] built a house with mortar and baked bricks. He used to say to his workmen "Kajj, kajj," or "Use the mortar." Thus the name was connected with him and he was called al-Kajjī.⁵⁶

Abū Muslim was one of the most illustrious authorities on the Ḥadīth, as well as one of the most exalted authorities for the *isnād*.⁵⁷ His birth was ——— and he died during the year ———. Among his books there were:

The Ordinances; Al-Musnad.

[ʿAbd Allāh] Ibn Abī Dāʿūd al-Sijistānī

The name [of Abū Dāʿūd] was *Sulaymān* ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Ishāq ibn Bashīr ibn Shaddād al-Ṭabarī. He [ʿAbd Allāh] was Abū Bakr ——— ibn Sulaymān Abū Dāʿūd. He was one of the most illustrious authorities on the Ḥadīth and the law, a man worthy of confidence. His birth was ———. He died during the year three hundred and sixteen [A.D. 928/29]. Among his books there were:

The Commentary, which he composed at the same time that Abū Ja'far [Muḥammad ibn Jarīr] al-Ṭabarī wrote his book⁵⁸—most of the book of Ibn Abī Dāʿūd was composed about the Ḥadīth; Lamps, about the Ḥadīth;

⁵⁶ For other versions of the origin of this name, see references in the Biog. Index.

⁵⁷ *Al-isnād* is the infinitive of *al-sanad* (pl., *al-asānīd*), which is the ascription of a tradition of the Prophet to its original source, as well as to the chain of authorities who passed on the Ḥadīth to later generations.

⁵⁸ This is the great *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī, listed in the Bibliography.

Manuscripts of the Qur'an; Arrangement of the Qur'an; Excellencies of the Qur'an; The Sharī'ah in "The Commentary";⁵⁰ The Sharī'ah in al-Maḳārī;⁶⁰ The Abrogating and the Abrogated; Rising from the Dead and the Resurrection.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Makhliḍ ibn Ḥaḥṣ al-'Aṭṭār

He was a reliable authority on the Ḥadīth. His birth was during the year two hundred and thirty-three [A.D. 847/48] and he died in the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 942/43]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; Morals; the large Musnad.

Al-Maḥāmālī al-Qāḍī

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī. He was a trustworthy scholar whose birth was during the year two hundred and thirty-five [A.D. 849/50]. He died during the year three hundred and thirty [A.D. 941/42], on Thursday, eight nights before the end of the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir [fourth Muslim month]. News about him was proclaimed in the streets of Baghdād. No one else in the world was such an authority on the Ḥadīth and so capable in determining the Ḥadīth with accuracy, reliability, and intelligence.⁶¹ Among his books there was *Ordinances in the Law*.

Ja'far al-Daqqāq

He was a man who held the Ḥadīth in his memory and was reckoned second to al-Maḥāmālī in trustworthiness, reliability, and intelligence. He died during the year three hundred and thirty [A.D. 941/42]. Among his books there was *Ordinances in the Law*.⁶²

⁵⁰ This probably refers to the elements of the Sharī'ah law contained in the book *The Commentary*.

⁶⁰ This probably deals with the elements of the Sharī'ah law contained in a book perhaps entitled *Al-Maḳārī*, but as the usual meanings of this word do not seem to fit the context, it is possible that it is meant for the common title *Al-Maghāzī* ("Raids").

⁶¹ The Tonk MS adds several words which are not clearly written.

⁶² This title occurs only in the Tonk MS.

Ibn Šā'id, Abū Muḥammad *Yahyā* ibn Muḥammad ibn Šā'id

He was a protégé of al-Manšūr.⁶³ His birth was ———, and he died during the year three hundred and eighteen [A.D. 930/31]. Among his books there were:

The Ordinances; Al-Musnad; [Qur'ānic] Readings.

Al-Baghawī

He was Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Baghawī, also known as Ibn bint Mīmī'. His birth was during the year two hundred and fourteen [A.D. 829/30] and he died in the year three hundred and seventeen [A.D. 929/30]. Among his books there were:

The Large Alphabetical Book; The Small Alphabetical Book;⁶⁴ Al-Musnad; The Ordinances According to the Legal Systems of the Jurists.

Al-Tirmidhī

His name was Muḥammad ibn 'Isā ibn Sawrah. Among his books there were:

History; Al-Ṣaḥīḥ (The Sound);⁶⁵ The Reasons.

Ibn Abī al-Thalj

He was Abū Bakr *Muḥammad* ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Thalj al-Kātib. He had contacts with both the elite and the ignorant.⁶⁶ The Shī'ī doctrine won him over and he was also

⁶³ Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, p. 228, says that this was Abū Ja'far al-Manšūr, who was the caliph A.D. 754-75. If that is true, the account must mean that an ancestor of Ibn Šā'id, rather than he himself, was accepted as a Muslim protégé at the time of the second 'Abbāsīd caliph.

⁶⁴ *Mu'jam* ("alphabetical") may indicate either that the material was arranged alphabetically, or else marked with diacritical points to indicate the consonants. These two books were probably legal compilations.

⁶⁵ This was one of the six authoritative collections of the Ḥadīth; see Bibliography.

⁶⁶ See n. 47.

responsible for many quotations from among the things quoted by the ignorant, with compilations according to their interpretation. He was religious, virtuous, and ascetic. We have already mentioned him before this. He died ———. Among his books there were: Ordinances and Morals according to the Doctrines of the Ignorant; Virtues, virtues of the Companions of the Prophet;⁶⁷ Selections from the Asānīd.

⁶⁷ This title is taken from MS 1934. Flügel gives simply *Virtues of the Companions*. For the following title, see n. 57.

Al-Ṭabarī and His Associates; the Shurāt and Their Jurists

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Seventh Section of the Sixth Chapter

*of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed.*¹

Al-Ṭabarī and His Associates

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm: Abū al-Faraj al-Mu'āfā ibn Zakarīyā' al-Nahrawānī stated, "He was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd ibn Khālid al-Ṭabarī al-Āmulī, the sage of his time, the leader of his period, and the jurist of his age."²

He was born at Āmul³ during the year two hundred and twenty-four [A.D. 838/39] and died during Shawwāl [tenth Muslim month] in the year three hundred and ten [A.D. 922/23] at the age of eighty-seven. He acquired knowledge of the Ḥadīth from eminent shaykhs like Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd al-Rāzī; Ibn Jurayj;⁴ Abū Kurayb; Hammād ibn Sarī; 'Abbād ibn Ya'qūb; 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ismā'il al-Habbārī; Ismā'il ibn Mūsā; 'Imrān ibn Mūsā al-Qazzāz; and Bishr ibn Mu'adh al-'Uqdī. He studied the law under Dā'ūd⁵ and

¹ In MS 1934 the phrase "Al-Ṭabarī and His Associates; the Shurāt and Their Jurists" is placed on a page by itself preceding the title of the section.

² The Flügel edition adds an extra word in this sentence, but it seems to be an error.

³ For Āmul (or A'amul) and Ṭabaristān, from which two of his names are taken, see Yāqūt, Geog., I, 68; III, 501.

⁴ In the Arabic texts the name is given as Abū Jurayj, but perhaps it should be Ibn Jurayj, who was a better-known scholar.

⁵ The Tonk MS adds al-Zāhirī; see Biog. Index, Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī.

learned the legal system of al-Shāfi'ī from al-Rabī' ibn Sulaymān in Egypt, and also from al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Za'farānī at Baghdād. He learned the legal system of Mālik [ibn Anas] from Yūnus ibn 'Abd al-A'lā and the descendants of 'Abd al-Ḥakam, who were Muḥammad, 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Sa'd;⁶ also from the sons of the brother of Wahb. He learned the legal system of the people of al-'Irāq from Abū Muqātil at al-Rayy and mastered the *asānīd*⁷ in Egypt, Syria, al-'Irāq, and at al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, and al-Rayy.

He was skilled in all of the sciences, having knowledge of the Qur'ān, grammar, poetry, language, and the law, and also having a good memory.⁸ Abū Ishāq ibn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq told me, "A trustworthy person related to me that he saw Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī in Egypt and studied with him a poem by either al-Ṭirimmāh or al-Ḥuṭay'ah. It is I who am uncertain which one it was."

I myself have seen many selections written in his handwriting [and copied] from books on language, grammar, poetry, and the tribes. He had a legal system which he selected for himself and about which he wrote a number of books, among which there are:⁹ Al-Laṭīf, about the law, which included a number of chapters like the chapters of the jurists in "Al-Mabsūṭ." The number of chapters in "Al-Laṭīf" was ———.

Al-Basīṭ, about the law, which he did not complete, but what it did include was:¹⁰ the large chapter, Conditions; Documents and Judicial Records; Wills; Training of the Judge; Ritual Purification; Prayer; The Poor Tax.

Al-Laṭīf, about the law, which includes ———.¹¹

⁶ These were grandsons, their father being 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam.

⁷ See Chap. VI, sect. 6, n. 57.

⁸ At this point the Tonk MS inserts "Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, [al-Nadīm]." The word "sciences" refers to the Muslim sciences based upon the Qur'ān.

⁹ For the books of al-Ṭabarī, see Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 423 ff. It is almost impossible to give the exact meaning of some of these book titles. *Al-laṭīf* means "gracious" or "delightful," but perhaps has the significance of "interesting." *Al-mabsūṭ* means "stretched out," with the significance of making clear. *Al-basīṭ* means "simple," but here probably should be translated as "extended," with the idea of "inclusive." For some modern editions of these books, see the Bibliography. See Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, Supplement, I, 218, which helps to explain the meaning of the titles.

¹⁰ The titles which follow in this paragraph are chapters in the book *Al-Basīṭ*.

¹¹ In MS 1934 a half page is left vacant, showing that the author of *Al-Fihrist* hoped to fill in subtitles.

The History (Al-Ta'rikh),¹² to which certain sections were added. The last event included in it was during the year three hundred and two [A.D. 914/15], at which point he stopped. A group of persons abridged this book, eliminating the mention of the authorities [on the Ḥadith]. One of them was a man known as *Muḥammad* ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥāshimī and there was also another writer known as ———, as well as, from among the people of al-Mawṣil, Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Shimshāfi*, the teacher, and a man known as al-*Salīl* ibn Aḥmad. Then [another] group appended to it [The History], continuing from where it ended to our own time. This appendix, however, cannot be relied upon, for [the men who compiled it] were not occupied either with the government or with scholarship.

The Commentary (Al-Tafsīr), better than which has never been composed. A group abridged it. Among them there were Abū Bakr ibn al-*Ikhshīd* and others in addition to him.

[Qur'ānic] Readings; Al-Khafīf (The Easy), about the law, delightful; Seeking Guidance; Correction of Traces (al-Āthār), which he did not complete, but the part included is what I mention: ———; Disagreements of the Jurists—what it included: ———.

Among His Adherents Who Were Jurists Following His Legal System¹³

Alī ibn 'Abd Al-'Aziz ibn Muḥammad al-Dawlābī

Among his books there were:

Refutation of Ibn al-Mughallas [*'Abd* Allāh ibn Aḥmad]; about "In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate"; [Qur'ānic] Readings; The Sources of Theology; Actions of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace; Second Sight; his epistle to *Naṣr* [al-Ḥājib] al-Qushūrī; his epistle to *'Alī* ibn 'Isā; his epistle to *Barbar* al-Jarmī.

Book, The Problem of Loaning Female Slaves;¹⁴ the large book, Sources, which is not extant; the small book, Sources; the medium-size book, Sources; Interpretation of a Dream; Confirmation of the Apostleship; the epistle, You Both Have Lied—this refers to the report which he quoted in (from) "Self-Discipline" (Adab al-Nufūs), about *Fāṭimah* and *'Alī*, for both of whom may there be peace, for when they complained

¹² This is the great history referred to in the footnotes as *Annales*, printed in Arabic and edited in Latin by M. J. de Goeje; see Bibliography.

¹³ Most were either pupils or associates.

¹⁴ The Tonk MS gives "diseases" instead of "loaning," evidently an error.

to the Prophet, for whom be peace, about rendering service, he said "You both have lied."

Among His Pupils Who Were Jurists Following His Legal System There Was Also Abū Bakr *Muḥammad* ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Thalj al-Kātib

Among his books there were:

The Oath; The Vow.¹⁵

Among His Pupils: Abū al-Qāsim ——— ibn al-‘Arād

Among his books there was *Research in the Law*. He also wrote a few epistles, among which there were: ———.

Among His Pupils: Abū al-Ḥasan *Aḥmad* ibn Yaḥyā ibn ‘Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr al-Munajjim

He was a theologian, mention of whom has already been made.

Among his books there were:

Introduction to the Legal System of al-Ṭabarī and the Triumph of His Legal System; Consensus of Opinion in the Law, according to the legal system of Abū Ja‘far [al-Ṭabarī].

Among the Jurists Following His Code There Was Also Abū al-Ḥasan al-Daḡiqī al-Ḥalwānī al-Ṭabarī

Among his books there were:

Conditions; Refutation of the Antagonists.

Among Them: Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Yūnus

His name was ———. He was a student of theology, about which he wrote books. His [book] about the law was *Consensus of Opinion in the Law*, which included a number of chapters.¹⁶

Among Them: Abū Bakr ibn Kāmīl

He has been mentioned in the First Chapter. Among his books about the legal system of al-Ṭabarī there were:

Compilation of the Law; Menstruation; Conditions; Founders of Pious Endowments.

¹⁵ These book titles are only in the Tonk MS.

¹⁶ The last phrase is added by the Tonk MS.

Among Them: Abū Ishāq *Ibrāhīm* ibn Ḥabīb al-Saqṭī al-Ṭabarī

He was one of the people of al-Baṣrah and he wrote a history connected with the book of Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]. It contained a great deal from the accounts of Abū Ja'far and his adherents. Among his books there were [also]:

Apostleship; Compilation of the Law.

Among Them There Was a Man Known as Ibn Idhnūbī¹⁷

His name was ———. Among his books there was *The Comprehensive* (*Al-Ḥāwī*), about the law.

Among Them There Was a Man Known as Ibn al-Ḥaddād

His name was ———. Among his books there were: ———.

Abū al-Faraj al-Mu'āfā said, "Abū Muslim al-Kajjī agreed with the ideas of Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī about the law and was of the age of Abū Ja'far."

Al-Mu'āfā al-Nahrawānī al-Qāḍī

He belongs to our own period. His name is Abū al-Faraj al-Mu'āfā ibn Zakariyā'. He is one of the people of Nahrawān and during his time is the leading adherent of the legal system of Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī],¹⁸ whose books he has memorized. He is so skilled in many sciences in which he is knowledgeable that he is often consulted about these. He is extremely intelligent, with a good memory and ability for rapid repartee. He was born during the year ———. His books about the law and other subjects up to the present time are those which I record as follows:¹⁹

The Preservation and Settlement, about the sources of the law;²⁰ Definitions and Conditions, about the sources of the law; Guidance, about the

¹⁷ Flügel suggests this form of the name, but it is uncertain, so that it is not included in the Biog. Index. The book title is only in the Tonk MS.

¹⁸ The Tonk MS has "He is the chief of his time and the unique person of his period for learning, the law, language, culture, and piety, following the legal system of Abū Ja'far, whose books he has memorized." A few other variations follow, but they do not change the meaning.

¹⁹ As al-Mu'āfā died A.D. 1000, the sixth chapter of *Al-Fihrist* was evidently written before that date.

²⁰ As the words in the manuscripts seem to differ from those in the Flügel version, but are not clearly given, the exact form of this title is not certain.

law; Explanation of the Book, "Guidance" [about the law]; Documents and Judicial Records; Explanation of the Book "Al-Khafif" (The Easy) by al-Ṭabarī; Healing, by Wiping the Feet; Answering the "Large Compilation" of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan;²¹ Answering al-Muzanī about the Legal System of al-Ṭabarī; Conditions; Refutation of al-Karkhī, about questions; Refutation of Abū Yaḥyā al-Balkhī, about the loaning of female slaves; Refutation of Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī; his epistle to al-Anbārī²² the judge about the question of wills; his book about the interpretation of the Qur'ān; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Discussion, about Arabic; epistle about the wāw (u) of 'Amr;²³ Explanation of the Book of al-Ḥarmī; epistle, 'Umar.

It has been told me that he has written more than fifty epistles about the law, theology, grammar,²⁴ and other things. Among the best of his books, other than those already mentioned, is the book *The Sitting Companion and the Pleasure Giver*. In it he mentions many virtues, amusing anecdotes, and other agreeable things.²⁵

²¹ This was evidently al-Shaybānī. The Tonk MS adds, "the associate of Abū Ḥanīfah." Flügel omits the next title and has a sequence different from that of the manuscripts.

²² This may be al-Qāsim Abū Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Anbārī or his son, Ibn al-Anbārī Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim, or someone else called al-Anbārī.

²³ At the end of the name 'Amr there is a silent *u*. In the next title, the name is uncertain. Al-Ḥarmī is taken from MS 1934. Flügel has al-Ḥazmī and the Tonk MS has al-Jarmī.

²⁴ The Tonk MS adds "disputation."

²⁵ Flügel includes the last two sentences with the text, the Tonk MS omits them, and they are added on the margin of MS 1934, very likely by some scribe, "Sitting companion" must mean one with whom a person sits and converses.

With Allāh alone there is satisfaction

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Eighth Section of the Sixth Chapter

*of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed.*¹

Jurists of the Shurāt

The books of these people are hidden, few and rarely happened upon, for the world detests them, pursuing them with hatred. They do, however, have compilations and compositions about the law and theology.

This sect is known in many localities,² among which there are 'Umān, Sijistān, the regions of Ādharbayjān, the districts of al-Sinn and al-Bawāzīj, Karkh Juddān, Tall 'Ukbarā, Ḥazzah and Shahrazūr. Among their leading jurists³ there were:

Jubayr ibn Ghālib, nicknamed Abū Firās

He was a jurist, a poet, and an eloquent speaker. Among his books there were:

Ordinances and Judicial Decisions; Judicial Decisions of the Qur'ān; Abridgment of the Law; The Large Collection of the Law; epistle to *Malik* ibn Anas.

¹ In MS 1934 the words, "With Allāh alone there is satisfaction (prosperity)" are written on a separate page preceding the title.

² For the place names see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, as follows—'Umān in Arabia: III, 717; Sijistān: III, 41; Ādharbayjān: I, 171; al-Sinn: III, 169; al-Bawāzīj: I, 750; Karkh Juddān in northern 'Irāq: IV, 255; Tall 'Ukbarā near Baghdād: I, 868; Ḥazzah, one of the two towns with that name in northern 'Irāq: II, 263; Shahrazūr in western Persia: III, 340.

³ The Tonk MS adds, "who were theologians."

Al-Qarṭalūsī

He was Abū al-Faḍl and he came from the region of Tall 'Ukbarā. He wrote many books, among which there were:

Large Compilation of the Law, which included numerous chapters like those in the books of the jurists; Small Compilation, on which his disciples rely; Shares of Inheritance; Refutation of Abū Ḥanīfah, about personal opinion; Refutation of al-Shāfi'ī, about analogy.

Among Them: Abū Bakr al-Bardha'ī

His name was *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd Allāh. When I saw him in the year three hundred and forty [A.D. 951/52] he was courteous to me, explaining the doctrine of the *i'tizāl*.⁴ He was a Khārijī, being one of their jurists. He told me that he had [written] a number of books about the law, mentioning some of them as follows:

Guidance in the Law; Refutation of Those Who Disagree about the Law; Mention of What Is Strange in the Law; Reflection for the Educated; Argument against Those Who Disagree; Compilation of the Sources of the Law; The Petition (Prayer, Al-Du'ā); The Abrogating and the Abrogated, in the Qur'ān; Al-Adhkār wa-al-Taḥkīm;⁵ The Ordinances and the Assembly; The Imamate; Refutation of the Book of Ibn al-Rāwandī about the Imamate; Prohibition of Intoxicating Liquor; Refutation of Whoever Upholds Temporary Marriage; Those Who Break Their Word; Oaths and Vows.

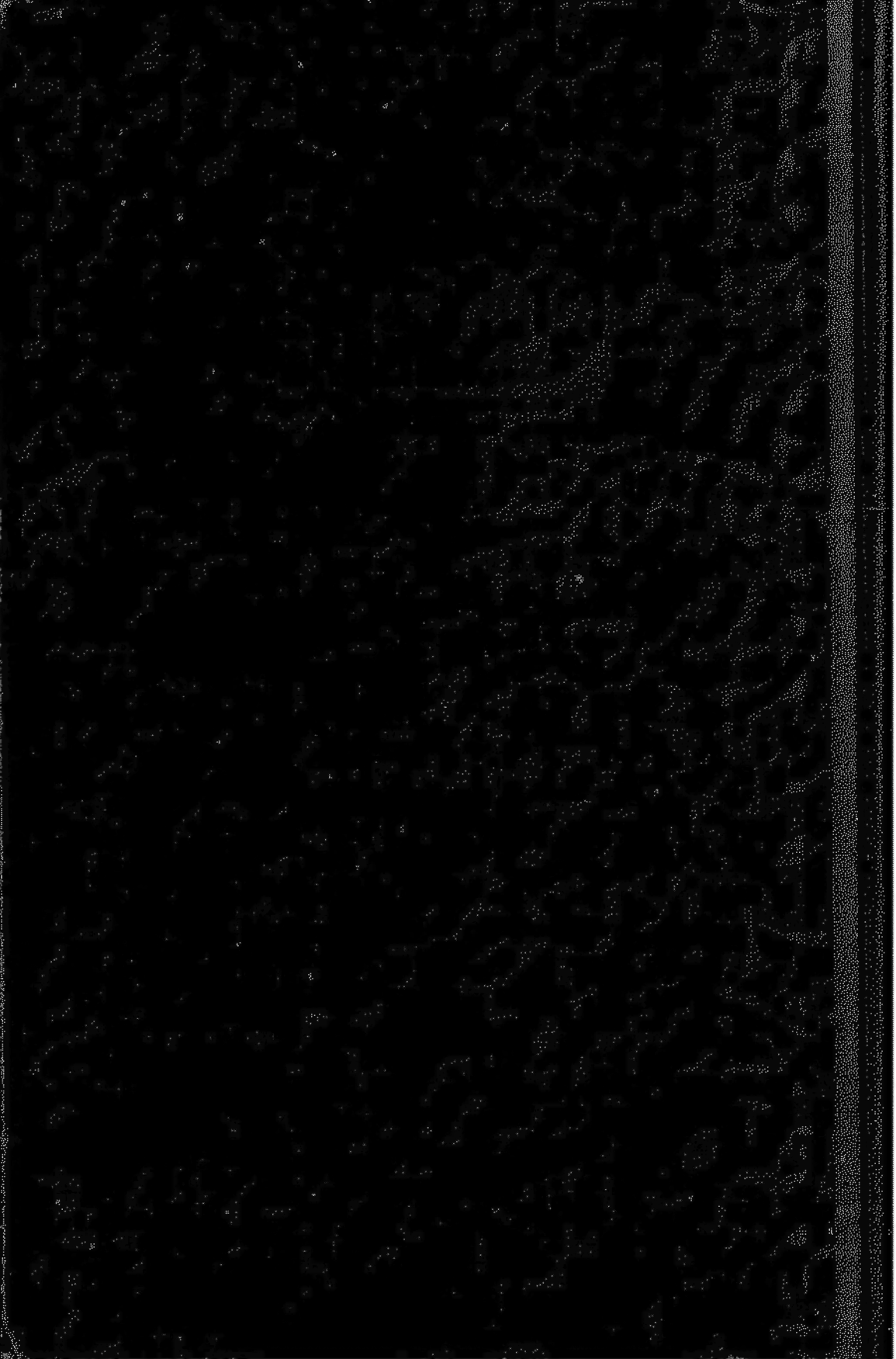
Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥadīthī

When I saw him he was ascetic, outwardly humble, not appearing to be a member of his sect. He was, however, one of the important men among the Shurāt, as well as among their jurists. From his books there were:

Compilation of the Law; The Judgments of Allāh, Exalted and Magnified; The Imamate; The Promise and the Threat; Prohibition and Making Lawful; Leaving Judgment to Allāh, Magnified Be His Name.

⁴ This was the doctrine of the Mu'tazilī theologians. See Chap. V of *Al-Fihrist*.

⁵ *Al-adhkār* means mentioning the name of God. It might be instead *al-idhkār* ("remembering"). *Al-taḥkīm* means restraining from wrongdoing, and also assigning judgment to Allāh.



The Fihrist of al-Nadim

IN TWO VOLUMES

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*Bayard Dodge is President Emeritus of
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The Fihrist of al-Nadīm

The Seventh Part

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the ancient and modern scholars, who were authors, with the names of the books they composed. The composition of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, known as Abū al-Faraj ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Warrāq.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Seventh Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, which includes accounts of the philosophers, the ancient sciences, and the books composed about them, in three sections.

The First Section

with accounts of the philosophers of the natural sciences and of logic, with the names of their books and translations of these [books] and explanations about them: Which of them are extant, which have been recorded but are no longer extant, and which of them used to exist, but have later disappeared.¹

¹ The title follows MS 1934. The first few lines, "The Seventh Part . . . known as Abū al-Faraj ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Warrāq," are on a separate page in the manuscript. The phrase "an imitation of the handwriting of the author, His servant, Muḥammad ibn Ishāq" is written under this heading, on the left-hand side of the page. "The chapter of philosophers of the book *Al-Fihrist*" is written on the right-hand side. In MS 1135, the title for Chapter VII is erroneously given as "The Second Section." There are not many variations in wording between MSS 1135 and 1934, but the latter seems to be more accurate. See the Introduction for the parts of *Al-Fihrist* covered by the various manuscripts.

Statements at the Beginning of the Chapter [Quoted] from the Scholars in Their Own Words

Abū Sahl [al-*Faḍl*] ibn Nawbakht said in the book *Two Things Seized Upon*:²

The types of sciences, the kinds of books, and the forms of questions have increased, as have the sources from which things indicated by the stars are derived. This [increase] was from what existed before the reasons [for these things] were made clear, and human knowledge about them was described by the Babylonians in their books, learned from them [the Babylonians] by the Egyptians, and applied by the Indians in their country.

These things dealt with the original created beings, their defilement³ by evil, their commission of sins, and their falling into such depths of ignorance that their minds became confused and their visions made to err. For as mentioned in the books about their affairs and actions, things reached a point at which their minds were perplexed, their visions confused and their religion destroyed. Thus they became bewildered and erring, understanding nothing.

They [the original created beings] remained in this state for a period of time until some of their successors coming after them, their offspring and the seed of their loins, obtained help in remembering, understanding, and perceiving phenomena.⁴ [They also received] knowledge of the past about the circumstances of the world, about its condition, the directing of its origin, the arrival at its intermediate status, and the issue at its end. [They also learned about] the condition of the inhabitants, and the positions of the heavenly bodies and their routes, degrees, minutes, and stations, both high and low, and with their courses and all of their directions. This was the period of Jam ibn Awijhān, the king.⁵

The scholars were acquainted with this learning, recording it in books and explaining what they wrote down. Together with this recording they described the world, its grandeur, the origin of its causes, its foundation, its stars, kinds of drugs, remedies, charms, and other things which

² See Chap. VII, sect. 2, n. 67.

³ Flügel gives *muqārafah* ("defilement"), probably correct, although the manuscripts give *mufāraqah* ("separation").

⁴ Literally, "these matters."

⁵ This was a legendary king of Persia. He was called *Jamshīd* ibn Tahmūras ibn Hūshang (Awijhān).

are devices for people and which they describe as suitable to their wants, both good and bad. Thus they continued for a period of time, until the reign of al-*Ḍaḥḥāk* ibn Qayy (Kai).

From other than the words of Abū Sahl, it is said, “‘*Dah āk*’ means ‘ten vices,’ but the Arabs turned it into al-*Ḍaḥḥāk*.” We now return to the words of Abū Sahl:

[Al-*Ḍaḥḥāk*] ibn Qayy, during the season (share) of Jupiter and his period, turn, dominion, and power in controlling the years, built a city in al-Sawād,⁶ the name of which was derived from that of Jupiter. He gathered into it the science of the scholars and built there twelve palaces, according to the number of the signs of the zodiac, calling them by the names [of these signs]. He stored the scholars’ books in them and caused the scholars themselves to live in them.

From other than the words of Abū Sahl: “He built seven shrines, according to the number of the seven stars, assigning each of these dwellings to a [wise] man.⁷ The Shrine of Mercury he assigned to *Hermes*, the Shrine of Jupiter to *Tīnkālūs*, and the Shrine of Mars to *Tīnqarūs*.”⁸

We return to the words of Abū Sahl:

The people obeyed them [the seven wise men] and were submissive to their command, so that they managed their affairs. They [the people] appreciated their superiority over them in different forms of learning and modes of living, until a prophet was sent during that period. Because of his appearance and what reached them about his mission, they refused the wisdom [of the seven wise men]. Many of their ideas became confused, their cause was broken up, and there were differences regarding their aims and coming together. So each of the wise men sought a city in which to dwell, so as to become a leader of its people.

⁶ Al-Sawād here signifies ancient Chaldea. The city was Babylon; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 448 l. 12, 449 l. 14.

⁷ The seven shrines of Babylon were almost certainly seven small temples inside a sacred enclosure, consecrated to the sun, the moon, and the five known planets. They very likely formed a semicircle facing the ziggurat. Cf. the 12 shrines in the sacred enclosure at Harrān as described in Chap. IX, sect. 1, n. 50, and the 12 shrines at Sumatar as described by Segal, *Anatolian Studies*, III (1953), 97–103, 107.

⁸ *Hermes* is evidently Trismegistus. Nakosteen, p. 218, spells the next two wise men “Tingrous” and “Tuklous.” For these two, see Chap. VII, sect. 2, n. 30.

Among them there was a wise man named *Hermes*. He was the most thoroughly intelligent, the most strikingly wise, and the most refined in discernment among them. He went to the land of Egypt, where he ruled over the inhabitants, making the land prosperous, improving the conditions of the people, and manifesting his wisdom among them.

This situation lasted, in Babylon in particular, until *Alexander*, the king of the Greeks, set forth from a city of the Greeks named Macedonia to invade Persia. Then when he [*Darius III*] refused to pay the tribute still imposed upon the people of Babylon and the kingdom of Persia, he [*Alexander*] killed him, *Dārā ibn Dārā* the king [*Darius III*], taking possession of his kingdom, destroying his cities, and razing the ramparts built by devils and giants.⁹ His destruction [ruined] whatever there was in the different buildings of scientific material, whether inscribed on stone or wood, and with this demolition there were conflagrations, with scattering of the books. Such of these things, however, as were gathered in collections and libraries in the city of *Iṣṭakhr*¹⁰ he had transcribed and translated into the Greek and Coptic tongues. Then, after he had finished copying what he had need of, he burned the material written in Persian. But there was a book called *Al-Kushtaj*¹¹ from which he took what he needed of the science of the stars, as well as of medicine and the natural sciences. This book and the scientific material, riches, and treasures which he hit upon, together with the scholars, he sent to the land of Egypt.

In the regions of India and China there were left some things which the kings of Persia had copied at the time of their prophet *Zoroaster* and the wise man *Jāmāsb*. They cared for them in those places, as their prophet *Zoroaster* and *Jāmāsb* had warned them of the actions of *Alexander*, with his conquest of their land and destruction of as many of their books and scientific materials as possible, and of his transferring them to his own country.

After that, learning was wiped out and torn to pieces in al-*ʿIrāq*, while the scholars disagreed and decreased in number and the people became the exponents of partisanship and division. For each of their sects there was a king. They called them [the kings] the Kings of the Tribes.¹²

⁹ This refers to *Alexander's* invasion of Persia and overcoming of *Darius III*. The translation is a free one, as the Arabic text is difficult to render literally.

¹⁰ This was ancient *Persepolis*; see Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 294-95; *Yāqūt, Geog.*, I, 299.

¹¹ This may come from the Persian *kustaj* ("palm fibers"). See Flügel edition of *Al-Fihrist*, p. 13 nn. 7, 10.

¹² For the Kings of the Tribes, see the Glossary.

After the division, disagreement and quarreling which they had before the time of King Alexander, the rule¹³ of the Greeks formed one kingdom. Thus they became one force, whereas the regime of Babylon continued to be broken, weakened, and corrupted. Her people continued to be oppressed and subjugated, unable to prevent lawlessness or to ward off injury, until the reign of *Ardashīr* ibn Bābak of the lineage of Sāsān. He changed their disagreements into unity, joining together their divisions and conquering their enemies. He became master of their land, seizing for himself the rule over them. Thus he did away with their schisms, assuming for himself the sovereignty. Then he sent to India and China for the books in those directions, and also to the Greeks. He copied whatever was safeguarded with them, even seeking for the little that remained in al-ʿIrāq. Thus he collected what was scattered, gathering together the things dispersed.¹⁴

Shāpūr, his son, followed his example, so that there were transcribed into Persian all of those books, such as the ones of *Hermes* the Babylonian, who ruled Egypt; *Dorotheus* the Syrian; *Phaedrus* the Greek from the city of Athens, famous for learning; *Ptolemy* [*Ptolemaeus Alexandrinus*]; and *Farmāsib* the Indian.¹⁵ They explained them [the books], teaching the people about them in the same way that they learned from all of those books, which originated in Babylon.

Then after the time of these two [*Ardashīr* and *Shāpūr*] there appeared *Chosroes Anūshirwān*, who collected, edited, and worked over them [the books] because of his interest in learning and his love for it. Thus for the people of every time and age there is new experience and a renewal of scholarship as foreordained by the stars of the zodiac, which is the master of time's destiny as commanded by Allāh, exalted be His majesty. Here ends the account of *Abū Sahl* [*al-Faḍl* ibn *Nawbakht*].

¹³ Although the Flügel version has the plural form "kings" (*mulūk*), MS 1934 has the singular "rule" (*mulk*). The words translated "formed one kingdom" are literally "assembled to one kingdom."

¹⁴ For the disturbed period of history at the end of the Parthian period and the restoration by *Ardashīr* the Sāsānian, see Sykes, *History of Persia*, I, 410–30.

¹⁵ Instead of *Farmāsib*, *Ṭabarī*, *Annales*, Part I, pp. 1052 n. b, 1053 l. 10, give *Farmīsha*. Gutschmid, *ZDMG*, XXXIV (1880), 746, sect. 371, suggests *Pulukēsha*. This name is not included in the Biog. Index, as the identification is uncertain. The name should also be compared with *Pulakesin* I, founder of the *Chalukya* Dynasty in India, A.D. 550 (see "Chalukya," *Enc. Brit.*, V, 812), and with *Vikramaditya* (see "India," *Enc. Brit.*, XIV, 399). As translation from Indian into Persian and then from Persian into Arabic involved difficulties of transliteration, the names were inevitably confused.

Ishāq al-Rāhib relates in his history that when *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who was one of the kings of Alexandria, reigned, he made a search for books of learning, placing a man named *Zamīrah*¹⁶ in charge. According to what is related, he collected fifty-four thousand one hundred and twenty books. Then he said, "Oh, King, there are still a great many more [books] in the world, in *Ṣind*, India, Persia, Georgia, Armenia, Babylon, al-Mawṣil, and among the Greeks."

Another Account

Abū Ma'shar [Ja'far ibn Muḥammad] said in his book about the variations of astronomical tables:¹⁷

Because of their care in preserving [the books about] the sciences, their eagerness to make them endure throughout the ages, and their guarding them from celestial happenings and earthly damages, the kings of Persia actually chose for them the writing material¹⁸ which was the most durable in case of accident, the longest lasting in time, and the least prone to decay or effacement. This [writing material] was the bark of the white poplar tree, the bark being called *tūz*. The peoples of India, China, and the neighboring countries imitated them. They also selected this [material] for their bows with which they shot, because of its hardness, smoothness, and durability in the bows during a long period of time.

Then, after they [the kings of Persia] had obtained the best writing materials in the world to preserve their sciences, they desired [to store the books about] them in the place which among all of the regions of the earth and the towns of the provinces had the cleanest soil and the least amount of decay, being also the furthest removed from earthquakes and eclipses, as well as possessing the most cohesive clay with the quality of construction, which would endure the longest throughout the ages. After they had made a complete survey of the lands and regions of their kingdom, they were unable to find under the vault of the heavens any place

¹⁶ This is probably a misspelling for Demetrius Phalereus. The erroneous spelling is in all of the versions of *Al-Fihrist*, so that the name was evidently copied from an older source. The Arabic *z m ī r* (*Zamīrah*) and *d m t r* (*Demetrius*) might easily be confused.

¹⁷ The great astronomer Abū Ma'shar wrote numerous books about the astronomical tables; see Chap. VII, sect. 2, near n. 87, and the titles of Qisṭī, pp. 152-54.

¹⁸ The Arabic word translated "writing material" is *makātib*, a plural form. It usually means "schools." *Tūz shajar al-khadank* is the inner bark of the *khadang* or white poplar tree. As a rule it was used for wrapping bow strings.

possessing these advantages to a greater extent than did Iṣbahān.¹⁹ Then as they examined the districts of this locality, they did not find any spot in it that could excel Rustāq Jayy.²⁰ Furthermore, in Rustāq Jayy they did not find any place more completely like what they desired than the locality in which, later on, the city of Jayy was marked out during the time of *Dāhir*.

Then they went to the *quhunduz*,²¹ which is inside the city of Jayy, to make it the depository for their sciences. This [depository] was called *Sārwayh* (*Sārūyah*)²² and it has lasted until our own time. In regard to this building, the people knew²³ who the builder was, because many years before our time a side [of the building] became ruined. Then they found a vault in the cleft-off side, built without mortar, and in which they discovered many books of the ancients, written on white poplar bark (*tūz*) and containing all of the sciences of the forefathers written in the old Persian form of writing.

Some of these books came into the possession of a man interested in them. Upon reading them, he found among them a book related to the ancient kings of Persia. In it it was mentioned that *Ṭahmūrath*, the king who loved the sciences and scholars, was forewarned of an atmospheric phenomenon in the west, in the form of a series of rains which were to be excessive in both duration and abundance,²⁴ surpassing the [normal] limit.

From the first day of the years of his reign, to the first day when this phenomenon in the west began, was two hundred and thirty-one years and three hundred days. From the beginning of his reign the astrologers led him to fear that this occurrence might pass from the west to the eastern regions. So he ordered the engineers to reach an agreement for the selecting of the best place in the kingdom, with regards to soil and atmosphere. They chose for him the site of the building which is known as *Sārwayh* and still exists at the present time within the city of Jayy.²⁵ So he commanded the construction of this well-guarded building. When it was

¹⁹ Unlike the other versions, the Flügel edition has Iṣfahān.

²⁰ Jayy was an old town near Iṣbahān, also called Shahrastān. Rustāq signified a military encampment. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 181; III, 342 bottom; IV, 452, 1045 l. 9.

²¹ This was the Persian name for a fortress inside a city.

²² The fortress called by Zoroastrians *Jem-gird* and later *Sruwa*, famous as the building where early Persian records were discovered; see "Isfahān," *Enc. Brit.*, XIV, 869.

²³ The Tonk MS has a variation from *darā* ("knew").

²⁴ The manuscripts give *al-dawn*, whereas Flügel has *al-dāwām*; both forms mean "abundance." There are unimportant other variations.

²⁵ For the proper names, see nn. 20, 22.

completed there was moved to it from his libraries a great deal of scientific material of various sorts, copied for him on white poplar bark (*tūz*) and placed in a part of the building so that it might be preserved for mankind until after the phenomenon should come to an end.

There was in it [the building] a book which was related to some of the ancient sages and which contained [knowledge of] the years and known cycles for deriving the intermediate positions of the stars and the reasons for their motions. The people of the time of Ṭahmūrath and those who lived earlier than they did in Persia called these the cycles of thousands (*adwār al-hazārāt*). The wise men, the kings of India who were on the face of the earth, the former kings of Persia,²⁶ and the ancient Chaldeans, who were tent dwellers belonging to the earliest Babylonian period, reckoned the intermediate positions of the seven stars from these years and cycles.²⁷ He [the king] gave special care to this [book] from among the astronomical tables of his time, because he and his contemporaries found upon examination that it was the best and briefest. The astrologers of the period, therefore, derived from it the astronomical tables, which they called the *Astronomical Tables of al-Shahriyār*.

This is the end of the statement of Abū Ma'shar.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: A reliable authority once told me that during the year three hundred and fifty after the Hijrah [A.D. 961/62], another vaulted building cracked open. As it had appeared solid on the surface, the location [of the books] did not become known until after it had become a ruin. Many books were discovered in this place, but nobody found out how to read them.

A thing which I saw and witnessed myself was [the occurrence] when, some time after the year forty [A.D. 951/52],²⁸ Abū al-Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd sent here some torn books which he had found at Iṣbahān, in boxes in the wall of the city. As they were in Greek, suitable authorities like Yuḥannā [al-Qass] and others deciphered their contents, [which dealt] with the names of the troops and the amounts of their wages. The books had the worst possible stench, as bad as though the skins had been freshly tanned. But after they

²⁶ The words "wise men" and "of Persia" are found only in the Flügel edition.

²⁷ The seven stars probably refer to the sun, moon, and five known planets.

²⁸ As al-Nadīm was young at this time, he probably saw the books somewhat later, after they had been brought to Baghdād for translation.

had been at Baghdād for a time they dried and changed, so that the smell left them. Even at the present time some of them are with our shaykh, Abū Sulaymān [*Muḥammad* ibn Bahrām]. It is said that the Sārwayh²⁹ is one of the solid ancient buildings, with such marvellous construction that it is compared in the East with the pyramids, which are in Egypt in the land of the West, both in magnificence and wonder of structure.

Another Account

In ancient times learning was forbidden, except for those who were scholars³⁰ or known to be able to receive it [learning] by natural genius. Philosophers examined the times of birth of those who sought learning and philosophy. If it was ascertained that a person when born was endowed with it [the genius for learning and philosophy] at birth, they enlisted his services, imparting to him learning, but if not, then no.

Philosophy appeared among the Greeks and Romans before the religious code of the Messiah, for whom be peace. When the Byzantines became Christians, they prohibited it. Some of the books about it they burned, but some they treasured. They, moreover, prevented people from speaking about anything in philosophy which was opposed to the prophetic doctrine. Then, later, the Byzantines returned to the schools of philosophical thought. This was due to the Byzantine king *Julian*,³¹ who used to stay at Antioch and whose minister was *Themistius*, the commentator on the books of Aristotle.³²

When *Shāpūr* dhū al-Aktāf [*Shāpūr* II] sought him [*Julian*] out, he was overcome by *Julian*. This was either in battle, or else it is

²⁹ See n. 22.

³⁰ Literally, "from its people."

³¹ In the Arabic it is *Liyūliyanus*, a corruption for *Ayūliānus*, derived from the Greek name for the Emperor *Julian*.

³² The following story is evidently quoted from an old legend about *Shāpūr* II. In the legend, *Shāpūr* II traveled into the Byzantine Empire in disguise, was recognized and imprisoned, but freed by a girl. He returned to the city *Jundī-Shāpūr* in time to defeat the invading Byzantine emperor, *Julian*. For this story, see *Firdawsī, Shahnama*, VI, 337 ff; *Sykes, History of Persia*, I, 444 ff; "*Shāpūr*," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 314-15.

said because Shāpūr was recognized and caught when he went to the Byzantine country to seize its rule. The accounts about this are confused. Julian invaded Persia, coming to Jundī-Shāpūr,³³ where until our own day there is a breach known as the Breach of the Byzantines. When the chiefs of the Persians, the cavalry leaders, and the rest of the king's guard arrived, the attack against it [Jundī-Shāpūr] became prolonged. Entering it was difficult.

Shāpūr had been imprisoned in the Byzantine country, in the palace of Julian, whose girl (daughter) fell in love with him and released him. He secretly crossed the land until, reaching Jundī-Shāpūr, he entered it. Then the spirits of his companions who were there were so revived that they immediately set forth to attack the Byzantines, regarding the rescue of Shāpūr as a good omen. They took Julian prisoner and killed him, so that the Byzantines were disrupted.

Constantine the Great³⁴ was in the host of the army, but the Byzantines differed as to whom they should make their ruler, being weak from their lack of support for him. As Shāpūr was solicitous for Constantine [Jovian] and his succession [to rule] over the Byzantines, for his sake he was kind to them, arranging for them a means of withdrawing from his [Shāpūr's] country. This, however, was on condition that Constantine [Jovian] would make an

³³ Jundī-Shāpūr (Jundaysābūr) became a center of learning when, in A.D. 489, the Emperor Zeno closed the school at Edessa and King Kobad of Persia gave some of the professors refuge. Then, when the Neo-Platonist school at Athens was closed, A.D. 529, King Chosroes Anūshirwān gave a number of the philosophers his patronage in Persia. As Jundī-Shāpūr was the center of these émigrés, it became a point of exchange for the learning of Persia, India, Greece, Rome, and Syria. Scholars from there contributed a knowledge of science to the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, as accounts in this chapter of *Al-Fihrist* explain. The city fell into ruin, but before he died in 1963, Dr. Allen O. Whipple identified its site in Southern Persia. For the history of this city, see Campbell, *Arabian Medicine and Its Influence in the Middle Ages*, I, 46; Sarton, I, 435; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 130; Whipple, *Annals of Medical History*, New Ser., 8 (July 1936), pp. 313-23; "Djundai-Sābūr," *Enc. Islam*, I, 1064.

³⁴ This is an obvious mistake. The king referred to was of course not Constantine but Jovian, who was with the Byzantine army in Persia when Julian was killed. Because of the collapse of morale caused by Julian's death, Jovian was obliged to make an ignominious peace. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 615. It was Jovian who re-established Christianity as the state religion in the Byzantine Empire, after the pagan regime of Julian the Apostate.

olive tree to grow in the place of each palm tree cut down in al-Sawād³⁵ and in his domains and, also, that he would send him Byzantines to build up what Julian had destroyed when he moved the war equipment from the Byzantine country.³⁶ He kept his pledge with him. Christianity, moreover, returned to its [former] status, the prohibition of philosophical books and the treasuring of them being renewed in the form that it is in at the present time.

In ancient times the Persians translated portions of books about logic and medicine into Persian. Then, later, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffā' and others translated this material into Arabic.

Another Account

Khālīd ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwīyah was called the "Wise Man of the Family of *Marwān*." He was inherently virtuous, with an interest in and fondness for the sciences. As the Art [alchemy] attracted his attention, he ordered a group of Greek philosophers who were living in a city of Egypt to come to him. Because he was concerned with literary Arabic, he commanded them to translate the books about the Art from the Greek and Coptic languages into Arabic. This was the first translation in Islām from one language into another.

Then at the time of al-*Ḥajjāj* [ibn Yūsuf] the registers, which were in Persian, were translated into Arabic.³⁷ The person who translated them was *Ṣāliḥ* ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, a protégé of the Banū Tamīm.³⁸ The father of *Ṣāliḥ* was one of the prisoners from Sijistān.³⁹ He [*Ṣāliḥ*] used to write for *Zād Infarrūkh* ibn Yabrā, the secretary of al-*Ḥajjāj*, doing his writing in Persian and Arabic under his supervision. As al-*Ḥajjāj* grew to like him, *Ṣāliḥ* said to *Zād Infarrūkh*, "You are my contact with the governor, who I notice has come to like me. I am not sure, but he may raise me

³⁵ This was similar to ancient Chaldaea.

³⁶ Probably this refers to moving stores and equipment into the enemy's territory, so that he could pillage for supplies and destroy obstacles to his military movements.

³⁷ This account should be compared with Balādhuri, *Origins*, p. 465 ff. When the Muslims first conquered the eastern provinces, they used Persian for the tax accounts and government records.

³⁸ See "Tamīm," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 643. Only the Flügel edition includes "Banū."

³⁹ During the year A.D. 650/51 al-Rabī' ibn Ziyād invaded Sijistān, taking many prisoners; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 728 l. 18.

above you, so that you will lose your position." He [Zād Infarrūkh] replied, "Do not imagine that, for he is more in need of me than I am of him. There is nobody except myself who is satisfactory for keeping his records." Then he [Ṣāliḥ] said, "By Allāh, if he wishes to change the accounts into Arabic, I will change them." So he [Zād Infarrūkh] said, "Change some lines for me to see." This he did. Then it was said to him, "Feign sick, feign sick."⁴⁰ When al-Ḥajjāj sent him his physician, Theodorus,⁴¹ he found that he had no illness. This reached Zād Infarrūkh, who ordered him to appear [back at work].

It happened, during the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath, that as Zād Infarrūkh was leaving some place to go to his house, he was killed. Then al-Ḥajjāj appointed Ṣāliḥ to be the secretary in his place. When he [Ṣāliḥ] told him about what had taken place between his associate and himself in connection with the translation of the records, al-Ḥajjāj decided upon the plan [to translate the records into Arabic], making Ṣāliḥ responsible for it.

Mardān Shāh ibn Zād Infarrūkh then said to him [Ṣāliḥ], "What will you do with *dahwīyah* and *shashwīyah*?" He replied, "I shall write *'ushr* (ten) and *nusf 'ushr* (half of ten)." Then he [Mardān Shāh] said, "How will you deal with *al-wīd*?" He answered, "I shall write *wa-ayḍān* (and likewise)." Then he went on to say, "*Al-wīd*, *al-nayf*, and *al-ziyādah* signify 'something more (increase).'" He [Mardān Shāh] retorted to him, "May Allāh cut off your seed from the earth, as you have cut off the basis of Persian!"⁴²

The Persians offered him [Ṣāliḥ] one hundred thousand silver coins (s., *dirham*) on condition that he would appear to be incapable of translating the records. But refusing to give up the translation, he

⁴⁰ The Arabic text, as translated in Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 465, indicates that Zād Infarrūkh said "feign sick." But it is more reasonable to believe that the friends of Ṣāliḥ told him to pretend illness so as to escape the anger and jealousy of Zād Infarrūkh.

⁴¹ This name seems to be a mistake. *Theodocus* was the name of al-Ḥajjāj's physician.

⁴² Cf. Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 466. Mardān Shāh hoped to succeed his father as the secretary, using Persian. He was jealous when Ṣāliḥ persuaded the governor to use Arabic for the records and accounts, making his own knowledge of Persian unnecessary. For this and the next sentence, see Flügel edition, p. 242, nn. 7, 8.

actually did translate them. 'Abd al-Ḥamid ibn Yaḥyā said, "What an excellent man Ṣāliḥ is! How great is his graciousness to the secretaries!" Al-Ḥajjāj, moreover, honored him greatly.

The records at Damascus were in Greek. The man who kept them in writing for Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān was Sarjūn (Sergius) ibn Maṣṣūr; later it was Maṣṣūr ibn Sarjūn. The records were translated during the time of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik.⁴³ Abū Thābit Sulaymān ibn Sa'd, a protégé of al-Ḥusayn, translated them. He was in charge of the correspondence during the days of 'Abd al-Malik. It has [also] been said that the records were translated during the time of 'Abd al-Malik. When he asked Sarjūn to do some of the work, he desisted from it. This angered 'Abd al-Malik, so that he consulted Sulaymān, who said to him, "I will translate the records (*diwān*) and be responsible for them."⁴⁴

Mention of the Reason Why Books on Philosophy and Other Ancient Sciences Became Plentiful in This Country⁴⁵

One of the reasons for this was that al-Ma'mūn saw in a dream the likeness of a man white in color, with a ruddy complexion, broad forehead, joined eyebrows, bald head, bloodshot eyes, and good qualities sitting on his bed. Al-Ma'mūn related, "It was as though I was in front of him, filled with fear of him. Then I said, 'Who are you?' He replied, 'I am Aristotle.' Then I was delighted with him and said, 'Oh sage, may I ask you a question?' He said, 'Ask it.' Then I asked, 'What is good?' He replied, 'What is good in the mind.' I said again, 'Then what is next?' He answered, 'What is good in the law.' I said, 'Then what next?' He replied, 'What is good with the public.' I said, 'Then what more?' He answered, 'More? There is no more.'" According to another quotation: "I [al-Ma'mūn] said, 'Give me something more!' He

⁴³ The Tonk MS omits part of the sentence. It is not certain who al-Ḥusayn was. Compare this account with Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 301 ff.

⁴⁴ Literally, "I will translate the records and undertake them."

⁴⁵ Compare this account with Qifī, p. 29, which gives variations. The Arabic text uses "said" throughout, but to make the passage readable, other words are substituted. In the first sentence of the following paragraph, MS 1934 omits "color" and gives "eye" in the singular.

[Aristotle] replied, 'Whosoever gives you advice about gold, let him be for you like gold; and for you is oneness [of Allāh].'"⁴⁶

This dream was one of the most definite reasons for the output of books. Between al-Ma'mūn and the Byzantine emperor there was correspondence, for al-Ma'mūn had sought aid opposing him.⁴⁷ Then he wrote to the Byzantine emperor⁴⁸ asking his permission to obtain a selection of old scientific [manuscripts], stored and treasured in the Byzantine country. After first refusing, he complied with this. Accordingly, al-Ma'mūn sent forth a group of men, among whom were al-*Hajjāj* ibn Maṭar; Ibn al-*Baṭriq*; *Salmān*, the director of the Bayt al-*Hikmah*; and others besides them. They brought the books selected from what they had found. Upon bringing them to him [al-Ma'mūn], he ordered them to translate [the manuscripts], so that they made the translation.

It was said that Yūḥannā ibn *Māsawayh* was one of those who went to the Byzantine country. Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-*Nadīm*]: Among those who were concerned with the bringing of books from the Byzantine country there were *Muḥammad*, *Aḥmad*, and al-*Ḥasan*, the grandsons of Shākir al-Munajjim.⁴⁹ There will follow an account about them and their liberality with gifts, sending *Hunayn* ibn Ishāq and others to the Byzantine country to bring them rare books and unusual compositions about philosophy, geometry, music, arithmetic, and medicine. *Qusṭā* ibn Lūqā al-Ba'labakkī also brought some material with him, which he translated, it also being

⁴⁶ This whole conversation between al-Ma'mūn and Aristotle endorses the idea that reason (good in the mind) and revelation (good in the law) can be combined for the good of the public. As al-Ma'mūn shocked the orthodox authorities by upholding Greek science and the rationalistic tenets of the Mu'tazilah, he needed endorsement of this kind. In the final sentence of this paragraph, there is a play on the word *dhahab*, which means "gold," but also gives the connotation of adopting a doctrine, such as that of the Mu'tazilah. The oneness of Allāh evidently refers to the Mu'tazilah, who were called the People of Justice and Oneness.

⁴⁷ "Had sought aid opposing him" (*istazhar 'alā*) is perhaps literally "had overcome him." But it was not until the end of his reign that al-Ma'mūn started a war which resulted in defeat for the Byzantines. Qiftī, p. 29, gives the form "exalted himself over him."

⁴⁸ He was Leo the Armenian. See Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 359; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 310.

⁴⁹ See *Muḥammad* ibn Mūsā ibn Shākir, *Aḥmad* ibn Mūsā ibn Shākir, and al-*Ḥasan* ibn Mūsā ibn Shākir in the Biog. Index.

translated for him. Abū Sulaymān al-Mantiqī al-Sijistānī [Muḥammad ibn Bahrām] said that the sons of al-Munajjim [Banū Mūsā] supported a group of translators, among whom there were Hunayn ibn Ishāq, Ḥubaysh ibn al-Ḥasan, Thābit ibn Qurrah, and others besides them. Each month the translation and maintenance amounted to about five hundred gold coins (s., *dīnār*).⁵⁰

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: I heard Abū Ishāq ibn Shahrām tell in a general gathering that there is in the Byzantine country a temple of ancient construction.⁵¹ It has a portal larger than any other ever seen with both gates made of iron. In ancient times, when they worshipped heavenly bodies and idols, the Greeks exalted this [temple], praying and sacrificing in it. He [Ibn Shahrām] said, "I asked the emperor of the Byzantines to open it for me, but this was impossible, as it had been locked since the time that the Byzantines had become Christians. I continued, however, to be courteous to him, to correspond with him, and also to entreat him in conversation during my stay at his court."

He [Ibn Shahrām] said, "He agreed to open it and, behold, this building was made of marble and great colored stones, upon which there were many beautiful inscriptions and sculptures. I have never seen or heard of anything equaling its vastness and beauty. In this temple there were numerous camel loads of ancient books." He exaggerated to the extent of a thousand camel [loads]. "Some of these [books] were worn and some in normal condition. Others were eaten by insects." Then he said, "I saw there gold offering utensils and other rare things." He went on to say, "After my exit the door was locked, causing me to feel embarrassed because of the

⁵⁰ For the translators, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 310 ff; O'Leary, *How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs*, pp. 163-75.

⁵¹ According to Shujā' and Smith (below), Ibn Shahrām was sent as an envoy to Basil II, the emperor at Constantinople, by 'Aḍud al-Dawlah. As Basil II ruled A.D. 976-1025, and 'Aḍud al-Dawlah ruled A.D. 949-83, it seems this event must have taken place between 976 and 983. On the other hand, *Al-Fihrist* says, in the following paragraph, "That was during the days of Sayf al-Dawlah," who ruled at Aleppo as a member of the Ḥamdān Dynasty, A.D. 944-67. Either there is a mistake, or else Ibn Shahrām was sent to Constantinople on two occasions. For dates and further details, see Shujā', VI, 23 (29); Smith, *GRBM*, I, 469.

favor shown me." He said, "That was during the days of *Sayf al-Dawlah*." He believed that the building was a three-day journey from Constantinople. The people of the district were a group of Chaldean Šābians, whom the Byzantines left alone in connection with their doctrines, but they collected tribute from them.⁵²

The Names of the Translators from [Foreign] Languages into the Arabic Tongue⁵³

Stephen al-Qadīm, who translated books on the Art [alchemy] and other subjects for *Khālīd ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwīyah*.

Al-Baṭrīq, who was contemporary with *al-Manṣūr*, who ordered him to translate some of the ancient books.

His son, *Abū Zakarīyā' Yaḥyā ibn al-Baṭrīq*, who belonged to the group of *al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl*.

Al-Ḥajjāj [ibn Yūsuf] ibn Maṭar, who interpreted for *al-Ma'mūn* and was the person who translated the *Almagest* and Euclid.

⁵² It is probable that Ibn Shahrām journeyed by sea. In that case the building was very likely three days by boat from Constantinople, near Ephesus or Miletus. By the tenth century, the great temple of Apollo Didymaeus at Branchidae near Miletus and the famous library at Perganum were almost certainly in ruins. It is likely, therefore, that this library was a second-century building at Ephesus with the famous temple of Diana nearby. The library at least may have been in fairly good condition. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, I, 584 and II, 1583, describes this library: "The most famous of all the gifts to Ephesus during this period was perhaps the great library dedicated to the memory of Tiberius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus, a native of the city, who after having held various administrative posts, had been proconsul of Asia [about A.D. 106]. The building was erected and endowed in the early second century by Polemaeanus' son and completed by the latter's heirs. Contemporary with it was another large structure, fronting on one of the streets leading to the harbor and consisting of a great hall with a room at either end, which has been regarded as either the Mouseion . . . or a sort of bazaar."

For the Chaldean Šābians, see "Šābians" in Glossary. This term may refer to a group of persons from Ḥarrān or southern 'Irāq who belonged to one of the sects of Šābians in those regions, residing in Asia Minor for trade. It also may simply refer to a group of pagans, permitted to live in Asia Minor and called Chaldean Šābians by the Arabs because they were accustomed to think of the undisturbed pagans in their territories as Šābians. One school of thought believes that the name "Šābian" comes from the word to "baptize," so that they see a connection between John the Baptist and the Šābian of ancient Chaldea. People holding such views might connect the Šābians mentioned here with the disciples of John at Ephesus; see Acts 19:3. This relationship with John, however, seems very farfetched.

⁵³ See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 311-16; Leclerc; "Syriac Literature," *Enc. Brit.* (9th ed.), XXII, 824-56.

Ibn Nā'imah, whose name was 'Abd al-Masīh ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥimṣī al-Nā'imī.

Salām al-Abrash, who was one of the early translators at the time of the Barmak family, and among whose translations there is the *Natural Hearing* [*Physica auscultatio*], according to the statement of our lord Abū al-Qāsim 'Isā ibn 'Alī ibn 'Isā, may Allāh strengthen him.

Ḥabīb ibn Bahrij, the metropolitan bishop of al-Mawṣil, who interpreted a number of books for al-Ma'mūn.

Zadwiyā ibn Mā Ḥawah al-Nā'imī al-Ḥimṣī.⁵⁴

Hilāl ibn Abī Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī.

Tadhārī.

Photios.⁵⁵

Abū Naṣr ibn Mārī ibn Ayyūb.

Basil, the metropolitan bishop.⁵⁶

Abū Nūḥ [Ibrāhīm] ibn al-Ṣalt.

Eustathius.

Heron.⁵⁷

Stephen, son of Basil.

Ibn Rābiṭah.

Tūfil (Theophilus).

Shamli.

'Isā ibn Nūḥ.

Quwayrī, whose name was Ibrāhīm, surnamed Abū Ishāq.

Tadhrus al-Sinqal.

Dārī' al-Rāhib.

Hayyā.⁵⁸

Pethiōn.

Ṣalībā.

Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī.

Thābit ibn Quma'.

Ayyūb and Sam'ān, who translated Ptolemy's astronomical tables and other ancient books for Muḥammad ibn Khālīd ibn Yaḥyā ibn Barmak.

⁵⁴ This name is taken from MS 1934; the Arabic is perhaps a transliteration of the Syriac name Zadōi ibn Mār Ḥawah. Flügel has Zarūbā ibn Marjāwah.

⁵⁵ MS 1934 inserts Photios (Futhyūn) with Abū Naṣr, but these two names undoubtedly refer to different persons.

⁵⁶ This name is garbled. Basil is a guess.

⁵⁷ The way in which Heron and Eustathius are written in MS 1934 suggests that Abū Nūḥ translated their works. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 119, 437.

⁵⁸ Unlike the Flügel edition, MS 1934 separates this name from the one which follows.

Basil, who served [*Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn*] *dhū al-Yamīnayn*.⁵⁹

Ibn Saḥdā al-Karkhī, who translated badly from Syriac into Arabic.

Among the works which he translated there was *Hippocrates'* book on embryos.⁶⁰

Abū 'Amr Yūhannā ibn Yūsuf al-Kātib, who was one of the translators.

He translated Plato's book on the training of boys.⁶¹

Ayyūb ibn al-Qāsim al-Raqqī, who translated from Syriac into Arabic.

Among his translations was the book *Isagoge*.⁶²

Midlājī (*Marlāhī*), who during our own time has a good knowledge of Syriac, but stammers in pronouncing Arabic. He has translated from Syriac into Arabic, and served '*Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dahakī*. *Ibn al-Dahakī* improved his translation.⁶³

Dādīsho' (*Dādīshū'*), who interpreted from Syriac into Arabic for *Ishāq ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī al-Hāshimī*.

Qusṭā ibn Lūqā al-Ba'labakkī, who was skilled in translating and had a good literary style in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic. He translated some things and corrected many [other] translations. Mention of him will be made in the proper place among the scholars who were authors.⁶⁴

Ḥunayn [*ibn Ishāq*].

Ishāq [*ibn Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq*].

Thābit [*ibn Qurrah*].

Ḥubaysh [*ibn al-Ḥasan al-A'sam*].

'*Isā ibn Yaḥyā*.

Al-Dimashqī (*Dimishqī*).

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ṣalt [*Abū Nūḥ*].

Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh.

Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī al-Nafīsī.⁶⁵

If Allāh Almighty so wills, we shall deal thoroughly with these men later on, for they were composers of books.

⁵⁹ This means "ambidextrous" and refers to Ṭāhir ibn Ḥusayn, who was appointed as governor in Khurāsān A.D. 820.

⁶⁰ Probably *De resectione foetus*.

⁶¹ Although this might refer to the second and third sections of the *Republic*, about the education of guardians and rulers, it more likely refers to the dialogue *Laches*.

⁶² Almost certainly the well-known book of Porphyry.

⁶³ At this point there is a space in MS 1934, evidently left for other names to be filled in.

⁶⁴ In MS 1934, written perpendicularly over Lūqā, the following phrase is found: "From the handwriting of Ibn al-Kalbī: 'He was surnamed Abū Sa'id.'"

⁶⁵ Only the Tonk MS gives this name clearly as al-Nafīsī.

The Names of the Translators from Persian into Arabic
 Ibn al-*Muqaffa'*, who has already been mentioned in the proper place.
 The family of *Nawbakht*, most of them.⁶⁶ Mention of them has already been made and [more] will follow if Allāh so wills.
Mūsā and *Yūsuf*, the sons of Khālid, who served *Dā'ūd* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Humayd ibn Qaḥṭabah, translating for him from Persian into Arabic.
 Al-Tamīmī, whose name was 'Alī ibn Ziyād, surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. He translated from Persian into Arabic. Among the works which he translated, there were the *Astronomical Tables of al-Shahriyār*.
 Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl [ibn Nawbakht], mention of whom will be made in the proper place with accounts of the astrologers.
 Al-Balādhuri, Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Jābir, who has already been mentioned and who translated from the Persian tongue into Arabic.
Jabalah ibn Sālim, the secretary of Hishām,⁶⁷ who has already been mentioned. He translated from Persian into Arabic.
Ishāq ibn Yazīd translated from Persian into Arabic. Among the works which he translated there was a book about the record of Persia, known as *The Book of Choice* (*Ikhtiyār Nāmah*).⁶⁸

Among the Translators of Persia

Muḥammad ibn al-Jahm al-Barmakī.

Hishām ibn al-Qāsim.

Mūsā ibn 'Isā al-Kisrāwī.

Zādwayh ibn Shāhwayh al-Iṣbahānī.

Muḥammad ibn Bahrām ibn Miṭyār al-Iṣbahānī.

Bahrām ibn Mardān Shāh, the priest of the city of Nisābūr, which was one of the cities of Persia.

'*Umar* ibn al-Farrukhān, whom we shall mention in more detail among the authors.

Translators of India and the Nabataeans

Mankah [*Kankah*] al-Hindī, who was one of a group [employed by] *Ishāq* ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī al-Hāshimī. He translated from the Indian language into Arabic.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ This probably means that most of them translated Persian books. The Tonk MS has a variation.

⁶⁷ This was probably *Hishām* ibn al-Qāsim.

⁶⁸ The title is corrected on the margin of MS 1934. See "choices" in Glossary.

⁶⁹ Qifṭī, p. 265, calls him *Kankah*, and devotes two pages to him.

Ibn *Dahn*, al-Hindī, who administered the Bīmāristān (Hospital) of the Barmak family. He translated from the Indian language into Arabic. Ibn *Waḥshīyah*, who translated from Nabataean into Arabic. He translated many books, as is recorded. Mention of him will follow, if Allāh so wills.

The First to Speak about Philosophy⁷⁰

Abū al-Khayr ibn al-Khammār [al-*Hasan* ibn Suwār] told me in the presence of Abū al-Qāsim 'Isā ibn 'Alī, when I asked him who the first person was to speak about philosophy, that *Porphry* of Tyre asserted in his book, *History*, which was in Syriac, that the first of the seven philosophers was *Thales* ibn Māliš al-Amlīsī.⁷¹ Two chapters of this book were translated into Arabic. Abū al-Qāsim said, "So it was," not denying it.

Others have said that the first person to speak about philosophy was Pythagorus, who was *Pythagorus* son of Mnesarchus, one of the people of Samos. *Plutarch* said that Pythagorus was the first person to call philosophy by that name. He wrote epistles known as *The Golden*, which were called by this name because *Galen* wrote them with gold so as to glorify and ennoble them.

The books of Pythagorus which we have seen are the following: His epistle to the tyrant (rebel) of Sicily; his epistle to Sifānus,⁷² *The Derivation of Meaning*; his epistle, *Rational Politics*.

These epistles have come down with the commentary of *Malchus*.

He said that after that *Socrates*, the son of Socrates⁷³ of Athens, a city of scholars and wise men, spoke about philosophy with statements about which not a great deal is known. What has come from his writings are *Discourse about Politics* and his epistle, *The Beautiful Life*, which is said to be authentic as his own.

⁷⁰ In the following accounts of Greek and Latin philosophy and science, the references have been limited to a few standard works, available in modern libraries.

⁷¹ MS 1934 gives Mālis, Flügel gives Mällis. Mālis and Amlīsī may both be corrupted forms for "Milesian," as Thales' father lived at Miletus. His parents were named Examyus and Cleobuline.

⁷² The Arabic name suggests Staphanus, but cannot be identified.

⁷³ His father was really Sophroniscus.

Another Account

"Socrates" means "holding health (truth) (*māsik al-ṣaḥḥah*)."⁷⁴ He was an Athenian, ascetic, eloquent, and wise. The Greeks killed him because he disagreed with them. Information about him is well known. The king in charge of his death was Artakhasht.⁷⁴ Plato was one of the associates of Socrates.

From what is written in the handwriting of *Ishāq* ibn Ḥunayn: "Socrates lived nearly as long as Plato lived." Also from the handwriting of *Ishāq*: "Plato lived for eighty years."

Plato

From the book of Plutarch: "*Plato* was the son of *Ariston*." The meaning [of his name] is "breadth."⁷⁵ *Theon* states that his father was called *Aṣṭūn* [*Ariston*] and that he was one of the aristocrats of the Greeks. In his early life he [*Plato*] became interested in poetry, from which he derived a large share [of good fortune]. Then, when he attended the sessions of *Socrates*, he saw that he [*Socrates*] did not approve of poetry, but from him also he derived a large share [of good fortune].⁷⁶ After that he went over to the doctrine of *Pythagoras* about rational phenomena. According to what has been said, he lived for eighty-one years. *Aristotle* learned from him and succeeded him after his death. *Ishāq* [ibn Ḥunayn] states that he learned from *Hippocrates*.

Plato died during the year in which *Alexander* was born, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of *Lawkhus*.⁷⁷ *Aristotle* followed him. In those days the king of Macedonia was *Philip*, the father of *Alexander*.

⁷⁴ Perhaps Artakhasht is meant to be Artaxerxes. In that case, some early writer probably said that Socrates' death occurred during the reign of Artaxerxes II in Persia and then a later writer inferred that Artaxerxes was responsible for Socrates' death. Actually, the principal accusers of Socrates were Meletus and Anytus. Polyeuctus pronounced the sentence.

⁷⁵ This name refers to the breadth of his shoulders or his forehead, or possibly to the breadth of his style; see "Plato," *Enc. Brit.*, XXI, 808. For the name of his father in the sentence which follows, see *Diogenes Laërtius*, p. 113; *Smith, GRBM*, III, 392.

⁷⁶ The translation is taken from MS 1934 and the Tonk MS. Flügel and MS 1135 do not repeat "he derived a large share." Instead they give "he left it."

⁷⁷ Plato died 347 B.C., whereas Alexander was born 356 B.C. *Diogenes Laërtius*, p. 127, says that Alexander was born during the 13th year of the reign of Philip of

From what is written in the handwriting of Ishāq [ibn Ḥunayn]: "Plato lived eighty years."

The Books He Composed according to What *Theon* Recorded and Arranged in Sequence⁷⁸

The Republic (*Al-Siyāsah*), which Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq explained; The Laws (*Al-Nawāmīs*), which Ḥunayn translated, as did also *Yahyā* ibn 'Adī.

Theon said, "Plato wrote his books as dialogues in which were discourses with people, and he named each book with the name of the person with whom the composition was related." Among these there were:

A dialogue which he called *Theages*, about philosophy; a dialogue which he called *Laches*, about courage; a dialogue which he called *Erastae*, about philosophy; a dialogue which he called *Charmides*, about temperance; two dialogues which he called *Alcibiades*, about the beautiful; a dialogue which he called *Euthydemus*; a dialogue which he called *Gorgias*; two dialogues which he called *Hippias*; a dialogue which he called *Ion*; a dialogue which he called *Protagoras*; a dialogue which he called *Euthyphro*; a dialogue which he called *Crito*; a dialogue which he called *Phaedo*; a dialogue which he called *Theaetetus*; a dialogue which he called *Clitophon*; a dialogue which he called *Cratylus*; a dialogue which he called *Sophistes*.

Macedon; perhaps Lawkhus has been confused with Philip. Or perhaps it is meant to be Lagus, the father of Ptolemy and the husband of one of Philip's concubines; see Smith, *GRBM*, II, 712. Another possibility is that, as the *kh* in the name is not designated in MS 1934, the form may be a corruption of Loüs, the month in which Alexander was born. See Plutarch, *Lives*, IV, 242; Qiftī, p. 18.

⁷⁸ These titles, although many are spelled incorrectly, check remarkably well with the modern list of Plato's works; see "Plato," *Enc. Brit.*, XXI, 811 ff.; Plato, *The Dialogues of Plato* (Jowett); Plato, *The Republic of Plato* (Jowett). Some titles have been attributed erroneously to Plato, and several of his works are omitted, including numerous dialogues; cf. Plato, *The Dialogues of Plato* (Jowett). *Critias* is probably omitted because it was regarded as part of *Timaeus*. *Lysis*, *Philebus*, the *Apology*, and *Symposium* are also omitted. As Theon ends his list with the *Politicus*, it seems reasonable to suppose that the first title which he gives, *Al-Siyāsah*, refers to the *Republic* rather than to the *Politicus*. Most authorities question the authenticity of *Alcibiades*, *Hippias*, *Theages*, *Erastae*, *Clitophon*, *Minos*, *Hipparchus*, and *Menexenus*, although Jowett includes *Alcibiades I*, the *Lesser Hippias*, and *Menexenus* with Plato's works. The lists of Plato's works in *Al-Fihrist* should be compared with Qiftī, pp. 17 ff.

I read what was written in the handwriting of *Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī*, "*Iṣḥāq* [ibn Ḥunayn] translated the *Sophistes*, with the commentary of *Olympiodorus*.

A dialogue which he called *Timaeus*, which *Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī* corrected; a dialogue which he called *Parmenides*, the compilation of which was made by *Galen*; a dialogue which he called *Phaedrus*; a dialogue which he called *Meno*; a dialogue which he called *Minos*; a dialogue which he called *Hipparchus*; a book which he called *Menexenus*; a book which he called *Politicus*.

From Other Than the Statement of Theon

From what I myself have seen and from the information of a reliable person about what he has seen:

Timaeus; three dialogues which Ibn al-Batrīq translated, and which Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq either translated or else Ḥunayn corrected what Ibn al-Batrīq had translated;⁷⁹ *Relationship*,⁸⁰ [taken from] the handwriting of *Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī*; book of Plato to the Cretan about the laws, [taken from] the handwriting of *Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī*; *Oneness* (*Al-Tawḥīd*), with his dialogue about the soul (*al-naḥs*), the intelligence (*al-'aql*), the elemental substance (*al-jawhar*), and the dependent properties (*al-'arḍ*);⁸¹ *Sense Perception and Pleasure*, a dialogue;⁸² *Timaeus*, about which Plutarch spoke, according to [what is written in] the handwriting of *Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī*; *Theaetetus*,⁸³ which *Olympiodorus* translated, according to the handwriting of *Yaḥyā*; *Education of Young Men* (*Ta'dīb al-Aḥdāth*).⁸⁴

He also wrote epistles, which are extant. Theon said, "Plato arranged his writings for reading. Each group, consisting of four

⁷⁹ The three dialogues were the *Timaeus*, the *Critias*, and the unfinished *Hermocrates*.

⁸⁰ Flügel is probably correct in suggesting that this is the *Cratylus*, with its references to the relationships in language.

⁸¹ Although Qifī, p. 18, gives the title as simply *Oneness*, the manuscripts and Flügel are probably correct in connecting it with the phrase of explanation which follows. This book seems to refer to the *Timaeus*, which deals with the four emanations mentioned in the title, and ends with the words, "the only begotten universe." See Plato, *Dialogues*, III, 614, 617, 676. For *al-'arḍ*, see Lane, *Lexicon*, I, Part 5, 2008.

⁸² This is probably *al-ḥass* ("sense perception"), although it would fit Plato's dialogue more accurately if it was *al-ḥusn* ("beauty" or "goodness"). "Pleasure" is *al-ladhdhah*. This dialogue is almost certainly *Philebus*.

⁸³ The texts are unclear. This title might be, instead, *Sophistus*.

⁸⁴ This is most likely the *Laches*.

books, he called a tetralogy.”⁸⁵ *Ishāq* the Monk said, “Plato became known and his work became famous during the days of *Artaxerxes* [I] known as ‘the Long Hand.’” Thus saith *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]*: This king [*Artaxerxes*] belonged to Persia, so that there was no connection between him and Plato. It [probably] was *Hystaspes*, the king to whom *Zoroaster* presented himself; it is *Allāh* who knows.⁸⁶ Book of Plato: *The Roots of Geometry*, which *Qusṭā* translated.⁸⁷

Account of Aristotle

The meaning [of his name] is “lover of wisdom,” or, it is said, “the excelling, the complete,” there also being given “the perfect, the excelling.”

He was *Aristotle*, the son of *Nicomachus* son of *Machaon*, one of the descendants of *Aesculapius*, who invented medicine for the Greeks. *Ptolemy* the Foreign (*al-Gharīb*) recorded and said: “His mother’s name was *Phaestias* and she traced [her lineage] to *Aesculapius*. He came from a city of the Greeks named *Stageira*. His father, *Nicomachus*, served as a physician to *Philip*, the father of *Alexander*. He himself was one of the pupils of Plato.”⁸⁸ *Ptolemy* also said, “His submission to Plato was because of a revelation from the god in the *Pythian* temple.” He went on to say, “He continued to teach⁸⁹ for twenty years, and when Plato was absent in *Sicily*, *Aristotle* took his place in the court of instruction.”⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Although *Aristophanes* of *Byzantium* arranged some of Plato’s works in trilogies, *Thrasyllus* formed tetralogies. Theon evidently accepted this latter arrangement; see Smith, *GRBM*, III, 395.

⁸⁶ *Zoroaster*’s date is uncertain, but the best authorities think that he lived about 660–583 B.C. The King *Hystaspes* converted by *Zoroaster* was probably a provincial prince; see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 95–96. *Al-Nadīm* is obviously wrong also.

⁸⁷ This book was probably not written by Plato. The name of the translator is garbled. Flügel suggests that it is meant to be *Qusṭā ibn Lūqā*.

⁸⁸ Aristotle’s mother’s family lived at *Stageira* (*Stagira*) where Aristotle was born, 384 B.C. After spending twenty years with Plato, 367–347 B.C., he served as tutor to *Alexander*, 343–335 B.C. Then he spent 12 years in the *Lyceum* before he died, 322 B.C.

⁸⁹ This might be, instead, “He continued with instruction.”

⁹⁰ For Plato in *Sicily*, see Smith, *GRBM*, III, 393. The story of the oracle at *Delphi* is probably a legend.

It is said that he studied philosophy after he had lived for thirty years. He was the master of eloquent style among the Greeks and among their excellent writers. After Plato, he was the most honored of their scholars, holding the highest rank in philosophy among the ancients.⁹¹ He also had an exalted position among the kings. Matters used to be administered in accordance with his opinion by Alexander, to whom he addressed a quantity of letters and communications about politics and other subjects.

Among these there was an epistle on politics which began,⁹² "As for wondering about your good qualities, the evidences for them have become dissipated, they are out-of-date, forgotten, no longer new or causing astonishment. What the populace says about you is true: 'He who praises you is not a teller of falsehood.'" There is in the same epistle: "When people are saddened by misfortunes, they are moved [to turn] to whatsoever is for their benefit. But if they attain security, they turn to evil, stripping off the bridle of caution. Thus, during a time of safety and calm, people are in the greatest need of the law."

There is also in it: "Treat enemies with injury;⁹³ those who have absolution with forgiveness; confessors with compassion; those who assault with opposition; troublemakers with social amenity;⁹⁴ the envious with anger; the insolent with magnanimity; assailants with dignity; the seditious with disdain; those who vex (sting) with caution; ambiguous matters with postponement; things that are clear with firmness; affairs that are confused with investigation; and association with kings with confidential secrecy, guidance about affairs, praise and assiduity, for what they desire for themselves is praise, while demanding servitude from the people." This is a saying of utmost wisdom, eloquence, and fullness of meaning, in

⁹¹ This is a free translation of an idiom.

⁹² This quotation may come from one of Aristotle's short prose works, which he learned to write during his association with Plato, and some of which are well known. See "Aristotle," *Enc. Brit.*, I, 503; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 332.

⁹³ The manuscripts have *bi-al-adhā* ("with injury"), whereas Flügel gives *bi-al-idhn* ("with permitting").

⁹⁴ MS 1934 has *bi-al-mudākhashah* ("with social amenity"). Flügel has *bi-al-munāqadah* ("with contention" or "with disputation").

spite of being translated from one language to another. How great it must have been in the language of its utterance!

It is said that when Philip died and when, upon becoming king, Alexander turned his attention to wars against the nations, Aristotle withdrew, becoming ascetic. He went to Athens and established a place for teaching, the place with which the Peripatetics are associated. He turned his attention to the interests of the people, the aiding of the weak, and restoration of the buildings of the city of Stageira. The accounts about him are many; we have given only a few of them.⁹⁵

Aristotle died at the age of sixty-six, during the end of the period of Alexander, or it is said at the beginning of the reign of *Ptolemy* Lagus. His sister's son, *Theophrastus*, followed him in his teaching.⁹⁶

The Will of Aristotle

Al-Gharib⁹⁷ said, "When death attended him, he [Aristotle] stated: I have made Antipater my executor permanently over all that I have left behind. Until *Nicanor* arrives, let Aristomedes, Timarchus, Hiapparchus, and Dioteles be responsible for seeking whatever there is need to seek for, and for handling whatever there may be need to take care of, on behalf of the people of my house and Herpyllis, my servant, as well as for the rest of my slave girls and slaves and those whom I have left behind.

If it is easy and feasible for *Theophrastus* to join them in this affair, he should also be one of their number. When my daughter gains maturity, let *Nicanor* have charge of her. In case she should happen to die before she marries, or afterwards before having a child, the responsibility for my son, *Nicomachus*, falls to *Nicanor*. My charge to him in this case is that he shall manage the affairs which he handles in a way both desirable and seemly.

⁹⁵ The Tonk MS adds the words "for information."

⁹⁶ Aristotle died 322 B.C., a year after Alexander died, at the time when *Ptolemy* I Soter, son of Lagus, founded his dynasty in Egypt.

⁹⁷ Al-Gharib was *Ptolemy* Chennus, see *Ptolemy* the Foreign in the Biog. Index. As most of the names mentioned in the will have nothing to do with the cultural topics of *Al-Fihrist*, only *Nicanor*, *Nicomachus*, and *Theophrastus* are included in the Biog. Index. The version of the will given in Arabic should be compared with *Diogenes Laërtius*, p. 185, as there are numerous variations. Most of the Greek names are greatly garbled in *Al-Fihrist*. The translation gives the proper spelling of these names and on the whole follows MS 1934, which differs from the Flügel text only in minor ways.

In case Nicanor dies before he marries my daughter, or after her marriage but before she has a child, I charge that whatever Nicanor bequests in a will shall be valid and authoritative. In case Nicanor dies without a will and if it is convenient for *Theophrastus*, I should like to have him serve as his substitute in caring for my children and others whom I have left behind. But in case this is not agreeable to him, then let the executors whom I have named return to Antipater, so as to ask for his advice about what they should do with all that I have left. Then let them manage the affair in accordance with what they agree upon.⁹⁸

Let the executors and Nicanor take care of Herpyllis⁹⁹ for me. She deserves that from me, because of what I have seen of her solicitude in my service and her diligence in connection with what fulfilled my desires. Let them give her all she needs and, if she desires to marry, let her take only a man who is virtuous. Let there be given her in addition to what she possesses a talent of silver, which is one hundred and twenty-five rattles, as well as three female slaves whom she shall choose in addition to the handmaid she already has and her servant boy. If she desires to reside at Chalcis, she may live in my house, the guest house on the edge of the garden. Or if she chooses to live in the city of Stageira, let her dwell in the house of my fathers. Whichever one of the houses she may select, let the executors provide there for her what she records that she needs.¹⁰⁰

With regards to my family and children, I do not need to give a charge for their protection and the care of their affairs. Let Nicanor look after Myrmex, the slave boy, until he sends him with all his possessions to his town, in the way that he longs for. Let him set free my handmaid Aubracis. In the event that, after being emancipated, she offers to serve my daughter until she marries, give her five hundred drachmae and her slave girl.

Let there be given to the girl Tales, whom we have recently acquired, a young man from among our slaves and one thousand drachmae. Let the price of a slave boy be paid to Timon so that he can purchase for

⁹⁸ Evidently Antipater was an important man who was permanent executor of the will, with the other local persons mentioned to handle the practical details for him, but it is not certain that he was the regent of Macedonia who was living at the time.

⁹⁹ She was a slave, the mother of Aristotle's son Nicomachus, so that she had a place of special importance in his household.

¹⁰⁰ Aristotle was born at Stageira. When he retired from the Lyceum, he went to Chalcis, where he died. Stageira (Stagira) was in the Chalcidice Peninsula of Macedonia, whereas Chalcis was on the west coast of the island of Euboea.

himself someone in addition to the boy whose price has already been paid to him. Let there also be given to him whatever the executors may see fit.

When my daughter marries, let there be set free my slave boys Tychon, Philon, and Olympius. Let not the son of Herpyllis be sold, let none of the boys who have served me be sold, but let them be continued in service until they reach the maturity of manhood. Then when this stage is reached, let them be enfranchised, with arrangements made to give them what they deserve, if God Almighty so desires.

From what is written in the handwriting of *Ishāq* [ibn Ḥunayn], and in his own words, "Aristotle lived for sixty-seven years."

The Order of His Books on Logic, the Physical Sciences, Metaphysics, and Ethics¹⁰¹

Statement about His Books on Logic: Eight Books

Categoriae, which means "definitions"; *De interpretatione*, which means "expressions";¹⁰² *Analytica*, which means "analysis of the syllogism";¹⁰³ *Apodeiktikos*, which is the second *Analytica* and means "proof"; *Topica*, which means "argument"; *Sophistici*, which means "those in error"; *Rhetorica*, which means "oratory"; *Abūṭīqā*, which is called *Poetica* and which means "poetry."¹⁰⁴

Account of the *Categoriae* with the Translation of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq

Among those who explained it and wrote commentaries about it there were *Porphry*, *Stephanus* the Alexandrian, *Aelianos*, *Yahyā al-Nahwī*, *Ammonius*, *Themistius*, *Theophrastus*, and *Simplicius*. A man known as *Theon* has made both Syriac and Arabic [translations]. From the commentary of *Simplicius* there is an addition to the supplement. Among the odd¹⁰⁵ commentaries, there is a fragment

¹⁰¹ The word translated "metaphysics" is often used for "theology." In the original manuscript, some of the titles by Greek authors, such as those below, are Arabic transliterations of the Greek. Unless there is no Latin equivalent, these titles are given in the more familiar Latin.

¹⁰² In Greek transliteration this is *Peri Hermēnelas*.

¹⁰³ This title and the one which follows were the *Analytica priora* and the *Analytica posteriora*.

¹⁰⁴ As there is no letter *p* in Arabic, the name *Abūṭīqā* was evidently used as a corrupt way of writing *Poetica*.

¹⁰⁵ The Arabic, *gharīb*, might refer to Ptolemy al-Gharīb (the Foreign), but since the article is omitted, "odd" is probably the meaning.

ascribed to *Iamblichus*. Shaykh Abū Zakariyā¹⁰⁶ said, "It is likely that this was falsely ascribed to Iamblichus, as I saw among the supplementary words, 'Alexander says.'" Shaykh Abū Sulaymān said that Abū Zakariyā' worked over the translation of this book with the commentary of *Alexander* of Aphrodisias; [it amounted to] about three hundred leaves.

Among those who explained this book there were Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī and Abū Bishr Mattā. The book has the abridgments and compilations, both tabulated and not tabulated,¹⁰⁷ of a group including Ibn al-Muqaffa', Ibn Bahrīz, Al-Kindī, Ishāq ibn Hunayn,¹⁰⁸ Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib, and al-Rāzī.

Account of the *De interpretatione*

Hunayn [ibn Ishāq] translated it into Syriac and Ishāq [ibn Hunayn] into Arabic, the distinctive part.¹⁰⁹

The Commentators

Alexander [of Aphrodisias]: not extant. Yahyā al-Nahwī; *Iamblichus*; *Porphyry*, a compilation;¹¹⁰ *Stephanus*; *Galen*, a commentary which is rare and not to be found; *Quivayrī*; *Mattā*, Abū Bishr; al-Fārābī; *Theophrastus*.

Among the Abridgments

[Those of] Hunayn, Ishāq, Ibn al-Muqaffa', al-Kindī, Ibn Bahrīz, Thābit ibn Qurrah, Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib, al-Rāzī.

Account of the *Analytica priora*

Theodore [the Commentator] translated it into Arabic. It is said that he showed it to Hunayn, who corrected it. Hunayn translated a portion into Syriac and Ishāq translated also into Syriac what was left.

¹⁰⁶ See Qiftī, p. 363 l. 18, where Yahyā ibn 'Adī is called Shaykh Abū Zakariyā'. In the following sentence, Abū Sulaymān was probably Muḥammad ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī, and MSS 1934 and 1135 have different forms for "worked over."

¹⁰⁷ The Arabic word refers to diagrams arranged like family trees. For simplification it is translated "tabulated."

¹⁰⁸ The Tonk MS has Hunayn ibn Ishāq and also contains other errors due to careless copying.

¹⁰⁹ MS 1934 has *al-faṣṣ* ("distinctive part"). Flügel has *al-naṣṣ* ("text"), with a note to question its accuracy.

¹¹⁰ Flügel places "compilation" with Stephanus, probably wrongly. The manuscript suggests that it goes with Porphyry.

The Commentators

Alexander made two commentaries as far as *al-ashkāl al-jumliyah*, one of them more complete than the other. Themistius wrote a commentary on the two sections together. Yahyā al-Naḥwī made a commentary as far as *al-ashkāl al-jumliyah* and Quwayrī wrote a commentary as far as *al-thalathah al-ashkāl*. Abū Bishr Mattā made a commentary on the two sections together and al-Kindī also wrote a commentary on this book.¹¹¹

Account of the *Apodeiktikós*, which is the *Analytica posteriora*, in two sections

Ḥunayn translated part of it into Syriac and Ishāq translated it in complete form into Syriac. Mattā translated the version of Ishāq into Arabic.

The Commentators

Themistius made a complete exposition of this book. Alexander also explained it, but his work is not extant. Yahyā al-Naḥwī commented upon it. Abū Yahyā al-Marwazī, with whom Mattā studied, had a statement about it, while Abū Bishr Mattā, al-Fārābī, and al-Kindī wrote explanations of it.

Account of the *Topica*

Ishāq [ibn Ḥunayn] translated this book into Syriac, while Yahyā ibn 'Adī translated into Arabic what Ishāq had rendered. Al-Dimashqī translated seven of its sections, the eighth being translated by Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh.¹¹² There also existed an ancient translation.

¹¹¹ The expression *al-ashkāl al-jumliyah* is probably either "universal syllogisms" or "composite syllogisms"; see Aristotle, *Prior and Posterior Analytics*, pp. 369, 414. The term *al-thalathah al-ashkāl* probably refers to syllogisms in the third figure; *ibid.*, p. 362. These two terms are subjects dealt with in the *Analytica priora*. Themistius' commentary was evidently about the two books which compose the *Analytica priora*.

¹¹² In the Greek edition there are eight sections and in the Latin edition eight books. See Aristotle, *Opera omnia*, I, 172.

The Commentators

Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī said at the beginning of the commentary on this book, "I find no commentary on this book by any predecessor except for *Alexander's* commentary on part of the first section, and also the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth sections. There is also the commentary of *Ammonius* on the first, second, third, and fourth sections. For what I sought in my commentary, I relied upon what I understood in the commentaries of *Alexander* and *Ammonius*. I also improved the diction of the translators of those two commentaries." The book, with the commentary of Yaḥyā, has nearly one thousand leaves.

From an account other than that of Yaḥyā: *Ammonius* explained the first four sections and *Alexander* the last four, as far as the twelfth topic in the eighth section.¹¹³ *Themistius* explained the topics in it, while *al-Fārābī* also wrote a commentary on this book, with an abridgment of it. *Mattā* made a commentary on the first section, *Ishāq* translated what *Ammonius* and *Alexander* commented upon in the book, and *Abū 'Uthmān al-Dimashqī* translated this book.

Account of the *Sophistici*

It means "falsified wisdom." *Ibn Nā'imah* and *Abū Bishr Mattā* translated it into Syriac, while *Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī* translated it into Arabic from [the version of] *Theophilus*.¹¹⁴

The Commentators

Quwayrī wrote a commentary on this book and *Ibrāhīm ibn Bakūs al-'Usharī* translated into Arabic what *Ibn Nā'imah* rendered, with corrections. *Al-Kindī* also wrote a commentary on this book, and it is said that a commentary on the book by *Alexander* was found at *al-Mawṣil*.¹¹⁵

Account of the *Rhetorica*

It means "oratory." There has come down an ancient translation. It is said that *Ishāq* translated it into Arabic and that *Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh* also made a translation.

¹¹³ There were fourteen topics. For the twelfth, see Aristotle, *Categoriae et topica*, p. 196.

¹¹⁴ This was probably *Tūfīl ibn Thūmā*.

¹¹⁵ The reference to *Mawṣil* is omitted in MS 1135.

Al-Fārābī, Abū Naṣr, wrote a commentary on it, and I saw, written in the handwriting of Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib, "In an ancient translation this book had about one hundred leaves."

Account of *Poetica*, Which Means Poetry

Abū Bishr Mattā translated it from Syriac into Arabic, and Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī also translated it. It is said that in it there was a statement by Themistius, but it is also said that this was falsely claimed to be his. Al-Kindī wrote an abridgment of this book.

Account of the *Natural Hearing* [*Physica Auscultatio*],¹¹⁶ with the Commentary of Alexander: Eight Sections

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: The portion of the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias which is extant is the first section, which was [taken] from the text of Aristotle's statement and is given in two parts, one of which with a portion of the other still exists. Abū Rawḥ al-Šābī translated it and the translation was then corrected by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī. The second section from the text of Aristotle's statement is given in one section, which Hunayn translated from Greek into Syriac, and Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī translated from Syriac into Arabic. The third section has no exposition of the text of Aristotle's treatise.

The fourth section has been commented upon in three divisions. The first part, the second, and a portion of the third, as far as the statement about time, are extant.¹¹⁷ Although Qusṭā [ibn Lūqā] translated this, what is actually known is the translation of al-Dimashqī. The fifth section from the treatise of Aristotle is in one unit, which Qusṭā ibn Lūqā translated. The sixth section is also one unit, a little over half of which is extant. The seventh section is one unit, which Qusṭā translated. The eighth section is one unit, only a few leaves of which exist.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ In Arabic this is *Al-Samā' al-Ṭabī'ī*. See Aristotle, *Opera omnia*, II, 248. In Latin this book is sometimes also called *Naturalis auscultationis*.

¹¹⁷ This is very likely as far as the tenth topic of the fourth section; see Aristotle, *Opera omnia*, II, 298.

¹¹⁸ This passage is very confused, because the word *al-maqālah* is used both to refer to the original eight sections in Aristotle's own work and also to the parts or chapters into which the translations and commentaries were divided by the medieval scholars. The English translation is an attempt to make the meaning clear. The word *al-kalām* is also used in a confusing way. It is translated as "treatise" and "statement."

Account of the *Natural Hearing* [*Physica auscultatio*], with the Commentary of *Yahyā al-Nahwī* of Alexandria

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-*Nadīm*]: The part of this book which *Qusṭā* [ibn Lūqā] translated is in the form of precepts, but the part which 'Abd al-Masīḥ ibn Nā'imah translated is not in this form of precepts.¹¹⁹ *Qusṭā* translated the first half, which is in four sections, and Ibn Nā'imah the last half, also four sections.

Account of the *Natural Hearing* [*Physica auscultatio*], with the Commentaries of a Varied Group of Philosophers

Porphyry's commentary on the first, second, third, and fourth sections is extant. *Basil* translated it. Abū Bishr *Mattā* wrote an explanation in Syriac of *Themistius's* commentary on this book. Part of the first section in Syriac is extant. Abū Aḥmad ibn *Karnīb* wrote a commentary on part of the first section and part of the fourth section, as far as the statement on time.¹²⁰ *Thābit* ibn Qurrah made a commentary on part of the first section, while [Abū Nūḥ] *Ibrāhīm* ibn Ṣalt translated the first section of this book. I saw it written in the handwriting of *Yahyā* ibn 'Adī. Abū al-Faraj *Qudāmah* ibn Ja'far ibn *Qudāmah* also wrote a commentary on part of the first section of the *Physica auscultatio*.

Account of the Book *Heaven and Earth* [*De coelo*]¹²¹

It has four sections. Ibn al-Baṭrīq translated this book, while *Ḥunayn* [ibn Ishāq] corrected it. Abū Bishr *Mattā* translated part of the first section and *Alexander* of Aphrodisias made an exposition of part of the first section of this book. *Themistius* wrote an exposition of the entire book. *Yahyā* ibn 'Adī either translated or corrected it and *Ḥunayn* wrote something about it [entitled] *The Sixteen Questions*. Abū Zayd al-Balkhī explained the first part of this book for Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin.¹²²

¹¹⁹ The Arabic word translated "precepts" is *ta'ālīm*, which may signify "concepts" or, more specialized, "mathematical propositions."

¹²⁰ See n. 117.

¹²¹ In Arabic, *Kitāb al-Samā' wa-al-'Ālam*. See Aristotle, *Opera omnia*, II, 367.

¹²² Cf. Qifṭī, p. 40 ll. 4, 5.

Account of the Book *Being and Corruption* [*De generatione et corruptione*]¹²³

Hunayn translated it into Syriac and *Ishāq* into Arabic, as did also *al-Dimashqī*. It is recorded that *Ibn Bakūs* [*Ibrāhīm*] translated it, too. *Alexander* wrote an exposition of the entire book, *Mattā* translated it, and *Qusṭā* [*ibn Lūqā*] translated the first section. *Olympiodorus* wrote an exposition of *Eustathius'* translation. *Mattā* *Abū Bishr* translated this and, after examining it, *Abū Zakariyā*¹²⁴ corrected it, that is, the translation of *Mattā*.

A commentary by *Themistius* on *De generatione et corruptione* has recently been found. It consists of two expositions, one large and one small. *Yahyā al-Nahwī* wrote a complete exposition of *De generatione et corruptione*, but the Arabic is inferior in excellence to the Syriac.

Account of the Signs on High [*Meteorologica*]¹²⁵

Olympiodorus wrote a long exposition: *Abū Bishr* [*Mattā* and *al-Ṭabarī*] translated it.¹²⁶ There was an exposition by *Alexander*, which was translated into Arabic, but was not translated into Syriac. Later, *Yahyā ibn 'Adī* translated it¹²⁷ into Arabic from the Syriac.

Account of the Book *The Soul* [*De anima*]¹²⁸

It is in three sections. *Hunayn* [*ibn Ishāq*] translated all of it into Syriac. *Ishāq* [*ibn Hunayn*] translated all but a small part of it. Then

¹²³ In Arabic *Kitāb al-Kawn wa-al-Fasād*. See Aristotle, *Opera omnia*, II, 432.

¹²⁴ This was probably *Yahyā ibn 'Adī*, a translator of scientific books.

¹²⁵ In Arabic *Kitāb al-Āthār al-'Ulwiyyah*; see Aristotle, *Opera omnia*, III, 553; "Aristūṭālis," *Enc. Islam*, I, 433, where the title is given as *Al-Āthār al-'Alawiyya*. In MS 1135 parts of these passages are misplaced.

¹²⁶ The name *Olympiodorus* can be questioned, as the Arabic original is not properly written. Here, it is given in MS 1934 as *Alamfīdūrus*, but the consonant mark on the letter written as *f* is omitted. In numerous passages which follow, this letter is clearly marked as *q*. *Wenrich*, p. 294, has *Macidorus*, but *Pauly*; *Smith*, *GRBM*; *Sarton*; *Diogenes Laërtius*; and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* do not mention a man of this name. What is likely is that some scribe wrote what should have been *f* as *q*, placing two dots over the letter instead of one. It was easy for the Arabs to use *f* for *p*, as they did not have *p* in their alphabet. Usually *b* represents *p*, but not always. As *Olympiodorus* was well known and wrote a commentary on the *Meteorologica* (see *Smith*, *GRBM*, III, 25), it seems reasonable to identify this man as *Olympiodorus*.

¹²⁷ This probably refers to the *Meteorologica* rather than to the commentary.

¹²⁸ In Arabic, *Kitāb al-Nafs*. See Aristotle, *Opera omnia*, III, 431.

Ishāq translated it a second time in its entire form, with improvements. *Themistius* wrote an exposition of the whole book; two chapters on the first [section], two chapters on the second, and three chapters on the third. *Olympiodorus* wrote a commentary which I read written in Syriac in the handwriting of *Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī*. There has been found an excellent commentary in Syriac ascribed to *Simplicius*, which he wrote for *Athāwālīs*.¹²⁹ An Arabic edition has also been found.

The Alexandrians had an abstract of this book, about one hundred leaves in length, and *Ibn al-Baṭrīq* made compilations of the book. *Ishāq* said, "I translated this book into Arabic from a manuscript which was in poor condition. Then after thirty years, when I found a manuscript in the best possible condition, I compared it with the first translation, which was of the exposition of *Themistius*."¹³⁰

Account of the Book *Perception and the Perceived* [*De sensu et sensili*]¹³¹

It is in two sections. No translation which can be relied upon is known or recorded. What is recorded is a small portion which *al-Ṭabarī* derived from *Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus*.

Account of the Book of Animals: Nineteen Sections¹³²

Ibn al-Baṭrīq translated it, and there was also an old Syriac translation, which was better than the Arabic one. From what I have read written in the handwriting of *Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī*, "In the catalogue of his books there was; moreover, an ancient compilation." Then according to what is written in the handwriting of *Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī*, "*Nicolaus* wrote an abridgment" of this book. *Abū 'Alī ibn Zur'ah* commenced to translate it into Arabic, as well as to correct it.

¹²⁹ This is probably meant to be *Anmonius* son of *Hermeas*, the master of *Simplicius*. See Smith, *GRBM*, I, 146. For *Olympiodorus*, see n. 126.

¹³⁰ This quotation should be compared with the rendering in *Qifṭī*, p. 41.

¹³¹ In Arabic *Al-Hiss wa-al-Maḥsūs*. See *Aristotle, Opera omnia*, III, 476, in which there are seven chapters instead of two sections.

¹³² The nineteen sections probably include *Historia animalium*, *De partibus animalium*, and *De animalium generatione*. These works total nineteen sections; see *Aristotle, Opera omnia*, III, 1-430, 517-26. The small treatises, *De animalium motione* and *De animalium incessu*, were probably not a part of this work.

Account of the Book of Letters known as the *Divine Things* [*Metaphysica*]¹³³

The arrangement of this book was according to the sequence of the Greek letters, the first of which was the lesser *A*. *Ishāq* [ibn Ḥunayn] translated it. The work is extant as far as the letter *M*, which letter [section] was translated by Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī. The letter *N* was extant in Greek in the commentary of *Alexander*. *Eustathius*, moreover, translated these letters [sections] for al-Kindī, who gives information about it.¹³⁴

Abū Bishr Mattā translated into Arabic the letter *L*, the eleventh letter, with a commentary by *Alexander*. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq translated it into Syriac. *Themistius* wrote a commentary as far as the letter *L*, and Abū Bishr Mattā translated it with the commentary by *Themistius*. *Shamlī* also translated it. *Ishāq* ibn Ḥunayn translated a number of the letters and *Syrianus* wrote a commentary as far as the letter *B*. It appeared in Arabic and was catalogued in the handwriting of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī in the catalogue of his books.

From among the Books of Aristotle as Copied from What Is Written in the Handwriting of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī, from the Catalogue of His Books:

*Ethics*¹³⁵—*Porphyry* wrote a commentary on twelve sections which were translated by *Ishāq* ibn Ḥunayn. A number of the sections, together with the commentary of *Themistius*, were in the possession of Abū Zakariyā' [Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī] and written in the handwriting of *Ishāq* ibn Ḥunayn. It was written in Syriac. The *Visage*¹³⁶—al-Ḥajjāj ibn Maṭar translated it. *Theology* (*Theologia*),¹³⁷ about which al-Kindī wrote a commentary.

¹³³ In Arabic, *Kitāb al-Alahiyāt*. The thirteen sections are designated by letters *A* through *N*. The "lesser *A*" is the last part of the first section. See Aristotle, *Opera omnia*, II, 468; *Metaphysica*, I, 1-310; *Aristotle's Metaphysics*, Vols. I and II.

¹³⁴ Ḥajjī Khalifāh, V, 51, and Qiftī, p. 42 l. 2, have variations. It is likely that *Eustathius Romanus* did provide al-Kindī with a translation.

¹³⁵ In Arabic *Al-Akhlāq*. As this included twelve sections, it probably consisted of the ten sections of the *Ethica Nichomacheia* and two sections of the *Magna moralia*. See Aristotle, *Opera omnia*, II, 1-183; *Ethics of Aristotle*, p. 6 ff.

¹³⁶ The Arabic word *al-marā'ah* indicates something envisaged. Ḥajjī Khalifāh, V, 149, calls this book *Liber de Speculo*, which probably signifies the Latin *De divinatione per somnium*. See Aristotle, *Opera omnia*, III, 507 ff.

¹³⁷ An abridged paraphrase of part of the *Enneads* of *Plotinus*, believed by al-Kindī and others to belong to Aristotle. See "Aristūṭālīs," *Enc. Islam*, I, 433 sect 5.

Theophrastus

He was one of the disciples of Aristotle, and his sister's son. He was also one of the executors whom Aristotle appointed. After his [Aristotle's] death, he succeeded him at the court of learning.¹³⁸ Among his books there were:

The Soul [De anima], one section;¹³⁹ Signs on High [De meteoris], one section;¹⁴⁰ Morals [Theophrasti de moribus], one section; Sense and Objects of Sense [Theophrasti de sensu et sensibili], four sections translated by Ibrāhīm ibn Bakūs; Metaphysics [De metaphysica], one section, which Abū Zakariyā' Yahyā ibn 'Adī translated; The Causes of Plants [De causis plantarum], which Ibrāhīm ibn Bakūs translated—the part of it which is extant is a commentary of part of the first section;¹⁴¹ a work attributed to him, which is a commentary on the book "Categoriae."

Diadochus Proclus from the People of Attaleia,¹⁴² the Platonist

Definitions of the Origins of Natural Phenomena [Elementa physica];¹⁴³ The Eighteen Questions [Duodeviginti quaestiones sive argumenta Christianos], which Yahyā al-Nahwī refuted; Exposition of Plato's Statement that the Soul Is Not Essence [Commentarius in Platonis dialogum de anima immortalitate]; Theology [Institutio theologica],

¹³⁸ It was an Arab tradition that he was Aristotle's nephew. The court of learning was of course the Lyceum. For a list of books of Theophrastus, see Diogenes Laërtius, p. 197.

¹³⁹ See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 1088–90, for the first, second, fourth, and fifth titles.

¹⁴⁰ For this title, see Diogenes Laërtius, p. 197; for the following, *ibid.*, p. 199.

¹⁴¹ See Theophrastus, I, 331; II, 201.

¹⁴² *Al-Fihrist* gives this place name as Aṭātrīyah, although Qifṭī, p. 89, gives Afātūlah. As Proclus was brought up at Xanthus, this may be the large city nearby called Attaleia, near Biblical Perga, modern Antalya.

The following note is written sideways on the margin of MS 1934, but incorporated into the text in MS 1135 and Flügel: "Yahyā al-Nahwī mentioned in the first section of his refutation of his, [Proclus', work] that he [Proclus] lived during the Coptic period of Diocletian, at the beginning of the third century after his reign. This is true." This statement is wrong, as Diocletian reigned A.D. 284–305, and Proclus lived 412–85. See Flügel, p. 255 l. 3; "Chronology," *Enc. Brit.*, VI, 316. For a modern book about Proclus, see Rosān, *The Philosophy of Proclus*.

MS 1135 becomes regular at this point, after omissions and confusion, with the exception that the passage omitted in the account of Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione* is erroneously inserted into the account of Proclus.

¹⁴³ This list of books should be compared with Wenrich, p. 288. In the third title, the Arabic word translated "essence" is *al-ma'iyah*. Qifṭī, p. 369 n. c, substitutes a better-known form, *mahiyah*, which is like the Greek οὐσία; see Sprenger, p. 131 ff.

which pertains to God;¹⁴⁴ Commentary on the Golden Testaments of *Pythagoras* [In Pythsgorae aurea carmina commentarius]—it is about one hundred leaves and extant in Syriac. He wrote it for his daughter. *Thābit* [ibn Qurrah] translated three of its leaves, but [then] died, so that he did not complete it.¹⁴⁵

The Sublime Elements;¹⁴⁶ book of *Proclus* called *Diadochus*, that is, “the follower of Plato,” about the Ten Questions [De decem quaestionibus, sive dubitationibus circa providentiam]; The First Good;¹⁴⁷ The Ten Difficult Questions [Decem dubitationes circa providentiam]; The Atom Which Cannot Be Divided;¹⁴⁸ The Illustration Which Plato Gave in His Book Entitled “Gorgias” [De parabola, quam Plato in dialogo, qui Gorgias inscribitur, protulit], in Syriac; Commentary on the Tenth Section about Happening, appearing in Syriac;¹⁴⁹ book of *Proclus*, the Platonist, entitled the Smaller *Stoicheiosis*;¹⁵⁰ book of *Proclus* on a commentary on the “Phaedo,” about the soul—*Abū ‘Alī* [‘*Isa ibn Ishāq*] *ibn Zur‘ah* translated a small part of it into Arabic.

Alexander of Aphrodisias

He lived during the days of the Kings of the Tribes, after Alexander [the Great]. He learned from *Galen* and associated with him.¹⁵¹ He nicknamed Galen “Mule Head,” and between them there were differences and disputations. In our account of *Aristotle* we have mentioned his expositions of Aristotle’s books.

Abū Zakariyā’ Yahyā ibn ‘Adī said:

Alexander wrote an exposition on all of the *Hearing* [*Physica auscultatio*] and also of *The Proof* [*Analytica posteriora*], which I have seen among the things left by *Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Nāqid*, the Christian. The two expositions were offered to me for sale for one hundred and twenty gold

¹⁴⁴ See Wenrich, p. 288, and Sarton, I, 404.

¹⁴⁵ This was a composition ascribed to Pythagoras and called “golden” because Galen was supposed to have copied it with gold ink; see text near n. 71.

¹⁴⁶ This was very likely *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum commentaria*.

¹⁴⁷ This book cannot be identified and is probably not known in modern times.

¹⁴⁸ This book cannot be identified.

¹⁴⁹ This may be *De providentia et fato*.

¹⁵⁰ This was very likely an abridgment of *Institutio theologica*.

¹⁵¹ For the Kings of the Tribes, see the Glossary. In the following two sentences, the man referred to is Galen, the great medical authority, who died A.D. 199, about the time Alexander of Aphrodisias became director of the Lyceum. For “Mule Head,” see Smith, *GRBM*, II, 217.

coins (s., *dīnār*). I went to fetch the coins and upon returning found that the people had sold the two expositions along with other books to a man from Khurāsān for three thousand gold coins.

Another person whom I can trust said to me, "These books used to be carried in the sleeve."

Abū Zakarīyā' [*Yahyā* ibn 'Adī] said that he offered fifty gold coins (s., *dīnār*) to Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh for a copy of the *Sophistici*, a copy of the *Oratory* [*Rhetorica*], and a copy of the *Poetry* [*Poetica*], as translated by *Ishāq*, but he would not sell them. At the time of his death he burned them.

Among Alexander's books there were:

The Soul [De anima], one section; Refutation of Galen about Possibility [Alexandri Aphrodisiensis contra Galenum de possibili dissertatio], one section¹⁵²—also one section refuting him about time and place; Vision (Sights) [Visum], one section; The Sources of Providence [De providentia], one section; Contradiction of Premises [De praemissorum inversione], one section; The Origins of the Whole according to the Opinion of Aristotle [De universalibus];¹⁵³ What Exists Is Not Homogeneous with the Ten Categories;¹⁵⁴ Providence [De fato], one section; The Difference between Primordial Matter and Genus [De materiae a genere differentia]; Refutation of Whoever Says that Nothing Exists Except from Something Else [Refutatio illorum, qui adserunt nihil ex nihilo fieri]; That Visual Perceptions Do Not Exist Except by Rays Traced from the Eye and a Refutation of Whoever Speaks of Diffusion of the Rays [Refutatio illorum, qui contendunt, visum nonnisi ope radiorum ex oculis emanantium effici], one section; Color [De coloribus], one section;¹⁵⁵ Differentiation according to Aristotle [De differentia ex Aristotelis sententia], one section; Theology [De theologia], one section.

¹⁵² The word for "possibility" is not given correctly in the Arabic. It is not entirely certain that the Latin title applies in the book which follows.

¹⁵³ The Latin title seems to fit the Arabic one, but the identification is not certain.

¹⁵⁴ Alexander wrote numerous commentaries on Aristotle's works. The Latin for this commentary is not identified.

¹⁵⁵ Qiftī, p. 55 top, and MS 1135 have *al-kawn* ("existence"). Alexander wrote a book with this title which is called *De generatone*. Flügel and MS 1934 have *al-lawn* ("color"), as given in the translation. These titles should be compared with Wenrich, p. 273 ff.

Porphyry

He came after *Alexander* [of Aphrodisias], but before *Ammonius*,¹⁵⁶ and was one of the people of the city of Tyre. Coming after the time of *Galen*, he expounded the books of *Aristotle*, as we have mentioned in the place where we have given an account of *Aristotle*. His additional books were:

Isagoge [Porphyrii isagoge], an introduction to books on logic;¹⁵⁷ Introduction to the Categorical Syllogisms [Introductio in syllogismos categoricos], translated by Abū 'Uthmān al-*Dimashqī*; Intelligence and the Intelligible [De intellectu atque intelligibili], in an old translation; two books addressed to *Anebo* [Ad Anebonem];¹⁵⁸ refutation of *Longinus* in connection with "Intelligence and the Intelligible" [De intellectu atque intelligibili], seven sections in Syriac; Seeking an Explanation, one section in Syriac;¹⁵⁹ Accounts of the Philosophers [Philosophorum historia]—I have seen its fourth section in Syriac; Abridgment of Aristotle's Philosophy [Philosophiae Aristoteleae compendium].

Ammonius¹⁶⁰

In his history *Ishāq* ibn Hunayn said that he [Ammonius] was one of the philosophers who lived after the time of *Galen*. He wrote commentaries on the books of *Aristotle*. We have already mentioned the ones among them which are extant when we were recording the books of *Aristotle*. Among his other books there were:

Exposition of Aristotle's Doctrines About the Creator; Aristotle's Aims in His Books; Aristotle's Proof of Oneness.

Themistius

He served as secretary to *Julian*, the apostate from Christianity who [supported] the doctrine of the philosophers, later than the time of

¹⁵⁶ Alexander of Aphrodisias lived during the late second and early third century A.D.; Ammonius lived three centuries later.

¹⁵⁷ For the *Isagoge*, see Sarton, I, 335; Wenrich, pp. 280–81; "Īsāghūdī," *Enc. Islam*, II, 527; Porphyry, *Isaghūji*.

¹⁵⁸ See Anebo in the Biog. Index. Cf. Chap. VII, sect. 3, n. 173.

¹⁵⁹ MS 1934 has *istafsār* ("seeking an explanation"). The other versions omit or confuse the title. Another possibility is that the word is meant to be *ikhtisār* ("abridgment") and is an unfinished title; the title *Abridgment of Aristotle's Philosophy* ("Ikhtisār Falsafah Aristātālīs") is given as the last entry in the list in MS 1135. It is omitted in Flügel and MS 1934.

¹⁶⁰ For Ammonius and Themistius, see Wenrich, pp. 286, 289.

Galen. We have already mentioned the commentaries which he [Themistius] wrote about the books of Aristotle in the proper place. Among his [other] books there were:

Book to Julian, Administration; The Soul [De anima], two sections; Epistle to Julian the Emperor.

Nicolaus

He was a commentator on the books of Aristotle.¹⁶¹ We have already mentioned his commentaries in their proper place. In addition to these there were among his books:

On the Beauty of Aristotle's Philosophy about the Soul [Summa philosophiae Aristoteleae], one section; Plants [De plantis]—a number of its sections have appeared; Refutation of Whoever Makes Action and the Enacted the Same Thing [Refutatio illorum, qui intellectum et intelligibile unum esse statuunt]; Abridgment of Aristotle's Philosophy [Compendium philosophiae Aristoteleae].

Plutarch

Opinions of Nature [De placitis philosophorum physicis],¹⁶² which includes the opinions of the philosophers about natural phenomena, in five sections—*Qusṭā ibn Lūqā al-Ba'labakkī* translated it; Morals [Moralia], about what he pointed out in connection with the treatment of an enemy and the way to benefit by him;¹⁶³ Anger [De ira]; Self-Training [De virtutis exercitio], one section in Syriac; The Soul [De anima], one section.¹⁶⁴

*Olympiodorus*¹⁶⁵

He was a commentator on the books of Aristotle. Mention has already been made of the commentaries which he wrote, in the passage giving an account of Aristotle. Nothing particular from his works has fallen into our hands.

¹⁶¹ MS 1934 has "commentary" instead of "commentator," evidently a mistake. These titles should be compared with Wenrich, p. 294.

¹⁶² This passage should be compared with Wenrich, p. 255.

¹⁶³ This is probably *De Capienda ex inimicis utilitate*, bound with other treatises to form *Moralia*. See Plutarch, *Moralia*, I, xxxii–xxxiv.

¹⁶⁴ This may be confused with the treatise on Aristotle's *De anima* which was not written by the famous Plutarch, but by the Athenian; see Biog. Index., *Plutarch* son of Nestorius.

¹⁶⁵ For this name see n. 126.

Hippocrates

From [what is written in] the handwriting of *Yahyā ibn 'Adī*: [He wrote] *Epistle to Democritus about Proofs of the Creator*.¹⁶⁶

Epaphroditus

From what I read written in the handwriting of *Yahyā ibn 'Adī*, there was among his books *Commentary on Aristotle's Account of the Halo of the Moon and the Rainbow*. *Thābit ibn Qurrah* translated it.

*Plutarch, Another One*¹⁶⁷

Among his books there was *Rivers, Their Peculiarities, the Wonderful Things in Them, Mountains, and Other Things*.¹⁶⁸

Account of *Yahyā al-Nahwī*

Yahyā was a pupil of *Sāwārī*¹⁶⁹ and a bishop over some of the churches of Egypt, upholding the Christian sect of the Jacobites. Then he renounced what the Christians believe about the Trinity, so that the bishops assembled and debated with him. As he got the better of them, they conciliated him, treating him courteously and asking him to relinquish his point of view and to abandon his declarations.¹⁷⁰ As, however, he maintained his position, refusing

¹⁶⁶ In the Arabic the name is *Dyocrates*, but it is probably meant to be *Hippocrates*. Both *Hippocrates* of Cos and *Hippocrates* of Chios were contemporary with *Democritus* and one of them was a personal friend; see *Diogenes Laërtius*, p. 393. The name which follows is probable though not certain.

¹⁶⁷ This may have been the son of the famous *Plutarch*, but was more likely *Plutarch* son of *Nestorius* of Athens.

¹⁶⁸ After this short statement about the other *Plutarch*, the Tonk MS terminates with the following inscription: "The second section of the book *Al-Fihrist* has ended, with the help of Allāh, the Almighty, and with His kindness. If Allāh Almighty so wills, there will follow it in the third section an account of *Yahyā al-Nahwī*. *Hunayn ibn 'Abd Allāh*, the nephew of *Yahyā al-Jawharī*, has written it, thanks be to the Lord of the Knowing." The sections mentioned do not coincide with those of the more authentic manuscripts. The name mentioned is undoubtedly that of the copyist. As this *Hunayn ibn 'Abd Allāh* and his uncle, *Yahyā al-Jawharī*, must have lived some time after *Al-Fihrist* was first written, their names are not included in the *Biog. Index*.

¹⁶⁹ *Qiftī*, p. 354, gives the teacher's name as *Shāwārī*.

¹⁷⁰ *Qiftī*, p. 354 ff, gives an account of the legend about the apostasy of *Yahyā*. What is very likely is that he refused to accept the Monothelite doctrine of the Trinity, which the Emperor *Heraclius* was trying to force upon the Coptic Church, using persecution. The Bishop of Alexandria welcomed the Muslim invasion as a means of avoiding this persecution; see *Hitti, Arabs*, p. 165; *Smith, GRBM*, III, 321.

to back down, they deposed him. He lived until Egypt was invaded by 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ, who, when he went to him, honored him and found a position for him.

He wrote commentaries on the books of *Aristotle*. I have mentioned the commentaries which he wrote in their proper place. His additional books were:

Refutation of *Proclus*, eighteen sections; That Every Body Is Finite, So That Its Force¹⁷¹ Is Also Finite, one section; Refutation of *Aristotle*, six sections; Commentary on What Occurred to Aristotle, the Ten,¹⁷² a dissertation in which he refuted *Nestorius*; book in which he refuted people who do not profess [their beliefs], two sections; another treatise in which he refuted another group.

He also had some explanations of some of *Galen's* books on medicine, which we shall mention when we give an account of *Galen*. In the fourth section of his commentary on *Natural Hearing* [*Physica auscultatio*],¹⁷³ in the statement about time, Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī mentioned a comparison, saying, "Like this year of ours, which is the three hundred and forty-third Coptic year of *Diocletian*." This indicates that between us and Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī there are more than three hundred years. It is reasonable to suppose that the writing of the commentary on this book was at the beginning of his life, because he lived during the days of 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ.¹⁷⁴

The Names of the Philosophers of Natural Science

Their periods and order of sequence are not known. They are:

Ariston

Among his books there was *The Soul* [*De anima*].

¹⁷¹ Qifṭī, p. 356, has "death" instead of "force."

¹⁷² See Qifṭī, p. 356, where the word translated "the ten" is omitted. "The ten" may be instead "the tenth" (*al-āshir*), in which case it might refer to the last section of the *Categoriae*, or to the last of ten books. Ḥajjī Khalīfah, III, 620, says that the commentary of Yaḥyā was in ten volumes. On the other hand, "the ten" may refer to the ten categories themselves.

¹⁷³ Already mentioned in the passage on Aristotle's *Physica auscultatio*.

¹⁷⁴ The Coptic year of *Diocletian* dates from the accession of the emperor, A.D. 284, so that 343 years later would be A.D. 627. 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ invaded Egypt A.D. 640, at which time he befriended Yaḥyā. For the Coptic year of *Diocletian*, see "Egypt," *Enc. Brit.*, IX, 89.

*Pantuleius*¹⁷⁵

Among his books there was *Secrets of Nature*, one section.

Turius

Among his books there was *The Dream*, one section.

Artemidorus

He was the author of *The Dream*. He also wrote *Interpretation of a Dream*, in five sections, translated by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq.

Gregorius

He was the Bishop of Nyssa. Among his books there was *The Disposition of Man*.

Ptolemy the Foreign (al-Gharīb)

He admired *Aristotle* and divulged his good qualities. Among his books there was *Account of Aristotle, His Death, and the Sequence of His Books*.

Theon

He was a zealous partisan of *Plato*. Among his books there was *Sequence of Reading Plato's Books and the Titles of His Compositions*.

On the back of a piece [of manuscript] I found written in an ancient handwriting the names of persons whose names have come down to us from among [those of] the commentators on the books of the philosopher [Aristotle] in connection with logic and other branches of philosophy. They are *Theophrastus, Eudemus, Herminus, Jovian*,¹⁷⁶ *Iamblichus, Alexander, Themistius, Porphyry, Simplicius, Syrianus, Maximus, Aedesius, Lycus, Nicostratus, Plotinus*.

¹⁷⁵ This name fits the Arabic letters better than any other name that can be found, but no philosopher of this name is recorded, so that the Arabic may be garbled.

¹⁷⁶ In Arabic this is Yūāniūs. This may be the Emperor Jovian, or some philosopher of minor importance. Compare Mas'ūdī, II, 324, for identification of the name. It is impossible to be sure of the scholars indicated by the Arabic names in this list, but see the Biog. Index for the persons probably referred to.

Account of al-Kindī

He was Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq ibn Šabbāḥ ibn 'Amrān ibn Ismā'il ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Qays al-Kindī ibn Ma'dī Karib¹⁷⁷ ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Jabalah ibn 'Adī ibn Rabī'ah ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Kindah, who was Thawr ibn Marta¹⁷⁸ ibn 'Adī ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Murrah ibn Adad¹⁷⁹ ibn Zayd ibn al-Humaysa' ibn Zayd ibn Kahlān ibn Sabā ibn Yashjub ibn Ya'rub.¹⁸⁰

He was the distinguished man of his time and unique during his period because of his knowledge of the ancient sciences as a whole. He was called "the Philosopher of the Arabs." His books were about a variety of sciences, such as logic, philosophy, geometry, calculation, arithmetic, music, astronomy, and other things. He was miserly.¹⁸¹

We are mentioning him with the natural philosophers so as to indicate his preeminent position in science. We shall mention everything that he compiled about all of the sciences if Allāh Almighty so wills.¹⁸²

Names of His Philosophical Books¹⁸³

Elementary (First) Philosophy, introductory to natural phenomena and unity;¹⁸⁴ Intrinsic (Inner) Philosophy, Logical and Difficult Questions,

¹⁷⁷ See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 219 bottom, for this element of the name.

¹⁷⁸ This name is very likely incorrect. Flügel spells it with a double *t*. Compare variations in Qiftī, p. 366 l. 16; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 212 l. 2; "Al-Kindī," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1018-19.

¹⁷⁹ See "Al-Kindī," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1018, where this name is written "Udad."

¹⁸⁰ See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 217.

¹⁸¹ For an amusing description of the miserly traits of al-Kindī, see Jāḥiẓ, *Le Livre des avares*, pp. 115-33.

¹⁸² Compare this account of al-Kindī with Qiftī, pp. 366-78; Tūqān, *Turāth al-'Arab*, p. 175; Mieli, *Science arabe*, pp. 80, 81; Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part 6, p. 305; Khallikān, I, 351, 355. Compare the lists of al-Kindī's works which follow with McCarthy, *Al-Tasānif*, p. 81 ff; Ṭurayḥī, *Al-Kindī*, p. 64 ff.

¹⁸³ It is probable that the epistles written by al-Kindī were similar to modern essays. The word *fī* ("about" or "on") is often placed after "his epistle" in the Arabic; it is omitted in the translation. Compare the following list of philosophical books with Kindī, *Rasā'il al-Kindī al-Falsafīyah*.

¹⁸⁴ Islām did not regard spirit and matter as two existences, but insisted upon the oneness of creation. This was a difficult subject for the philosophers, influenced by Greek thought, to discuss.

and Metaphysics (the Supernatural); his epistle on the subject that philosophy cannot be acquired except with a knowledge of mathematics; Encouragement for the Learning of Philosophy; Arrangement of the Books of *Aristotle*; about the intention of Aristotle in the "*Categoriae*," what they [the categories] aim at, and their subject matter; The Essence of Science and Its Divisions; The Divisions of Human Learning; his long epistle, Scientific Evaluation; his epistle epitomizing scientific evaluation; That the Works of the Creator, May His Name Be Glorified, Are All Just, There Being No Injustice in Them; about the Essence of the Phenomenon¹⁸⁵ Which Has No Termination, and in What Way It Is Said That It Has No Termination.

His epistle, Evidence that the Firmament of the World Cannot Be without Termination and That This Is [Known] by Power [of Intellect]; about Agents and the Things Acted upon among the First Natural Phenomena; about Explanations of the Combinations of Thought (*al-Jawāmi' al-Fikriyah*); Questions Asked about the Benefit of Mathematics; about investigating the statement of one claiming that natural objects produce uniform action due to the inevitability of their creation; about the Origins of Perceptible Phenomena; epistle, Benevolence in the Arts;¹⁸⁶ epistle about the procedure for letters to the caliphs and viziers; epistle, Division of the Law;¹⁸⁷ epistle, The Essence of the Mind,¹⁸⁸ with an explanation of it.

His Books about Logic

His epistle on an introduction to logic, with a full discussion of it; his epistle on an introduction to logic, with abridgment and summary; his epistle, The Ten Categories;¹⁸⁹ his epistle about the clarification of *Ptolemy's* statement at the beginning of his book "*Almagest*"¹⁹⁰ in connection with what Aristotle said in the "*Analytica*"; his epistle about choosing of the four books;¹⁹¹ his epistle, Guarding against the Deceits of the

¹⁸⁵ This may refer to the spiritual force active in matter; see "*al-Kindī*," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1020.

¹⁸⁶ All of the texts have *taraffa*q ("benevolence").

¹⁸⁷ *Division of the Law* ("*Qismat al-Qānūn*") does not seem appropriate in a list of philosophical books. Perhaps the title is meant to be a reference to the Canon of Euclid, or to musical divisions of the dulcimer (*qānūn*).

¹⁸⁸ For the word translated "essence," see n. 143.

¹⁸⁹ This must refer to the *Categoriae* of Aristotle, dealing with the ten highest and most comprehensive generic ideas.

¹⁹⁰ See Chap. VII, sect. 2, n. 20.

¹⁹¹ This title appears only in MS 1934.

Sophists; his epistle with summary and abridgment about the logical proof (proof of logic); his epistle on the five sounds;¹⁹² his epistle on "Hearing of Existences" [*Physica auscultatio*];¹⁹³ his epistle on the action of a [sense] organ for the derivation of a union of premises.¹⁹⁴

His Arithmetical Books

His epistle, An Introduction to Arithmetic, five sections; his epistle, The Use of Indian Arithmetic, four sections; his epistle, Clarification of the Numbers, which *Plato* mentioned in his book "The Republic"; his epistle, The Composition of Numbers; his epistle, Oneness, from the point of view of numbers; his epistle, The Derivation of the Concealed and Conceived; his epistle, Divination and Augury, from the point of view of numbers; his epistle, Redaction¹⁹⁵ and Multiplication by *Shā'ir* Countings;¹⁹⁶ his epistle, Added Quantity; his epistle, Relativities of Time; his epistle, Numerical Artifices and Knowledge of Them.¹⁹⁷

His Books on Spherics¹⁹⁸

His epistle, That the World and All the Things In It Are Spherical in Shape;¹⁹⁹ his epistle explaining, That None of the Original [Heavenly] Bodies or Remote Firmaments Are Other than Spherical; his epistle, That the Sphere Is the Largest of Bodily Forms and that the Circle Is the Greatest of All Plane Shapes; his epistle, That the Surface of the Water of the Sea Is Spherical; his epistle, Spreading Out the Sphere to a Plane Surface; his epistle, Spherics; his epistle, Calculating the Azimuth on a Sphere; his epistle, Formation of the Six Zones and Their Functions.²⁰⁰

¹⁹² This may refer to the five vowel sounds, as it is not included with the books on music.

¹⁹³ Here the Arabic is *Sam' al-Kiyān*, whereas the *Physica auscultatio* of Aristotle is as a rule entitled *Al-Samā' al-Ṭabī'ī* ("Natural Hearing").

¹⁹⁴ For "organ" see Goichon, *Vocabulaires comparés d'Aristote et d'Ibn Sīnā*, p. 2 no. 31. For "union of premises," see Rescher, *Studies in the History of Arabic Logic*, pp. 35 n. 18, 36.

¹⁹⁵ Both Qifṭī, p. 370, and Flügel have *khufūf* ("lines"), but the manuscripts do not give a consonant sign over the first letter, and the word makes more sense as *ḥufūf* ("redaction of a fraction").

¹⁹⁶ *Al-shā'ir* is defined as a measure of weight equal to a barley grain, or of length equal to six mule hairs, side by side. See Lane, *Lexicon*, Book I, Part 4, p. 1561.

¹⁹⁷ MS 1934 adds an extra title which is too badly written to be sure of its meaning.

¹⁹⁸ Flügel gives *al-karīyāb*, which is not a usual form and does not make sense. Qifṭī, p. 370, and the manuscripts have *al-kurīyāt*, which in modern times is used for spherules, but formerly may have been used in a more general way for spheres.

¹⁹⁹ Qifṭī, p. 370, omits the word "shape."

²⁰⁰ This title probably refers to the spaces between the seven heavenly bodies.

His Musical Books

His long (great) epistle, Composition; his epistle, The Ordering of Melody according to the Heavenly Bodies, and the Similarity of Their Composition;²⁰¹ his epistle, An Introduction to the Art of Music; his epistle, Information about the Art of Composition;²⁰² his epistle, Making Melody; his epistle, The Arts (Works) of the Poets; his epistle, Accounts of the Art of Music.²⁰³

His Astronomical Books

His epistle, That Visibility of the New Moon Cannot Be Determined Accurately, a Statement about It Being Approximate; his epistle, Questions Which Are Asked about the States of the Stars; his epistle, The Answers to Questions of Physics about Astronomical Procedures; his epistle, Projection of the Rays; his epistle, The Two Divisions;²⁰⁴ his epistle, How Each One of the Countries Is Related to One of the Signs of the Zodiac and to One of the Stars; his epistle, What Has Been Asked as an Elucidation Regarding How Variation Has Taken Place in Connection with the Forms of the Newly Born; his epistle, What Is Said about the Age of People in Ancient Times and the Difference in Our Time; his epistle, Verifying the Operation [of Calculations] for Nativities, Labor, and the Star Predominant at Birth;²⁰⁵ his epistle, An Explanation of the Cause of the Retrogression of the Stars.

His epistle, The Speed Appearing with the Movement of the Stars, When on the Horizon, and Their Slowness after They Have Risen; his epistle, A Clarification of the Diversity Existing among the Heavenly Bodies; his epistle, The Rays; his epistle, The Difference between al-Tasyir²⁰⁶ and the Operation for [the Projection of] the Rays; his epistle, The Causes for the Positions (Settings) of the Stars; his epistle related to the heavenly bodies designated as beneficial and inauspicious; his epistle,

²⁰¹ Farmer, in *Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society*, II (1959-61), p. 46, translates this title as *The Arrangement of Pleasing Melody according to the Sublime Corporeal Natures*.

²⁰² The word translated "information" is probably *khabar* or *khubr*, but is not clearly written. Qiftī, p. 370, has *akhbār*, the plural form.

²⁰³ For al-Kindī's articles about music, see Kindī, *Mu'allafāt al-Kindī al-Mūsīqīyah*, pp. 8, 9 ff.

²⁰⁴ This may refer to the seasons; see Sprenger, p. 1139 top.

²⁰⁵ See the Glossary for "calculations for nativities" and "labor and the star predominant at birth."

²⁰⁶ *Al-tasyir* is also spoken of as "directic" and "theoria planetarium." For an understanding of this term as applied to astrology, see "Al-Tasyir," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 694; "Astrology," *Enc. Islam*, I, 496; and Sprenger, p. 663.

The Causes of Forces Related to the Heavenly Bodies Which Indicate Rain; his epistle, The Causes of Accidents in the Heavens; his epistle, The Reason Why Rain Rarely Falls in Certain Places.

His Geometrical Books

His epistle, Explanations of the Book of *Euclid*;²⁰⁷ his epistle, Correction of the Book of Euclid; his epistle, Reversal of Observations; his epistle, How the Ancients Related Each of the Five Polyhedra to the Elements; his epistle, Approximating *Archimedes'* Statement about the Measuring of the Diameter of a Circle from Its Circumference; his epistle, Establishing the Form of the Medians; his epistle, Approximating the Chord of a Circle; his epistle, Approximating the Chord of a Ninth;²⁰⁸ his epistle, Areas of Vaulted Chambers; his epistle, Division of the Triangle and the Square and Calculating Both of Them; his epistle, How to Form a Circle Equal to the Surface of a Designated Cylinder; his epistle, The Risings and Settings of the Stars by Means of Geometry.

His epistle, Dividing the Circle into Three Parts; his epistle, Correction of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Propositions of the Book of *Euclid*; his epistle, The Proofs from Surface Measurements of What Is Shown by Astronomical Calculations; his epistle, Correction of the Statement of Anaxilaus²⁰⁹ about Risings [of Heavenly Bodies]; his epistle, Reversal of Observations in a Mirror;²¹⁰ his epistle, Laying Out an Astrolabe by Means of Geometry; his epistle, Determination of the Meridian and the Direction of the Qiblah by Means of Geometry; his epistle, Making a Sundial by Means of Geometry; his epistle, Determination of the Hours on a Hemisphere by Means of Geometry;²¹¹ his epistle, Determination of the Hours by a Sundial Which Is Set on a Plane Parallel to the Horizon, and Is Better than Any Other Method; his epistle, Auspicious Auguries.²¹²

²⁰⁷ Both Flügel and Qifṭī, p. 371, have *aghrād* ("purposes"), whereas the manuscripts give *a'rād* ("explanations"). Two titles following, *Reversal of Observations* should be compared with the fifth title in the following paragraph, about reversed reflections in a mirror.

²⁰⁸ A chord is a line between two points on the circumference of a circle. Here it probably refers to the line marking a segment equal to a ninth of the circumference. The word "areas" in the title which follows is uncertain.

²⁰⁹ The manuscripts do not have the letter *n* in this name. Qifṭī, p. 71, gives an account of Anaxilaus. This scholar was very likely *Anaxilaus* of Larissa.

²¹⁰ A written page, for instance, held before a mirror reads backwards.

²¹¹ This probably refers to a hemispherical sundial.

²¹² Qifṭī, p. 71, and Flügel have *sawānīh*, which means "auspicious auguries." It may also mean "accidents," or it may imply "obliqueness," such as that of a solid having an axis which is not perpendicular, or the obliqueness of an obtuse angle.

His Cosmological Books

About the Impossibility of Measuring the Surface of the Farthest Sphere, Which Governs the [Other] Spheres; his epistle, The Nature of the Celestial Sphere Is Different from the Natures of the Four Elements, Being a Fifth Nature;²¹³ his epistle, Manifestations of the Celestial Sphere; his epistle, The Most Remote World (Extreme Universe); his epistle, Worship of the Most Remote Sphere of Its Creator; his epistle, Refutation of the Manichaeans in Connection with the Ten Questions about Subjects Related to the Cosmos;²¹⁴ his epistle, Forms;²¹⁵ his epistle, It Is Impossible that the Sphere of the Cosmos Should Be without Termination; his epistle, Celestial Objects of Observation;²¹⁶ his epistle, The Impossibility for the Most Remote Sphere to Change; his epistle, Ptolemy's Art of Cosmology;²¹⁷ his epistle, Termination of the Sphere of the Cosmos; his epistle, The Essence of the Celestial Sphere and the Inherent Azure Color Perceived in the Direction of the Heavens; his epistle, The Essence of the Celestial Sphere, Bearing in Its Nature the Characteristics of the Four Elements;²¹⁸ his epistle, Proof of the Moving Body²¹⁹ and the Essential Quality of Lights and Darkness; his epistle, The Concealed.²²⁰

His Medical Books

His epistle, Hippocratic Medicine; his epistle, Nutrition and Deadly Medicine; his epistle, Vapors Which Cleanse the Atmosphere from

²¹³ The four elements are earth, air, fire, and water. The fifth is ether. See Sarton, I, 87, 93 bottom.

²¹⁴ Cf. nn. 146, 189.

²¹⁵ "Forms" is *ṣuwar*, which might also mean "inclination." Another possibility is *ṣawar*, which might signify "constellations."

²¹⁶ "Objects of observation" is *manāẓir*, which can also mean "equals" or "things similar."

²¹⁷ In this title the word "art" might also indicate "work." For the cosmology of Ptolemy, see Smith, *GRBM*, III, 575-77.

²¹⁸ The word translated "characteristics" is *alwān*, which as a rule means "colors," but here more likely refers to the characteristics of earth, air, fire, and water.

²¹⁹ MS 1135 has a different form. The translation follows MS 1934 and Qifṭī, p. 372.

²²⁰ The translation follows MS 1135, which gives *al-maghṣiyāt* ("things concealed"). Flügel and MS 1934 give *al-mu'ṣiyāt* ("things given"). The translation follows MSS 1934 and 1135 in placement of the title; Flügel places it elsewhere in the list. Qifṭī omits the title. "Things concealed" probably refers to the invisibility of certain heavenly bodies at certain times.

Pestilences; his epistle, Medicines Which Give Healing (Protection) from Harmful Odors; his epistle, How to Facilitate (Lubricate) Medicines and Compound the Humors;²²¹ his epistle, The Cause (Disease) of Spitting Blood; his epistle, Remedies for Poisons; his epistle, The Regime of the Healthy; his epistle, The Cause of Vertigo with Acute Diseases;²²² his epistle, The Soul, the Principal Part of Man, with an Explanation of Man;²²³ his epistle, The Procedure of the Brain (How the Brain Works).

His epistle, The Cause (Disease) of Leprosy and Its Remedies; his epistle, The Bite of a Mad Dog; his epistle, The Secretion Which Occurs Due to Catarrh, and the Cause of Sudden Death; his epistle, Pain in the Stomach and Gout; his epistle to a man concerning a disease (cause) about which he complained to him; his epistle, Types of Fevers; his epistle, Remedy for a Spleen Hardened by Black (Bilious) Secretion; his epistle, The Bodies of Animals, When Decomposed; his epistle, Determining the Usefulness of the Art of Medicine; his epistle, Making Foods from [Other than] Their Elements; his epistle, Regulating of Foods.²²⁴

His Astrological Books²²⁵

His epistle, Offering Knowledge about Questions by Indication of the Heavenly Bodies; his first, second, and third epistles about forming [astrological] judgments by division;²²⁶ his epistle about an introduction to astrology in accordance with questions; his epistle, Questions;²²⁷ his epistle, Indications of the Two Maleficent [Planets] in the Sign of

²²¹ "Compound the humors" is *injidhāb al-akhlāt*. It probably means drawing together of the four bodily humors—blood, phlegm, yellow bile (choler), and black bile (melancholy).

²²² 'Illat *baḥārīn* is translated the "cause of vertigo." In this connection "cause" makes better sense than the alternative translation, "disease." Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 53, suggests "fainting" for *baḥārīn*, while Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 244, gives "turns of distemper."

²²³ Qiftī, p. 372, gives *nafs* ("soul") without the article and with part of the remaining title in parenthesis. *Nafs* evidently refers to the soul as the principal existence in the body. Flügel gives the last word of this title as *al-albāb* ("quint-essences"). This seems to be an error and MS 1934 is apparently correct in giving *al-insān* ("man" or "individual").

²²⁴ MS 1135 has *tadbīr* ("regulating"). *Taghayyar* ("changing") is given by Qiftī, p. 372, and Flügel. MS 1934 is incomplete.

²²⁵ Cf. Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), III, 133-37.

²²⁶ The word for "division" is *al-taqāsīm*, which in this connection evidently has a more technical astrological meaning.

²²⁷ See Glossary; MS 1135 omits this title.

Cancer;²²⁸ his epistle, Determining the Usefulness of Choices;²²⁹ his epistle, Determining the Usefulness of the Art of Astrology, and Who the Man Is Who Is Deservedly Called an Astrologer; his abridged epistle, The Ordinances of Nativities; his epistle, Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of Nativities;²³⁰ his epistle, Obtaining Indications about Happenings from Eclipses.

His Books of Disputations²³¹

His epistle, Refutation of the Manichaeans; his epistle, Refutation of the Dualists; his epistle, Guarding against the Deceit of the Sophists; his epistle, Confuting the Questions of the Heretics; his epistle, Confirmation of the Apostle, for whom May There Be Peace; his epistle, That the First Agent Is Perfect and the Second Agent Figurative;²³² his epistle, Istiṭā'ah and the Period of Its Existence; his epistle, Refutation of Whoever Thinks that There Is Arresting of Motion for Bodies in Their Descent in the Sky; his epistle, The Falsehood of the Statement of Whoever Thinks that There Is Rest between Natural and Accidental Motion; his epistle, It Is a False Conception that, When First Originated, a Body Is Neither at Rest Nor in Motion; his epistle, Oneness, with explanations; his epistle, Falsity of the Statement of Whoever Thinks that an Atom Is Indivisible; his epistle, Essences of Bodies (Substances); his epistle, Beginnings (Origins) of a Body (Substance); his epistle, The Difference between the Sects about Oneness and [the Fact that] although They Are All for Oneness, Each Has Disagreed with Its Associate; his epistle, Glorifying [God]; his epistle, Proof.

His Books about the Souls²³³

His epistle, The Soul Is an Uncombined Essence, Imperishable, Affecting Bodies (Substances); his epistle, The Essence of Man and His Principal Part; his epistle, Information about the Agreement of the Philosophers Regarding the Signs of Passionate Love; his epistle, That of Which the

²²⁸ These planets are Saturn and Mars; see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 645.

²²⁹ See Glossary for "choices."

²³⁰ See Glossary for this subject.

²³¹ "Disputations" (*al-jadaliyāt*) evidently refers to the argumentative compositions of al-Kindī.

²³² To understand this title, see "al-Kindī," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1020. The first agent, the intelligence, was the first emanation, called in Arabic *al-'aql*. The second one, the world-soul or *nafs*, was not clearly distinguished by al-Kindī from the first. Qifṭī, p. 373, has a somewhat different rendering of this title.

²³³ Here, "souls" is *nafsiyāt*, a rare form.

Soul Was Mindful, When in the Realm of Intellect, before Its Existence in the Realm of Sense; his epistle, The Cause of Sleep, Dreams, and What the Soul Manifests.

His Books about Politics (Government)

His long (great) epistle, Politics (Government); his epistle, Facilitating the Ways of the Virtues; his epistle, Averting the Making of Grief; his epistle, The Government (Politics) of the Common People; his epistle, Ethics; his epistle, Calling Attention to (Admonition regarding) the Virtues; his epistle, Information about the Virtue of *Socrates*;²³⁴ his epistle, The Words of Socrates; his epistle, A Dialogue Taking Place between Socrates and *Aeschines*;²³⁵ his epistle, Information about the Death of Socrates; his epistle, What Passed between Socrates and His Guards;²³⁶ his epistle, Goodness of the Intellect.²³⁷

His Books on Ontological Occurrences²³⁸

His epistle, An Explanation of the Creative Cause Related to Being and Corruption, about corruptible phenomena (*al-ka'ināt al-fāsidāt*); his epistle, The Reason Why It Is Said that Fire, Air, Water, and Earth Are the Elements of All Corruptible Phenomena and Why These and Other Things Are Transmuted, One to the Other; his epistle, The Diversity of the Times in Which the Potency of the Four Original Principles Appears; his epistle, The Relativity of Time; his epistle, The Reason for the Diversity of the Seasons of the Year;²³⁹ his epistle, The Essential Nature of Time (*al-Zamān*), Limited Time (*al-Ḥin*), and Eternity (*al-Dahr*).

His epistle, The Reason Why the Highest Part of the Sky Is Cold, While the Part Near the Earth Is Warm; his epistle, The Happenings in the Sky; his epistle, The Object (Sign) Which Appears in the Sky and Is called a

²³⁴ In this paragraph there is a word which can be either *khabr* ("information") or *khayr* ("goodness") mentioned three times. In the title about the death of Socrates the consonant is indicated, so that it is "information," but in the other cases there are no consonant signs to mark which of the two meanings is indicated.

²³⁵ Although the Arabic texts have an *r* in this name, it is almost certainly "Aeschines," who was one of those taking part in the dialogue *Phaedo*.

²³⁶ The manuscripts have *al-ḥurrās* ("guards"). Qifī, p. 374, and Flügel have "the Ḥarrānīyīn," which must be a mistake.

²³⁷ Although Flügel has *khabr* ("information"), the unmarked form found in the manuscripts, *khayr* ("goodness"), is probably correct.

²³⁸ The word translated "ontological" is *ahdāthiyāt*. Sprenger, p. 278, gives *ahdāth*, the noun form, as synonymous with "being."

²³⁹ The word translated as "seasons" usually means "species." It is omitted in MS 1135.

Star;²⁴⁰ his epistle, The Intensely Hot Star;²⁴¹ his epistle, The Star Which Appeared and Was Observed for Some Days, until It Disappeared; his epistle, The Cause of Coldness, Which Is Called the Cold of al-'Ajūz;²⁴² his epistle, The Reason for the Forming of Clouds and the Causes Altering This [Formation] during Its Periods; his epistle, What Was Observed about the Great Object (Sign) during the Year Two Hundred and Twenty-Two of the Hijrah.²⁴³

His Books about Distances

His epistle, The Distances of Journeys in the Regions [of the Earth];²⁴⁴ his epistle, Habitations; his longer (greater) epistle, The Inhabited Quarter;²⁴⁵ his epistle, Information about the Distances of [Heavenly] Bodies; his epistle, Calculation of the Distance of the Station (Center) of the Moon from the Earth; his epistle, Calculation and Making an Instrument²⁴⁶ with Which to Calculate the Distances of the [Heavenly] Bodies; his epistle, The Making of an Instrument with Which to Ascertain the Distance of Objects of Observation (Things Apparent); his epistle, Ascertaining the Distance of Mountain Summits.

His Books about Premonitions²⁴⁷

His epistle, The Secrets of Anticipating Knowledge; his epistle, Anticipating Knowledge about Happenings;²⁴⁸ his epistle, Anticipating News; his epistle, Anticipating Items of News; his epistle, Anticipating Knowledge by Indication of the Heavenly Bodies.

²⁴⁰ This title and the two which follow evidently refer to comets.

²⁴¹ Instead of *dhuwābah* ("intensely hot"), the Arabic may refer to Abū Dhawā'ib, the name of a comet; see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 483. Qifṭī, p. 374, omits the word.

²⁴² *Al-'ajūz* means "feebleness," but here probably refers to part of the winter. For particulars, see Lane, *Lexicon*, Book I, Part 5, p. 1961 bottom.

²⁴³ This was between December 14, A.D. 836, and December 2, A.D. 837. The object was almost certainly Halley's Comet. The comet appears approximately every 76 years; it was seen in 1066, and figuring from that date brings it to late 837 or early 838. See "Comet," *Enc. Brit.*, VI, 762.

²⁴⁴ For "regions" (*al-aqālīm*), see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 25 ff.

²⁴⁵ Qifṭī, p. 375, gives *al-kawn* ("existence") instead of *al-kubrā* ("longer," "greater"), which would make the phrase "his epistle, *Existence in the Inhabited Quarter*."

²⁴⁶ The word translated "instrument" may refer to some small astronomical instrument, or perhaps to a large construction for observation such as those still preserved in several places of India.

²⁴⁷ The word translated as "premonitions" is *al-taqdīmīyāt*, which implies "things going before" and here seems to refer to things known before they happen.

²⁴⁸ *Taqdimah* is translated as "anticipating." It may indicate offering knowledge before events occur.

His Miscellaneous Books²⁴⁹

His epistle, The Kinds of Jewels, Precious Ones and Others; his epistle, The Kinds of Stones; his epistle, The Shining of Glass; his epistle, That Which Dyes and Gives Color; his epistle, Kinds of Swords and Iron; his epistle, That with Which Swords and Iron Are Treated So That the Edges Are Not Blunted and They Are Not Dulled;²⁵⁰ his epistle, Domestic Birds; his epistle, Crossbreeding the Dove;²⁵¹ his epistle, Setting on Eggs; his epistle, Species of the Bee and Its Nobles;²⁵² his epistle, The Making of a Vessel for Mixing;²⁵³ his epistle, Perfume and Its Varieties; his epistle, The Alchemy of Perfume; his epistle, The Making of Foods from Other than Their Elements; his epistle, Names That Are Obscure (of Obscure Places); his epistle, Warning of the Deceit of Alchemists; his epistle, The Principles of Mechanics; his long (large) epistle, Bodies Plunged in Water; his epistle, The Two Traces Perceived in Water; his epistle, The Flow and the Ebb; his epistle, Falling (Descending) Bodies; his epistle, Making Mirrors Which Produce Flame.²⁵⁴

His epistle, The Heat of (Produced by) a Mirror;²⁵⁵ his epistle, Pronunciation (Dialects), in three sections: first, second, and third; his epistle, Al-Ḥasharāt Muṣawwir 'Uṭāridī;²⁵⁶ his epistle, The Science of the Winds in the Bowels of the Earth, Which Produce Many Earthquakes and Terrors;²⁵⁷ his epistle about an answer to fourteen questions of natural science about which some of his brothers asked him; his epistle about an answer to three questions about which he was asked; his epistle, The

²⁴⁹ The word translated "miscellaneous" is *al-anwā'iyāt*, which usually means "species." MS 1135 shows variations in this paragraph, but they are unimportant.

²⁵⁰ MS 1934 omits *ḥatta'*, evidently an error. It is translated "so that."

²⁵¹ MS 1934 gives a form which appears to be *tamzīj* and probably means in this connection "crossbreeding." Qifṭī, p. 375, has *tamwīj* ("trembling"), while Flügel has *tamwikh* ("calming"). MS 1934 is probably correct, as the other forms are not included in the dictionaries.

²⁵² The word translated "the bee" is *al-naḥl*, a generic noun for bees. It is possible that the various versions have omitted the sign over the third letter and that it is meant to be *al-nakhl* ("palm tree"). In that case the title would be *Species of the Palm and Its Noble Qualities*.

²⁵³ The word translated "vessel" is *qumqum*. Instead of *al-nabbāj* ("mixing"), Qifṭī, p. 375, has another word, which is probably an error.

²⁵⁴ For this title, see Sarton, I, 170, 183, 427.

²⁵⁵ Flügel gives *al-su'ār* ("heat"), which is probably correct, although MS 1934 gives a word which might be *al-shuffār* ("subtleties").

²⁵⁶ The meaning of this title is not clear. *Al-ḥasharāt* ("reptiles," "small creeping things") may be instead *al-ḥashwāt* ("quiltings"). *Muṣawwar* means "formed" or "painted," and *'uṭāridī* means "ingenious."

²⁵⁷ MS 1934 and Flügel have *'ilm* ("science"). Qifṭī, p. 376, gives *'aml* ("action").

Story²⁵⁸ of the Man Pretending to be a Philosopher by Silence; his epistle, The Cause of Thunder, Lightning, Snow, Cold, Thunderbolts, and Rain; his epistle, The Falsity of the Contention of Those Who Claim to Make Gold and Silver, and Their Deceit; his epistle, Completion (Al-Wafā');²⁵⁹ his epistle, Explanation that the Diversity Existing among the Heavenly Bodies Is Not Responsible²⁶⁰ for the Primordial Reactions, as It Is for What Is Subject to Generation and Corruption.

The Disciples of al-Kindī and His Scribes

Hasanuwayh, *Naftuwayh*, *Salmuwayh*, and others with this [name] formation.²⁶¹ Among his disciples there was *Aḥmad* ibn al-Ṭayyib, whom we shall mention in what follows. *Abū Ma'shar* [Ja'far ibn Muḥammad] also derived knowledge from him.

Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib

He was *Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān al-Sarakhsī. He was, moreover, one of those who traced a start in life to al-Kindī, with whom he studied and from whom he learned. We mention him in this place because of his relationship to him [al-Kindī].

He was learned in many of the sciences of both the ancients and the Arabs, with an excellent knowledge, fine genius, eloquent speech, and an ability for compilation and composition. At first he was the teacher of al-Mu'taḍid.²⁶² Then he became his intimate companion, devoting himself to his service. He [al-Mu'taḍid] used to tell him about his confidential matters and consult him about the affairs of the kingdom. The preeminence of Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib, however, was due to his learning rather than to his intelligence.

The reason why al-Mu'taḍid executed him was because of his intimacy with him, for he confided to him a secret which had to do

²⁵⁸ Instead of *qiṣṣah* ("story"), Qiftī, p. 376, has *fadl* ("excellence").

²⁵⁹ MS 1135 and Qiftī, p. 376, omit this title. It may refer to completing a contract, to the termination of life, or to success in alchemy.

²⁶⁰ The words rendered as "responsible" and "reactions" are questionable.

²⁶¹ These were evidently young slaves or apprentices to whom al-Kindī gave Arabic names with Persian ending *-wayh*. Very often the apprentices of a great scholar became scholars, too.

²⁶² He evidently was tutor to al-Mu'taḍid before that prince became the caliph, A.D. 892.

with al-Qāsim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh and with *Badr*. This *Badr* was a young man attached to al-Mu'taḍid. Its [the secret's] divulgence and becoming known was because of a famous trick played on him [Aḥmad] by al-Qāsim. Then al-Mu'taḍid turned him over to these two men, who chose the best of his possessions and then committed him to the grain cellars.

At the time when al-Mu'taḍid set forth to invade Āmid and to fight with Aḥmad ibn 'Īsā ibn Shaykh,²⁶³ there escaped from the cellars a group of the Khawārij and others, whom *Mu'nis* al-Faḥl happened upon. He [Mu'nis] was chief of the guard and deputy of al-Mu'taḍid at the court. Aḥmad stayed in his place, hoping that he would be safe, but his remaining there was the cause of his death.

Al-Mu'taḍid ordered al-Qāsim to confirm [the names of] a group of persons whom it was necessary to execute so that he could relax from anxiety in his heart about them. When he confirmed [the names], al-Mu'taḍid signed [an order] for their execution. Since al-Qāsim entered the name of Aḥmad along with the others, he was executed. When al-Mu'taḍid inquired about him, al-Qāsim recorded his death, producing the confirmation, so that he [the caliph] did not question it.

So this man passed away during the year ———, after he had reached the sky in rank.²⁶⁴ Among his books there were:

Abridgment of the Book "Categoriae"; Abridgment of the Book "De interpretatione"; Abridgment of the First Book of "Analytica"; Abridgment of the Second Book of "Analytica";²⁶⁵ the large book, Gathering Together and the Operation of Calculating;²⁶⁶ the small book, Gathering Together of the Operations and Calculating; Pleasure of Souls, which did not appear in its complete form; Amusement, Instruments for

²⁶³ He was the chief of the regions of Āmid and Diyār Bakr, and revolted against al-Mu'taḍid. For Āmid on the Upper Tigris, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 66; for Diyār Bakr, see "Diyār Bakr," *Enc. Islam*, I, 928.

²⁶⁴ Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib was director of weights and measures, so that he may have been corrupt and have amassed an unreasonably large fortune. Perhaps for that reason the caliph allowed his officers to confiscate his estate and execute him. See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 179; Qiftī, p. 77.

²⁶⁵ These of course were works of Aristotle's. The last two were the *Analytica priora* and *Analytica posteriora*.

²⁶⁶ In this title the term "gathering together" comes from the Arabic 'ashsh, which refers to building a bird's nest.

Singing, Singers, Court Companions, Sittings Together, and Varieties of Stories and Anecdotes; the large book, Government (Politics); the small book, Government (Politics); Introduction to the Art of Astrology; the large book, Music, two sections which have not been equaled for excellence and greatness; the small book, Music; Arithmetic, about numbers, algebra, and equation.

Roads and Kingdoms; Animals of Prey and Hunting Them; Introduction to the Art of Medicine, in which he refuted *Ḥunayn* ibn Ishāq; The Questions; The Virtues of Baghdād and Historical Traditions about It; Cooking, which he composed according to months and days for *al-Mu'taḍid*; Provision for Travelers and the Service of Kings, a delightful book in two sections; Introduction to the Science of Music; Training of Kings; Companions and [Social] Sessions; his epistle about the reply of *Thābit* ibn Qurrah to the question addressed to him; his treatise about spots on the skin²⁶⁷ and moles; The Poor and the Manner of Belief of the Populace;²⁶⁸ The Benefit of the Mountains; his epistle describing the doctrines of the Ṣābians (Ṣābīyūn);²⁶⁹ about [the Subject that] in the Process of Creation, Created Bodies Are Neither Moving Nor at Rest.

Quwayrī

His name was Ibrāhīm and he was surnamed Abū Ishāq. He was one of those by means of whom the study of logic was learned, and he was also a commentator. *Mattā* ibn Yūnus²⁷⁰ studied with him. Among the books of Quwayrī there were:

Commentary on the "Categoriae," tabulated [with designs]; De interpretatione, tabulated; Analytica priora, tabulated; Analytica posteriora, tabulated.²⁷¹

His books are unpopular and rejected, as his style lacks fluency and is hard to understand.

²⁶⁷ For "spots on the skin" this translation follows MS 1934 and Flügel; MS 1135 has instead *al-bahaj* ("leprosy").

²⁶⁸ The translation follows MS 1934, which gives *ṣarīq i' tiqād al-'āmmah* ("manner of belief of the populace"). Flügel gives *ṣarif i' tiqād al-'āmmah*, which might mean either "new belief of the populace" or possibly "new acquisition of an estate of the populace."

²⁶⁹ See "Ṣābians" in Glossary.

²⁷⁰ MS 1934 and MS 1135 have Yūnān, which is a form of Yūnus.

²⁷¹ The proper names in these titles are transliterations from the Greek. It is possible that the word "commentary" is meant to be understood before the Greek titles. For these books, see the account of Aristotle's works.

Ibn Karnīb

He was Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn ibn Abū al-Ḥusayn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd, al-Kātib, who was known as Ibn Karnīb. He was one of the most eminent of the theologians, upholding the doctrines of the natural philosophers. His brother, Abū al-'Alā', was interested in the science of geometry. We are mentioning him in his proper place. Abū Aḥmad was extremely virtuous, learned, and skilled in the natural sciences of the ancients. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Refutation of Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah's Denial of the Necessity for the Existence of Two States of Rest between Two Contradictory Movements;²⁷² Treatise about Types and Species, concerning matters of a general nature.

Al-Fārābī

He was Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭarkhān. His origin was in al-Fāriyāb in the land of Khurāsān.²⁷³ He was one of the leaders in the field of logic and the ancient sciences. Among his books there were:

Grades of the Sciences; Commentary on a Portion of Aristotle's Book of Ethics [Ethicorum Nicomacheorum].

Al-Fārābī wrote commentaries on Aristotle's books, which are extant and in circulation among the people. They are:

Analogy—Categoriae; The Proof—Analytica posteriora; Oratory—Rhetorica; Those in Error—Sophistici.

They were in the form of compilations. He also wrote discerning compilations on the books of logic.

Abū Yahyā al-Marwazī

Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus studied under him. Although an excellent man, he was a Syrian, so that everything he wrote about logic and other things was in the Syriac tongue. He was also a well-known physician in the City of Peace [Baghdād].

²⁷² MS 1135 and Qifṭī, p. 169, have a variation for "two contradictory movements"; the translation follows MS 1934 and Flügel.

²⁷³ *Al-Fihrist* traces al-Fārābī to al-Fāriyāb in Khurāsān, whereas Qifṭī, p. 277; Khallikān, III, 310; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 371 n. 2, and other works connect him with Fārāb in Turkeṣtān. For these two towns, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 833, 840.

Abū Yahyā al-Marwazī

He was another man whom I have mentioned, as this point [in the book] requires his inclusion. He was a physician who was also learned in geometry.

Various Books of a Number of Miscellaneous People

The Obscure Way (Mind), about the secret of the Creator; *Bryson* on the Management of the Home, by *Apollonius*.²⁷⁴

Mattā ibn Yūnus

Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus was a Greek and one of the people of Dayr Qunnā, one of those who matured in the School of Mar Mārī.²⁷⁵ He studied under *Quwayrī*, *Theophilus*, *Benjamin*,²⁷⁶ and Abū Aḥmad ibn *Karnīb*.

He translated from Syriac into Arabic. The leadership of the logicians of his period culminated with him. Among his commentaries there were:

Commentary on the Three Last Sections of the Commentary of *Themistius*; translation of the book "The Proof" [*Analytica posteriora*], the main text; translation of "Sophistici," the main text; translation of the book "Being and Corruption" [*De generatione et corruptione*], with the commentary of *Alexander* [of *Aphrodisias*]; translation of the book "Poetry" [*Poetica*], the main text; translation of "Respect for the Sciences and Inquiring about the Subjects,"²⁷⁷ by *Themistius*; translation of the book which is the commentary of *Alexander* about the book "Heaven" [*De coelo*].—Abū Zakariyā' *Yahyā* ibn 'Adī corrected it.

²⁷⁴ In the manuscripts this second title is garbled. Rūfus is the first name, and the last is not clear, but they are probably intended to be *Bryson* and *Apollonius*, as translated. See Plessner, pp. 4-5, 8, 144 ff.

²⁷⁵ For Dayr Qunnā and Dayr Mar Mārī, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 687, 700. *Dayr* means "monastery." *Mar* is probably meant for the Syriac *mār* ("saint").

²⁷⁶ This name, written *Banyāmīn*, may refer to *Benjamin* Nahawāndī, the well-known scholar who lived in Persia during the late 8th and early 9th century. No other man of this name has been identified.

²⁷⁷ Instead of "sciences" (*al-ḥikam*), perhaps this should be "authority" (*al-ḥukm*). This book does not seem to be known in modern times.

Mattā also wrote commentaries on all of the four books of logic, upon which people rely for their reading. Among his books there were [also]:

A section on the introductions preliminary to the book "Analytica"; Conditional Analogies of Estimation.

Yahyā ibn 'Adī

He was Abū Zakariyā' Yahyā ibn 'Adī ibn Ḥumayd ibn Zakariyā' the logician, who became the foremost of his group in our time. He studied under Abū Bishr *Mattā* [ibn Yūnus], Abū Naṣr al-*Fārābī* and a group of scholars. He was unique during his period. He belonged to the Jacobite Christian sect.

One day when I spoke earnestly with him about the great amount of material which he had transcribed, he spoke to me with regards to those who are copyists (*warrāqīyūn*), saying: "Wherefore now do you wonder at my patience? In my own handwriting I have transcribed two copies of the *Commentary* of al-*Ṭabarī*,²⁷⁸ which I have taken to the kings of distant regions. I have transcribed so many books of the theologians that they cannot be counted. It is my agreement with myself that I should copy a hundred leaves every day and night, which I feel to be too little."

He also said to me, "My birth was during the year ———." He died in the year ———. Among his books, commentaries, and translations there were:

A commentary on *Aristotle's* book "Topica"; his treatise about the four investigations;²⁷⁹ his epistle refuting the arguments which someone²⁸⁰ set forth in support of the statement of those who say that actions are the creation²⁸¹ of Allāh Almighty and an acquisition for his servant [man].

²⁷⁸ See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Qifṭī, p. 363 l. 11. Flügel does not separate this phrase from the one preceding it, as is done by the manuscripts.

²⁸⁰ The word translated "someone" is not clear in the manuscripts. Flügel has *al-ra'īs* ("headman"); it may be a proper name.

²⁸¹ "The creation" is given by the manuscripts but not by Flügel. "Almighty" is omitted by the manuscripts but included by Flügel.

Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī

He was Abū Sulaymān *Muḥammad* ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī, whose birth was during the year ———. Among his books there was a treatise about the degrees of man's ability and how warnings inform the soul of what takes place in the world of phenomena.

Ibn Zur'ah

He is Abū 'Alī 'Isā ibn Ishāq ibn Zur'ah ibn Murqus ibn Zur'ah ibn Yuḥannā. He is contemporary with our time, and one of the leaders in the science of logic as well as in the philosophical studies. He is also one of the accurate translators. His birth was at Baghdād during Dhū al-Ḥijjah [the twelfth Muslim month] in the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 942/43]. Among his books there were:

An abridgment of *Aristotle's* book about the inhabited parts of the earth, one section;²⁸² The Aims of Aristotle's Books about Logic, one section; The Meaning of the "Isagoge," one section;²⁸³ The Meaning of a Portion of the Third Section of the Book "Heaven" (*De coelo*), one section; about the mind, a treatise which did not become known; The Amulet, a treatise which he translated;²⁸⁴ what he translated from the Syriac; "Historia animalium" of Aristotle; "Uses of the Parts of the Animal," according to a commentary of *Yahyā al-Naḥwī*;²⁸⁵ a discourse about ethics, which is not extant; five chapters from the book of *Nicolaus* [of Laodiceia] about the philosophy of Aristotle;²⁸⁶ "Sophistici" of Aristotle, the main text.

Ibn Khammār

He is Abū al-Khayr al-*Hasan* ibn Suwār ibn Bābā ibn Bahrām, and is living in our own time. He is one of the best of the logicians who studied under *Yahyā* ibn 'Adī, having the greatest intelligence, comprehension, and ability for the sciences of his associates. His

²⁸² This may have been falsely assigned to Aristotle.

²⁸³ See n. 157.

²⁸⁴ Qifṭī, p. 246 top, has *al-tamīmah* ("amulet"), whereas Flügel gives *al-namīmah* ("calumny"). The manuscripts lack consonant signs.

²⁸⁵ This probably refers to *De partibus animalium*; see Aristotle, *Opera omnia*, III, 218.

²⁸⁶ *De summa philosophiae Aristotelicae*; see Smith, *GRBM*, II, 1192 bottom.

birth was in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal [third Muslim month], during the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 942/43].

Among his books there were:

Formless Matter, one section; Agreement between the Opinions of the Philosophers and the Christians, three sections; a commentary on the "Isagoge," explained;²⁸⁷ a commentary on the "Isagoge," abridged; The Friend and Friendship; Biography of the Philosopher [Aristotle], one section; Pregnant Women, a treatise about medicine; about diabetes, which means emission, drop by drop, one section; Apparitions Imaged in the Sky as a Result of Water Vapor—they are the halo of the moon, the rainbow, and the mists, one section; his translations from Syriac into Arabic; The Heavenly Signs, which he translated;²⁸⁸ The Confused in the Four Books of Logic;²⁸⁹ the "Questions" of *Theophrastus*, which he translated; Discourse on Ethics, which he translated.

Al-'Awwaqī [al-'Ūqī]

He is one of the people of al-Baṣrah and is living in our own time. His name is ———, and his books are: ———.

²⁸⁷ See n. 157.

²⁸⁸ Very likely the *Meteorologia* of Aristotle.

²⁸⁹ The word "confused" is taken from Flügel, as the manuscripts are not clear. The words "the found from that" are added at the end of the title. This probably signifies the logic in four of the books of Aristotle's *Organon*.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Second Section of the Seventh Chapter

of the book *Al-Fihrist*, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, including accounts of the men of learning who were geometricians, arithmeticians, musicians, calculators, astrologers, makers of instruments, and persons interested in mechanics and dynamics.¹

*Euclid, Master of Jūmatriyā, Which Means Geometry*²

He was *Euclid*, son of Naucrates son of Berenicus,³ and he was the discloser and proclaimer of geometry, preceding Archimedes and others. He was one of the mathematical philosophers.

Account of His Book on the Elements of Geometry

Its name was *Al-Isrūshīyā*,⁴ which means "the elements of geometry." *Al-Hajjāj* ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar made two translations. One of them, his first, was called *Al-Harūnī*, whereas the second translation was *Al-Ma'mūnī*. It was known as *Al-Ma'mūnī* and relied upon.⁵

Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn translated it and *Thābit* ibn Qurrah al-Ḥarrānī corrected it. Abū 'Uthmān al-*Dimashqī* translated some of its

¹ The title follows MS 1934. For this section on mathematics, see Suter (1892) and Suter (1900).

² This account should be compared with Qifṭī, p. 62.

³ Heath, *Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, I, 1-6, gives an account of Euclid, calling him the son of Naucrates and grandson of Zenarchus.

⁴ This is probably meant to be στοιχεῖα ("Elements"); see Qifṭī, p. 62 n.

⁵ These translations were evidently made for Ḥārūn al-Rashīd and his son al-Ma'mūn.

sections. I saw the tenth of these [sections] in the library of 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-'Imrānī at al-Mawṣil. One of his young men, Abū al-Ṣaqr [ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn 'Uthmān] al-Qabīṣī, studied the *Almagest* under his supervision during our own time.⁶

Heron explained this book [Euclid's *Elements*], solving its uncertainties. Al-Nayrizī expounded upon it, and there was also an explanation of it made by a man known as al-Karābisī, who will be mentioned in what follows. Al-Jawharī explained the book from beginning to end. An account of al-Jawharī will come later on. Al-Māhānī explained the fifth section of the volume and Naẓīf the physician, may Allāh ennoble him, told me that he saw the tenth section of Euclid in Greek. It had forty more figures (propositions) than those have, which are in the hands of the people, for there are only one hundred and nine figures in the hands of the people.⁷ He intended to issue it in Arabic.

Yūḥannā al-Qass has recalled that he saw the figure which Thābit [ibn Qurrah] laid claim to in the first section, and he supposed that it was in Greek. Naẓīf stated that he also saw it. Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin al-Khurāsānī, mention of whom will follow, expounded upon the book of Euclid.

Abū al-Wafā' [Muḥammad al-Būzjānī] wrote a [partial] exposition of this book, but did not complete it. A man known as Ibn Rāhawīyah al-Arrajānī explained the tenth section. Abū al-Qāsim al-Anṭākī expounded upon the volume as a whole and, moreover, he issued (publicized) it. Sanād ibn 'Alī commented on it and Abū 'Alī⁸ saw nine of the sections and part of the tenth. Abū Yūsuf al-Rāzī [Ya'qūb ibn Muḥammad] also explained the tenth section for Ibn al-'Amīd [the vizier], making it accurate.

Al-Kindī mentioned in his epistle about the aims of the book of Euclid that a man named *Ablīnus* al-Najjār composed the book, forming it into fifteen propositions. Then when that book became old and neglected, one of the kings of the Alexandrians was moved

⁶ For the *Almagest*, see n. 20. Qifī, p. 64 l. 8, gives "our own time" as A.H. 370 (A.D. 980/81).

⁷ Heath, *Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, III, 254, gives 115 propositions.

⁸ Probably 'Isā ibn Ishāq ibn Zur'ah, who was very likely an acquaintance of the author of *Al-Fihrist*.

to study the science of geometry. As Euclid was living during his time, he [the king] ordered him to correct and explain that book. Because he did this, it became connected with him. Then, after that, *Hypsicles*, a pupil of Euclid, found two books, the fourteenth and fifteenth. He presented them to the king and they were joined to the book [Euclid's *Elements*]. All this happened at Alexandria.⁹

Among the books of Euclid there were:¹⁰

The Manifest [Euclidis Phaenomena]; Inversion of Visions [Inversione optica]; Things Given [Euclidis data]; Singing, Known as Music [Isagoge harmonica, vulgo Musica], spurious; Divisions [De divisionibus], with corrections of *Thābit* [ibn Qurrah]; Benefits [De utilitate], spurious; The Canon [De canone musico]; Weight and Lightness [De gravi et levi]; The Composition [De compositione], spurious; Analysis [De analysi], spurious.

Archimedes

A reliable person has told me that the Romans burned fifteen loads of Archimedes' books, but that is a story which it takes a long time to explain. His books which are extant are:¹¹

The Sphere and the Cylinder [Archimedis de sphaera et cylindro], two sections; Squaring the Circle [De circuli quadratura], one section; Dividing the Circle into Seven Parts [De septangulo in circulo], one section; Contiguous Circles [De circulis sese invicem tangentibus], one section; Triangles [De triangulis], one section; Parallel Lines [De lineis parallelis]; Opinions about the Elements of Geometry [Archimedis lemmata]; Things Determined [Definitorum], one section; The Characteristics of Right-Angle Triangles [De triangulorum rectangulorum proprietatibus], one section; The Water Clock Which Drops Round Weights [De clepsydria, de instrumentis hydraulicis uti de cochleis ad aquas exhauriendas idoneis], one section.

⁹ See Heath, *Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, I, 5-6.

¹⁰ This list of books should be compared with the titles given by Smith, *GRBM*, II, 70; Wenrich, pp. 180-84; Heath, *Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, I, 7; Heath, *History of Greek Mathematics*, I, 431; Suter (1892), I ff; and Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie*, I, Part 2, 1449.

¹¹ See Qifti, p. 67; Heath, *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, pp. 283, 285 bottom; Wenrich, p. 189; Archimedes, *Oeuvres*; "Archimedes," *Enc. Brit.*, II, 369.

Hypsicles

Bodies and Distances [Aristarchi de solis et lunae magnitudinibus et distantis], one section; Ascensions [De ascensionibus signorum coelestium], that is rising and setting, one section;¹² he also corrected the fourth and fifth books of *Euclid*.¹³

Apollonius [of Perga], Author of the Book of *Conics*

In the first part (introduction) of the book of *Conics*, the Banū Mūsā mentioned that Apollonius was from the people of Alexandria. They also recalled that his book on conics had deteriorated for various reasons. Among these there was the difficulty in transcribing it, abbreviations being left in the correction. Then, in the second place, after the book had been studied, it was lost track of, scattered in the hands of the people, until a man known as *Eutocius* appeared at Askalon and made a thorough study of the science of geometry. The Banū Mūsā said that this man wrote excellent books about geometry, but none of them have come down to us. After he had collected as much of the volume [*Conics*] as he could, he corrected four of its sections. The Banū Mūsā, however, said that the volume had eight sections, the part of it now extant being seven with a part of the eighth. *Hilāl ibn Abī Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī* translated the first four sections, with the guidance of *Aḥmad ibn Mūsā*,¹⁴ and *Thābit ibn Qurrah al-Ḥarrānī* the last three. The part of the eighth section which has come down to us contains four figures (propositions).

Apollonius [wrote]:¹⁵

Conics [Sectionum conicarum], seven sections and parts of the eighth; Cutting Lines in Ratio [Apollonii de rationis sive proportionis sectione]; The Determined Ratio [De proportione determinata], two sections—*Thābit* [ibn Qurrah] corrected the first, the second is translated into Arabic, but not clearly understood; Cutting Surfaces in Ratio [De locorum

¹² See Qifṭī, p. 72; Heath, *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, p. 384.

¹³ For Hypsicles and the account of Apollonius which follows, see the translation in Suter (1892), p. 51 ff.

¹⁴ See Banū Mūsā in the Biog. Index. Aḥmad was the second son of Mūsā ibn Shākir and one of the great patrons of science at Baghdād during the middle of the 9th century.

¹⁵ See Wenrich, p. 198 ff.

planorum sectione proportionata], one section; Tangencies [De circulis sese invicem tangentibus]. Thābit ibn Qurrah recorded that he wrote a treatise on the subject that, if two lines go other than parallel from two right angles, they meet [Quod duae lineae, si vel minimum a duobus angulis rectis deflectant, inter se concurrant].

Hermes

Mention of him has already been made. His books about the stars were:¹⁶

The first, Latitude of the Key of the Stars; the second, Longitude of the Key of the Stars; Motions of the Stars; Division of Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of Nativities, Degree by Degree; What Is Hidden in the Secret of the Stars, also called The Rod of Gold.

Eutocius

Exposition of the first section of *Archimedes'* Book, "The Sphere and the Cylinder" [Archimedis de sphaera et cylindro]; The Two Lines [De duabus lineis]—he explained all of this from the statements of the philosophers who were geometricians, and Thābit [ibn Qurrah] translated it into Arabic and improved it; Commentary on the First Section of the Book of Ptolemy, "Foreordaining by the Stars" [De Ptolemaei judiciis tractatus].¹⁷

Menelaus

He lived before the time of *Ptolemy*, who mentioned him in the book *Almagest*. Among his books there were:

Forms of Spherics [Menelai Alexandrini sphaericorum];¹⁸ Knowledge of Quantity in Distinguishing Mixed Bodies [De cognitione quantatis discretarum corporum permixtorum]—He wrote it for Emperor *Domitian*; The Elements of Geometry [Elementa geometricae], which Thābit ibn Qurrah rendered in three sections; Triangles [De triangulis], a small part of which appeared in Arabic.

¹⁶ Hermes Trismegistus is a somewhat legendary character. For other books attributed to him, see Smith, *GRBM*, II, 414–15. For the fourth title, see the Glossary.

¹⁷ See Wenrich, pp. 197–98.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 210 ff.

Ptolemy, Author of the Book Almagest

He lived during the days of *Hadrian* and *Antoninus*, in whose time he observed the stars and for one of whom he wrote the book *Almagest*. He was the first person to make the spherical astrolabe, astronomical instruments, measurements, and observations, but Allāh knows [the truth about this],

It is said that before his time, [astronomical] observations were made by a group of men among whom there was *Hipparchus*, who was said to have been his teacher, from whom he derived information. As an observation cannot be accomplished without an instrument, [evidently] the first man to observe the stars was the maker of the instrument.¹⁹

*Account of the Book Almagest*²⁰

This work comprises thirteen sections. The first person to become interested in translating it and issuing it in Arabic was *Yahyā ibn Khālīd ibn Barmak*. A group of people explained it for him but, as they did not understand it perfectly, he was not satisfied with it, so he called upon *Abū Ḥassān* and *Salm*, the director of the Bayt al-Ḥikmah, for its explanation.²¹ They made sure [of its meaning] and persevered in making it accurate, after having summoned the best translators, testing their translation, and making sure of its good literary style and accuracy.

It is said that *al-Ḥajjāj ibn Maṭar* also translated it. *Al-Nayrīzī* did also, and *Thābit [ibn Qurrah]* corrected the old translation of the entire book. *Ishāq [ibn Hunayn]* translated the book, with *Thābit* correcting his work, but it was an unsatisfactory translation; his first correction was more accurate.

¹⁹ *Al-Nadīm* has here collected traditions of which he himself questions the authenticity. Although *Ptolemy* learned much from *Hipparchus*, he lived long after the time of that scholar.

²⁰ See *Pauly, Real-Encyclopädie*, VI, 238 ff; *Sarton*, I, 273-74; *Heath, Manual of Greek Mathematics*, p. 403; *Smith, GRBM*, III, 570; "Almagest," *Enc. Islam*, I, 313; *Qifāi*, p. 95; *O'Leary, How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs*, p. 157; *Wenrich*, p. 226 ff.

²¹ It is not sure which *Abū Ḥassān* this man was; for possibilities, see *Biog. Index*, *al-Ḥajjāj ibn Maṭar* and *Abū Ḥassān al-Ḥaṣan ibn 'Uthmān*.

His additional books were:

The Four [Quadrupartitum de apotelesmatibus et judiciis astrorum]. He wrote it for *Syrus*, his disciple. *Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ṣalt* [Abū Nūḥ] translated this book, *Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq* corrected it, *Eutocius* commented on the first section, which first section *Thābit* treated as a whole so as to bring out its meaning. 'Umar ibn al-Farrūkhān, *Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ṣalt*, *al-Nayrīzī*, and *al-Battānī* commented on it. Nativities (De natalitiis); War and Combat (De bello et pugna); Extracting Versed Sines [De sartilegio]; Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of the World [De annorum mundi conversione]; Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of Nativities [De annorum natalitiorum conversione]; Disease and Drinking of Medicine [De morbo et medicamentorum potione]; The Movement of the Seven [De septem planetarum motu].

Captives and the Imprisoned [De captivis et carcere detentis]; The Joy and Favor of Good Fortune;²² The Adversaries, Which One of Them Succeeds [De adversariis, inter eorum superior sit evasurus]; The Qualities of Liquids; book known as The Seventh; The Lot [De sorte liber], tabulated; Tracing the Locations of the Stars [Expositio statūs astrorum]; The Fruit [Ptolemaei librorum fructus ad Syrum]—It was commented on by *Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf*, the Egyptian geometrician;²³ Geography of the Inhabited Lands and a Description of the Earth [Ptolemaei opus geographicum]. This book was in eight sections. *Al-Kūndī* made a bad translation of it and then *Thābit ibn Qurrah* made an excellent Arabic translation. It is also extant in Syriac.

Autolycus

Among his books there were:

The Moving Sphere [Peri kinouménēs sphaíras]; Rising and Setting [Peri épitolōn kai dúseōn].

Simplicius al-Rūmī

Among his books there were: .

Exposition of the Beginning of the Book of Euclid, which is an introduction to the art of geometry; Exposition of the Fourth Book of Aristotle's "Categoriae."

²² As the Latin titles of several of these books are not available, it is likely that the books are spurious or have been lost.

²³ See Wenrich, pp. 231-32; Sarton, I, 598.

Dorotheus

Among his books there was a large one embracing a number of sections. This book was entitled *The Book of Five* [Pentáteuxos]. It was arranged as I am about to mention. The first section was "Nativities" [De natalibus]. The second section was "Marriage and Children."²⁴ The third section was "Labor and the Star Predominant at Birth" [De geniturae dominis]. The fourth section was "Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of Nativities" [De annorum natalitiorum conversione]. The fifth section was "The Beginning of Actions" [De actionibus incipendis]. The sixth section ———. The seventh section was "Questions and Nativities" [De quaesitis et natalitiis]. The sixteenth section was also "Revolution of the Years of Nativities" [De annorum natalitiorum conversione]. 'Umar ibn al-Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī explained these sections.

Theon of Alexandria

Among his books there were:

Operation with the Armillary Sphere [De usu sphaerae armillaris]; Ptolemy's Astronomical Tables [Fasti tabulae astronomicae Ptolemaei, quae vanonis nomine insignitur], known as The Law of Motion; Operation with the Astrolabe [De astrolabii usu]; Introduction to "Almagest" [Introductio in Almagestum], with an ancient translation.

*Valens al-Rūmī*²⁵

An introduction to the science of astrology; Nativities [De natalitiis]; Questions [De quaesitis]; Al-Bizīdaj, which *Buzurjmihr* explained;²⁶ a large book about questions of all kinds; The Sultan;²⁷ Rains; Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of the World [De annorum mundi conversione]; The Kings.

²⁴ The original title given by Dorotheus is *Epochs and Periods*, in Latin, *De epochis et periodis*. For this title and the one which follows, see Wenrich, pp. 292-93.

²⁵ For his work, see Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 342-43.

²⁶ This was the old version of the Pahlavi source dealt with by Valens and called *Astrologica*; see Nallino in Arnold, pp. 351-56.

²⁷ Since the last title in the list dealt with the rulers, *The Sultan* was very likely about the idea of governmental authority rather than the man called the sultan.

*Theodosius*²⁸

Among his books there were:

Spherics [Sphaerica], three sections; Habitations [De habitatibus], one section; Night and Day [De nocti et die], one section. •

Pappus the Greek

Among his books there were:

A commentary on *Ptolemy's* book about finding the plane—*Thābit* [ibn Qurrah] translated it into Arabic; a commentary on the tenth section of Euclid, in two sections.

Heron

Among his books there were:

Book about solving the uncertainties of Euclid; Work with the Astrolabe [De astrolabii usu]; Lifting Weights [De oneribus trahendis]; Power of Vapor [De viribus pneumaticis].

*Hipparchus of Bithynia*²⁹

Among his books there were:

The Process of Algebra [De fractionum ad integritatem reductione], known as Definitions—this book was translated, and Abū al-*Wafā'* Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib corrected the book and also gave explanations and criticisms with geometrical proofs; Division of Numbers [De numerorum divisione].

Diophantus

He was a Greek of Alexandria. Among his books there was *The Process of Algebra* [Diophanti de reductione fractionum ad integritatem].

Thādhīnus

Among his books there were:

Floods; Comets.

²⁸ In *Al-Fihrist* the name is given as Theodorus, but it must be meant for *Theodosius*, who wrote the books listed in the paragraph. See Sarton, I, 211.

²⁹ MS 1934 has Ibarkhus al-Zafnī, but the name must be meant for *Hipparchus* of Bithynia.

Nicomachus of Gerasa

Among his books there were:

Arithmetic [De arithmetica], two sections; Music [De musica], a large book which has abridgments.

Bādrūghūghīyā

Among his books there was *Extraction of Water*, which has three sections. The first section contains thirty-nine statements, the second section thirty-six statements, the third section thirty statements.

Tīnkālūs of Babylon

He was one of the seven learned men referred to by al-Ḍaḥḥāk³⁰ in connection with the seven shrines, which were built in the names of the seven planets.³¹ Among his books there was *Aspects and Definitions*.

Ṭīnqarūs

He was one of the seven entrusted with serving the shrines. I believe that he was the keeper of the Shrine of Mars; so it has come down to us in some books. Among his books there was *Nativities*, according to aspects and definitions.

Mūrṭas

He was also called *Muristus*. Among his books there were: About instruments of sound known as the flue pipe organ and the reed pipe organ; The Sound Instrument Heard Sixty Miles Away.

*Sakādas*³²

His book was *The Octave Chime*.

³⁰ Thādhinus and Bādrūghūghīyā in the preceding paragraphs cannot be identified, but it is likely that al-Ḍaḥḥāk was al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Makhliḍ. Tīnkālūs and Ṭīnqarūs are mentioned previously; see Chap. VII, sect. 1, n. 8.

³¹ For the seven shrines of Babylon, see Chap. VII, sect. 1, n. 7.

³² *Al-Fihrist* gives the name as Sā'ātus, but there evidently should be a dot over the 'ayn, making it Sāghātus, which is a bad transliteration for Sakādas (Sacadas).

Heracles al-Najjār

His book was *Circles and Wheels*.³³

Qayṭawār of Babylon

He was one of the seven keepers [of the shrines]. Among his books there was *Starcraft*.

Aristoxenus

He was one of the authorities on music. Among his books there were:

Rhythm [De rythme], one section; Harmony [De harmoniā], one section.

Mazābā

I have read, written in the handwriting of Abū Ma'shar [Ja'far ibn Muḥammad], that this man was the astrologer of Bukht-Naṣar. I have not seen his book, but Abū Ma'shar records that it was *Kings, Dynasties, Conjunctions, and Revolutions (Transfers)*.³⁴

Aristarchus

He was a Greek of Alexandria. Among his books there was *The Sizes of the Sun and Moon* [Aristarchi Samii de magnitudinibus et distantiiis solis et lunae].³⁵

Abīyūn al-Baṭriq

I believe that he lived a little before or a little after the advent of Islām. Among his books there was *Working with the Plane Astrolabe*.

Kankah the Indian

Among his books there were:

Calculations for Nativities, about periods of time; Secrets of Nativities; Conjunctions, a large book; Conjunctions, a small book.

³³ As Qifī, p. 351, says that this man was a keeper of one of the shrines at Babylon, this title may refer to astrology and the heavenly spheres.

³⁴ The conjunctions were probably between several planets, and the revolutions (transfers) referred to world years.

³⁵ See Smith, *GRBM*, I, 291, for the Greek rendering of the title.

Jūdar the Indian

Among his books there was *Nativities*, in Arabic.

Sanjahil the Indian

Among his books there was *Secrets of the Questions*.

Naq (Nahaq) the Indian

Among his books there was *Nativities*, a large book.

Among the Scholars of India Whose Books about the Stars and
Medicine Have Reached Us:

Bakihur (Bhāgahara), Rāḥah (Rājah), Ṣakah (Sāka), Dāhir
(Dāhara), Ankū (Indu), Zinkal (Raṇakāla), Araykal (Arikāla),
Jabhar, Indā, and Jabārā (Jinār or Jitār).³⁶

Group: Recent Scholars among the Geometricians and Authorities
on Mechanics, Arithmetic, and Other Things³⁷

Banū Mūsā (The Sons of Mūsā)

Muḥammad, Aḥmad, and al-Ḥasan were the sons of Mūsā ibn Shākir. The origin of Mūsā ibn Shākir was ———. These men were some of those who took extreme pains to study the ancient sciences, for the sake of which they gave generously what was required (desired), taxing themselves with fatigue. They dispatched to the Byzantine country those who sent back to them [scientific manuscripts].³⁸ They caused translators from the districts and localities to be in attendance for many years, so that they brought to light wonders of learning.

³⁶ The names given in parenthesis are suggestions. As these men cannot be identified with certainty, their names are not in the Biog. Index. For further suggestions about these authors, see the Flügel edition, p. 271 un. 1-5; Datta, *History of Hindu Mathematics*, and Uṣaybi'ah, Part 2, p. 32; Cureton, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, VI (1841), 107.

³⁷ "Authorities on" (*aṣḥāb*) should perhaps be given as "persons interested in."

³⁸ Probably the Banū Mūsā, who were great patrons of learning, had their agents either translate Greek manuscripts in the Byzantine libraries or else obtain copies of the Greek originals, which were brought back to Baghdād and translated into Syriac and Arabic.

The sciences in which they were the most interested were geometry, mechanics, dynamics, music, and also astronomy, with which they were the least concerned. *Muḥammad* ibn *Mūsā* died during the year two hundred and fifty-nine [A.D. 872/73], in the month of *Rabī' al-Awwal* [the third Muslim month]. *Aḥmad* ibn *Mūsā* had a son named *Muṭaḥhar*, who was not greatly cultured, and entered among the court companions of [the Caliph] *al-Mu'taḍid*. Among the books of the Banū *Mūsā* there were:

Book of the Banū *Mūsā* about the *qarastūn*;³⁹ Mechanics, by *Aḥmad* ibn *Mūsā*; The Shape Which Is Round and Elongated, by *al-Ḥasan* ibn *Mūsā*; The First Motion of the Firmament, a treatise by *Muḥammad* [ibn *Mūsā*]; Conics, the book of *Apollonius*, by *Muḥammad*;⁴⁰ The Geometrical Figure Which Was Explained by *Galen*, by *Muḥammad*; The Atom, by *Muḥammad*; a book in which it was shown by an instructional method and geometric way of thought that there does not exist a ninth sphere external to the sphere of the fixed stars, by *Aḥmad* ibn *Mūsā*; about the origins (prime fundamentals) of the world, by *Muḥammad*; The Question which *Aḥmad* ibn *Mūsā* Propounded to *Sanad* ibn 'Alī; about the essence of speech, a treatise by *Muḥammad*;⁴¹ about questions which also passed between *Sanad* and *Aḥmad*; Measurement of the Sphere, Trisection of the Angle, and Determination of Two Mean Proportionals to Form a Single Division [between Two Given Quantities].

Al-Māhānī

He was *Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad* ibn 'Isā, one of the scholars who were authorities for calculation. He was also one of the geometers. Among his books there were:

³⁹ MS 1934 gives *al-qarastūn*, which Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 327, describes as the *χαρστῶν*, or balance used by Archimedes. Later the word was used by the Arabs to mean scales to obtain standard measurements. See also the Flügel edition, p. 271 n. 8. For the titles which follow, see Sarton, I, 561; Tūqān, *Turūth al-'Arab*, p. 193.

⁴⁰ The texts are not clear in connection with this title. The most reasonable possibility is the title as given in Qifṭī, p. 316, though it should have a slightly different form: *Al-Makhrūtāt, kitāb Balinūs* ("Conics, the book of Balinūs"). Balinūs was an Arabic rendering for Apollonius of Perga, who wrote the famous book on conics.

⁴¹ Qifṭī, p. 316, and MS 1135 omit this title. For "essence," MS 1934 has *mā*, evidently a mistake. Flügel and Tūqān, *Turūth al-'Arab*, p. 193, give *ma'iyah*; see Chap. VII, sect. 1, n. 143.

His epistle about the latitudes of the stars;⁴² his epistle on proportion; about the twenty-six propositions in the first section of *Euclid*, nothing in which requires substitution.⁴³

Al-'Abbās ibn Sa'īd al-Jawhārī

He belonged to a group of [astronomical] observers and was also absorbed in the science of geometry. Among his books there were:

A commentary on the book of *Euclid*; the propositions, which he added to the first section of *Euclid*.⁴⁴

Thābit ibn Qurrah and His Son

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah ibn Marwān ibn Thābit ibn Karāyā ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Karāyā ibn Mārīnūs ibn Sālāmūnūs.⁴⁵ His birth was during the year two hundred and twenty-one [A.D. 836] and he died in the year two hundred and eighty-eight [A.D. 901], when he was seventy-seven solar years old.⁴⁶ He was a money changer at Ḥarrān,⁴⁷ but when Muḥammad ibn Mūsā left the Byzantine country, he took him as an associate, realizing that he had a fine literary style. It is said that he studied with Muḥammad ibn Mūsā, receiving instruction at his house. He [Muḥammad] gave him his patronage, presenting him to al-Mu'taḍid and associating him with a group of astronomers. The source of the leadership of the Ṣābiāns in this country and their proximity to the caliphs was Thābit ibn Qurrah.⁴⁸ Their status, moreover, became established, their ranks

⁴² Although the manuscripts have 'urūsh ("thrones"), Qifī, p. 284, is probably correct in giving 'arūd ("latitudes"); see Sprenger, p. 983.

⁴³ "Substitution" (*al-khālf*) is probably correct, although Qifī, p. 284, has *al-khūlf*, perhaps suggesting the idea of "contradiction." Flügel is undecided about the correct way to spell the word.

⁴⁴ Qifī, p. 219, omits "which he added."

⁴⁵ For these names, compare Khallikān, I, 288; Ziriklī, Part 2, p. 81; Qifī, p. 115. As Thābit's grandfather must have been a pagan, his name was probably not Marwān but some name such as Zaharūn or Hārūn.

⁴⁶ Flügel suggests that the year of birth was A.H. 211 (A.D. 826). But, as Khallikān, I, 288, confirms the dates in the manuscripts, the translation follows the latter, though the manuscripts are then mistaken in giving his age at death as 77 years.

⁴⁷ MS 1135 and Flügel give this phrase as translated; MS 1934 seems to be garbled.

⁴⁸ For an account of the Ṣābiāns, see Chap. IX, sect. 1, and Glossary.

became elevated, and they displayed superiority. Among Thābit's books there were:⁴⁹

Calculation of the New Moons;⁵⁰ his epistle about the solar year;⁵¹ his epistle about the solution of geometrical problems; his epistle about numbers; Conic Sections, one section; his epistle about the proof related to Socrates; Rendering Futile [the Idea of] Motion in the Sphere of the Zodiac, one section; his epistle about stones (calculi) formed in the bladder; Pain in the Joints and Gout, one section; his epistle about the cause on account of which the water of the seas is salty; his epistle about whiteness which appears on the body; his epistle to Rā'iq;⁵² his compilation of Galen's book on medical simples; his epistle about smallpox and measles.

Among His Pupils

'Isā ibn Asayyid al-Naṣrānī

Thābit advanced and favored him. 'Isā ibn Asayyid translated from Syriac into Arabic under the sponsorship of Thābit. [He wrote] *Thābit's Answers to the Questions of 'Isā ibn Asayyid*.

Sinān ibn Thābit

He died a Muslim. Mention of him will be made in connection with medicine. His son was Abū al-Ḥasan, who will also be mentioned in connection with medicine.

Abū al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥarrānī [Thābit ibn Ibrāhīm]

He will also be mentioned in connection with medicine.

Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān

He was surnamed Abū Ishāq ibn Thābit and, although he died at a youthful age, he excelled and was preeminent in the science of

⁴⁹ This list of titles should be compared with the longer list in Qiftī, pp. 116-20.

⁵⁰ This has been published in folio form; see Kennedy in *Proceedings of the Mathematical and Physics Society of the United Arab Republic*, No. 24 (1960), pp. 71-74.

⁵¹ See Neugebauer, *American Philosophical Society, Proceedings*, CVI, No. 3 (June 29, 1962), pp. 264-99.

⁵² The Flügel edition suggests variations, but MS 1934 has Rā'iq, who was probably a young officer or page of al-Muktafi.

geometry. During his time no one appeared who was more brilliant than he was. He died during the year ———. Among his books there were:

What exists of his commentary on the first book of the "Conics" [of Apollonius of Perga]; an explanation of the book "Almagest" [of Ptolemy].

Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Karnīb and His Son Abū al-'Alā'

Mention of him has been made in connection with the natural sciences, along with the mention of Abū Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Ḥusayn [ibn Karnīb]. Abū al-Ḥusayn and Abū al-'Alā' were masters of the arts of teaching and geometry. Among the books of Abū al-Ḥusayn there was *How to Determine How Many Hours of the Day Have Passed before the Prescribed Elevation (Rising)*.

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Sulaymān ibn Wahb

Among his books there was an explanation of what is ambiguous in Euclid's book on proportion, one section.⁵³

Another Group Who Were Recent

Al-Fazārī

He was Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥabīb al-Fazārī, a descendant of Santarah ibn Jundab.⁵⁴ He was the first person in Islām to make the astrolabe, which he made plane and planispheric. Among his books there were:

A poem about the science of the stars; A Gnomon for the Determination of Noon; Astronomical Tables for the Arab Years; Operation with the Ringed Astrolabe; Operation with the Plane Astrolabe.

'Umar ibn al-Farrukhān

He was Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣ, the commentator on *The Four [Quadrupartitum de apotelesmatibus et judiciis astrorum]* by Ptolemy,

⁵³ Probably the sixth book of Euclid's *Elements*.

⁵⁴ For this tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 172.

which al-Baṭrīq Abū Yaḥyā ibn al-Baṭrīq translated for him. Among his books there were:

Benefits; Agreements and Disagreements of the Philosophers about the Orbits of the Planets.

His Son Abū Bakr, *Muḥammad* ibn 'Umar ibn Ḥaṣṣ ibn al-Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī

He was one of the most distinguished of the astronomers. Among his books there were:

The Gnomon; Times of Nativities; Operation with the Astrolabe; Questions; The Introduction; Choices; Questions, the small book; Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of Nativities; Al-Tasyīrāt;⁵⁵ Similitudes;⁵⁶ Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of the World; Al-Tasyīrāt, about nativities.

Mā Shā' Allāh

Ibn Athrā, whose name *Mā Shā' Allāh*, was *Mīshā*, which means *yithro*.⁵⁷ He was a Jew, and lived from the time of al-*Manṣūr* to the time of al-*Ma'mūn*. He was a man of distinction and during his period the leading person for the science of judgments of the stars. Among his books there were:

Nativities, a large book comprising fourteen sections; The Twenty-One, about conjunctions, religions, and sects;⁵⁸ The Projection of the [Astrological] Rays; The Meaning; Construction of Astrolabes and Operation with Them; The Armillary Sphere; Rains and Winds; The Two Arrows;⁵⁹ book known as The Twenty-Seven—The first chapter was The Beginning of Actions;⁶⁰ the second chapter, Averting What Is

⁵⁵ See Chap. VII, sect. 1, n. 206.

⁵⁶ See Flügel edition, p. 273 n. 9.

⁵⁷ This is probably the Hebrew name Jethro, from *yithrā* ("abundance").

⁵⁸ This was an astrological world history based on conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn. A few fragments are still in existence.

⁵⁹ This may refer to two arrows used as lots for telling fortunes. At the Arab shrines the keepers shook arrows from a quiver and the numbers on the arrows indicated the fortune. Or it may refer to two constellations (see n. 69). See "al-Saḥn," *Enc. Islām*, IV, 63; Sprenger, p. 698.

⁶⁰ The word *kitāb* ("book") comes before one of these six titles, but they are probably the names of chapters in *The Twenty-Seven*, only six out of the twenty-seven being listed.

Predestined;⁶¹ the third chapter, Questions; the fourth chapter, Testimonies of the Stars; the fifth chapter, Happenings; the sixth chapter, Movement of the Two Luminaries [sun and moon] and What Is Indicated by It. The Letters; The Sultan;⁶² The Journey;⁶³ Perceptions;⁶⁴ Nativities; Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of Nativities; Governments (Dynasties) and Sects; Prediction (Judgment) Based upon Conjunctions and Oppositions; The Sick; Constellations and Predictions (Judgments) Based upon Them.⁶⁵

Abū Sahl al-*Faḍl* ibn Nawbakht

His origin was Persian. I have recorded and thoroughly explained the genealogy of the family of Nawbakht in the chapter about theologians. He was in the Storehouse of Wisdom⁶⁶ of Hārūn al-Rashīd. This man translated from Persian into Arabic and was relied upon because of his knowledge of the books of Persia. Among his books there were:

Two Things Seized Upon, concerning nativities;⁶⁷ Augury of the Stars; Nativities, unique; Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of Nativities; The Introduction; Comparison and Analogy; What Is Taken from the Agreements of the Astrologers about Reports, Questions, Nativities, and Other Things.

Sahl ibn Bishr

He was Abū 'Uthmān Sahl ibn Bishr ibn Hānī, also called Hāyā al-Yahūdī. He served Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, the one-eyed, and later

⁶¹ Flügel suggests a different title: *The Occurrence of the Predestined*.

⁶² This may refer either to the ruler or to the idea of authority.

⁶³ MS 1934 suggests that the word is *al-safr*, which is used for the glow of the moon before it rises, or it might be *al-safar*, as used for daybreak or the rising of Sirius; see Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1371.

⁶⁴ The Arabic word is written as *al-as'ār* ("prices") but is probably meant to be *al-ash'ār* ("perceptions").

⁶⁵ *Šūr* ("constellations") usually means "pictures" or "forms."

⁶⁶ Qiflī, p. 255, gives "The Storehouse of the Books of Wisdom"; this was the royal library at Baghdād.

⁶⁷ In the Arabic text the word is given as *al-nahmuṣān*, which does not seem to be an Arabic word. It is very likely meant to be *al-tahammusān*, which gives the idea of "two things seized upon." Suter (1892), p. 28, suggests that the word is meant to be *numūdār*, for which see "calculation for nativities" in Glossary.

al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl,⁶⁸ being both learned and distinguished. Among his books there were:

The Keys of Judgment, which was the small book of questions;⁶⁹ The Two Arrows; the large book, Nativities; Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of the World; the small book, Introduction; the large book, Introduction; Astronomy and the Science of Arithmetic; Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of Nativities; the small book, Nativities; the large book, Questions; Choices; The Times (Periods); The Key; Rains and Winds; The Meaning; The Time of Labor and Marriage; Careful Considerations; Eclipses; Structure.

He also wrote a large book which comprised thirteen sections, in which he collected the essentials of his writings. He called it *The Tenth Book* and composed it in Khurāsān.⁷⁰

Al-Khwārizmī

His name was Muḥammad ibn Mūsā. His origin was in Khwārizm. He was attached to the Storehouse of Learning⁷¹ of al-Ma'mūn. He was one of the masters of the science of the stars. Both before and after [confirmation by] observation, people relied upon his first and second astronomical tables known as the *Sindhind*.⁷² Among his books there were:

Astronomical tables in two editions, the first and the second; The Sundial; Operation with the Astrolabe; Making the Astrolabe; History.

Sanad ibn 'Alī al-Yahūdī

He was surnamed Abū al-Ṭayyib. Starting as a Jew, he became a Muslim under the patronage (hand) of al-Ma'mūn, whom he served

⁶⁸ Ṭāhir was the governor of Khurāsān and al-Ḥasan was the vizier at Baghdād during the reign of al-Ma'mūn.

⁶⁹ The titles in this list evidently refer to astrology. *The Two Arrows* refers to two constellations called by the name "Arrow"—Sagittarius and the Arrow of the Archer. See Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1454.

⁷⁰ On the margin of MS 1934 there is written, "I have been told that the Byzantines regarded his book *Algebra and Equations* as important and praised (described) it."

⁷¹ Qifī, p. 286, has "Storehouse of the Books of Learning," indicating the royal library of al-Ma'mūn, which came to form part of his Bayt al-Ḥikmah.

⁷² This was one of the *Siddhanta* works of the Indians identified in different ways by various scholars. See Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 11, 29, 31, 61, 266; Sarton, I, 530, 563, 601; O'Leary, *How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs*, pp. 105, 152; Smīth, *Hindu-Arabic Numerals*, p. 97.

as an astrologer.⁷³ He was the man who built the observatory⁷⁴ which is behind Bāb Shammāsiyah, in the women's quarters of the palace of Mu'izz al-Dawlah.⁷⁵ Although he worked with one group of observers, he was in charge of all of the [astronomical] observations. Among his books there were:

Things Detached and in the Middle;⁷⁶ [Conic] Sections, two manuscripts; Indian Arithmetic; The Total and Division; Algebra and Equation.⁷⁷

Yahyā ibn Abī Maṣūūr

I have made detailed mention of him in his proper place. He was one of the men who were interested in [astronomical] observation during the days of al-Ma'mūn. He died in the Byzantine country.⁷⁸ Among his books there were:

Verified Astronomical Tables, two manuscripts, the first and second; a treatise about the fixing of the sixth-hour elevation for the latitude of the City of Peace [Baghdād]; a book comprising his [own] observations and letters [addressed] to a group [of astronomers] about [astronomical] observations.

Ḥabash ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Marwazī al-Ḥāsib

He was one of the men interested in observation. He lived to be over one hundred years old. Among his books there were:

The Dimashqī Astronomical Table;⁷⁹ The Ma'mūnī Astronomical

⁷³ Some authorities spell the name Sind, but Sanad seems to be more correct. The manuscripts omit the word "Jew." Although the word "astrologer" is used in the translation, he was also a learned astronomer.

⁷⁴ The translation follows Sarton, I, 566, and Suter (1892), p. 29, here, which interprets the Arabic *al-kanisah* as applying to an observatory. It usually means "synagogue," so another possibility is that Sanad built a synagogue while still a Jew.

⁷⁵ For this gateway and quarter of the city, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 170, 199 ff. Evidently Mu'izz al-Dawlah in the 10th century built his palace where the observatory had stood during the 9th century.

⁷⁶ See Sprenger, p. 1479. This may be the extreme and mean ratios, although it might refer to something other than mathematics.

⁷⁷ See Glossary.

⁷⁸ He probably died just across the Byzantine frontier, as his origin was at al-Mawṣil and he was buried at Aleppo. Khallikān, III, 605, and Qifī, pp. 357-58 tell more about him and his work.

⁷⁹ During A.D. 832/33, observations were made at Damascus. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 375; Sarton, I, 566 bottom. The next title of course refers to the Caliph al-Ma'mūn.

Table; Distances and Volumes; Making of the Astrolabe; Sundials and Computing Instruments; Circles with Three Tangents and the Manner of Contacts; Work with Surfaces: Flat, Upright, Inclined, and Oblique.

Ibn Ḥabash (Ḥubaysh)

He was Abū Ja'far ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥabash. Among his books there was *The Plane Astrolabe*.

Al-Abahh

His name was al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm, and he lived during the days of al-Ma'mūn. Among his books there were:

Choices, which he wrote for al-Ma'mūn; Rain; Times of Nativity.

A Statement Written in the Handwriting of Ibn al-Muktafi

He said:

I read in a book written in the handwriting of ['Alī] ibn al-Jahm this statement of his: "The book, *Introduction* by Sanad ibn 'Alī, being given by him to Abū Ma'shar,⁸⁰ was plagiarized by Abū Ma'shar. For as Abū Ma'shar learned about the stars in his old age, the intellect of Abū Ma'shar was not equal to the writing of this book, nor, moreover, of the nine treatises on times of birth, nor of the book on conjunctions, ascribed to Ibn al-Bāzyār. All of these were written by Sanad ibn 'Alī."

Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl ibn Nawbakht

Among his books there was *Al-Anwā'*.

Ibn al-Bāzyār

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Bāzyār was a pupil of Ḥabash ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was distinguished, and was a leader in the study of the stars. Among his books there were:

The Atmospheres (Weathers), nineteen sections; Astronomical Table; Conjunctions of the Planets and Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of the World; Nativities and Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of Nativities.

⁸⁰ Abū Ma'shar died A.D. 886, when about 100 years old. Sanad ibn 'Alī died about the same time. 'Alī ibn al-Jahm died A.D. 863, when Abū Ma'shar was about 77 years old. This statement may be true or perhaps is libel, as Abū Ma'shar was one of the famous astronomers; see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 378, 387. See also the account of Abū Ma'shar, near n. 87.

Khurrazādh ibn Dārshād

He was an arithmetician and a pupil of *Sahl* ibn Bishr, the Jew. Among his books there were:

Nativities; Choices.

The Sons of al-Ṣabbāḥ

Muḥammad, *Ibrāhīm*, and al-*Ḥasan* were all astrologers, skilled in the sciences of astrology and judgments of the stars. Among their books there were:

Proof of the Construction of the Astrolabe—*Muḥammad* composed it, but did not complete it, so that *Ibrāhīm* finished it; Establishing the Meridian with One Measurement by Geometry—*Muḥammad* wrote the book, which was completed by al-*Ḥasan*; Epistle of *Muḥammad* on the Construction of Sundials.

Al-*Ḥasan* ibn al-Khaṣīb

He was one of the skilled astrologers. Among his books there was the book which was called *Al-Karmahtar*,⁸¹ which comprised four chapters: "Introduction to the Science of Astronomy," "Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of the World," "Nativities," "Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of Nativities."⁸²

Al-Khayyāt

He was Abū 'Alī *Yaḥyā* ibn Ghālīb, also called *Ismā'il* ibn *Muḥammad*, a pupil of *Mā Shā* Allāh and one of the most excellent of the astrologers. Among his books there were:

The Introduction; Questions; The Meaning; Governments (Dynasties); Nativities; Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of Nativities; The Prism,⁸³ which he wrote for *Yaḥyā* ibn Khālīd; The Rod of Gold; Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of the World; Al-Nukat.⁸⁴

⁸¹ This is probably meant to be a transliteration of *καρπός μέτρον*.

⁸² The word *kitāb* ("book") is placed before each one of the subtitles. MS 1135 is confused at this point.

⁸³ For "prism" (*al-manashūr*), see Sprenger, p. 1384.

⁸⁴ See the Glossary.

'Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Marwarrūdhī

He was one of the men interested in [astronomical] observation, and was a person of a superior type. Among his books there were: Planetary Equations;⁸⁵ Construction of the Plane Astrolabe.

Al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ⁸⁶

He was a scholar of astronomy and other geometrical studies. Among his books there were:

Forms and Surfaces; The Sphere; Operation with the Armillary Sphere.

Abū Ma'shar

He was Abū Ma'shar Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Balkhī. He was at first a scholar of the Ḥadīth. His house was on the West Side by Bāb Khurāsān.⁸⁷ As he was antagonistic to al-Kindī, he stirred up the populace against him, accusing him because of his philosophical sciences.⁸⁸ But al-Kindī played a trick on him by means of a man who interested him in the sciences of arithmetic and geometry. Although he entered into this study, he did not perfect himself in it, turning instead to the science of the judgments of the stars. Then he ended his ill will for al-Kindī because of his interest in this science, which was of the same type as the sciences studied by al-Kindī himself. It is said that he learned about the stars after he was forty-seven years old. He was a man of a superior type, with good judgment.

[The Caliph] Al-Musta'in had him beaten with lashes because he correctly foretold him of an event before it took place. So he used to say, "I hit the mark and I was severely punished."

⁸⁵ See Sprenger, pp. 1018-23.

⁸⁶ This man must not be confused with the famous leader of the Assassins.

⁸⁷ This was the northeast gate of the original city, on the west bank of the Tigris at Baghdād. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 17, 107 map; Levy, *Baghdad Chronicle*, pp. 21, 31.

⁸⁸ As Abū Ma'shar started as a student of the Ḥadīth, he was undoubtedly a conservative theologian who believed in the revelation of the Qur'ān and opposed philosophical studies, which were based on reason. This passage has been translated freely.

Abū Ma'shar died at al-Wāsiṭ after he had passed the age of one hundred, on Wednesday, during the last two nights of the month of Ramaḍān [the ninth Muslim month], during the year two hundred and seventy-two [A.D. 866].⁸⁹

Among his books there were:

The Introduction, a large book with eight sections; The Introduction, a small book; Astronomical Tables of the Cycles of Thousands [of Years],⁹⁰ over sixty headings; Nativities, a large book which he did not finish, but what was completed of it was: Astronomy (Aspect) of the Heavens and Differences in the Times of the [Star] Risings, five sections, and The Star Predominant at Birth and Labor of Childbirth; Conjunction of the Planets, which he wrote for Ibn al-Bāz̧yār; Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of the World, which he called Al-Nukat; Choices; Choices according to the Stations of the Moon;⁹¹ Thousands, eight sections; Natures, a large book in five sections as Abū Ma'shar divided it; The Two Arrows (Al-Sahmayn)⁹² and Periods of Kings and Governments (Dynasties); Settings and Courses;⁹³ Conjunction of the Two Maleficent [Planets] in the Sign of Cancer;⁹⁴ Constellations and [Astrological] Judgments Based upon Them;⁹⁵ Constellations and Degrees, with Judgments Based upon Them.

Revolutions (Transfers) of the Years of Nativities, eight sections; Temperaments—it used to be rare, but now is to be found; Al-Anwā'; Questions, a compilation; Confirmation of the Science of the Stars; a book which he gathered together but did not finish and which he wished to entitle The Perfect (Complete) or The Questions; The compilation, in which he gathered together the sayings of the people about nativities;

⁸⁹ MS 1135 has: "He was born at al-Wāsiṭ on Wednesday, during the last two nights of the month of Ramaḍān, and Abū Ma'shar died when he had lived longer than one hundred years."

⁹⁰ The word *al-hasārāt* ("cycles of thousands") comes from the Persian *hazar* ("thousand"); see Nallino, *Ilm al-Falak*, pp. 179, 184; Kennedy, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXIII, No. 3 (1963), 315. MS 1934 gives "seventy" instead of "sixty" headings.

⁹¹ For explanation of the stations of the moon, see "Astrology," *Enc. Islam*, I, 496.

⁹² This may refer to two constellations. Cf. *im*, 59, 69.

⁹³ Before these words there is another one which cannot be deciphered. It may be the Persian word *zaychah* ("horoscope").

⁹⁴ These were Saturn and Mars; see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 645.

⁹⁵ *Ṣūr* ("constellations") usually means "pictures" or "forms."

The Sources, to which Abū al-'Anbās laid claim;⁹⁶ Interpretation of Dreams by the Stars; Al-Qawāṭi' 'alā al-Haylājāt;⁹⁷ Nativities, a small book with two treatises and thirteen sections; Astronomical Table of Conjunctions and Combust Conditions;⁹⁸ Times (Periods); Times according to the Twelve Stars;⁹⁹ Lots, which means lots for food, clothing, and perfumes, their cheapness and expense, and judgments of the stars about the matter; Rains, Wind, and Change of Atmosphere; Natures of the Countries and Generation of the Winds; [Astronomical] Inclination, about revolution (transfer) of the years of nativities.

Abū Ma'shar used to tell about 'Abd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā and Muḥammad ibn al-Jahm, who were two members of the Barmak family, and he remarked on their scientific excellence.

'Abd Allāh ibn Masrūr al-Naṣrānī

He was an apprentice of Abū Ma'shar. Among his books there were:

Projection of the Rays; Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of the World and [Astrological] Judgment about Them; Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of Nativities.

'Uṣārid ibn Muḥammad

He was an arithmetician and astrologer, and a man of excellence and learning. Among his books there were:

Indian Divination, a commentary on it;¹⁰⁰ Operation with the Astrolabe; Operation with the Armillary Sphere; Structure of the Heavens; Burning Mirrors.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ As Abū al-'Anbās was a judge and the companion of several caliphs, "laid claim" very likely means that he gave the book his patronage, rather than claiming to be the author.

⁹⁷ Here *al-qawāṭi'* probably is a plural form of *qutū'*, which Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 372, describes as a crisis due to the conjunction of the planets. *Al-haylājāt* probably denotes "labor" or "birth."

⁹⁸ MS 1934 makes it clear that this word is *al-iṣṭarāqāt*, the plural of the word indicating a combust condition, a condition of obscurity due to nearness to the sun.

⁹⁹ This may refer in astrology to the twelve houses of the moon, or in astronomy to the twelve signs of the zodiac.

¹⁰⁰ This was a type of divination based on the numerical values of letters. It was called *al-jafṛ*.

¹⁰¹ See Sarton, I, 170, 183, 427.

Ya'qūb ibn Ṭāriq

He was one of the most excellent of the astrologers. Among his books there were:

Division of the Kardajāt of the Sine;¹⁰³ What Rises in the Arc of Half a Day;¹⁰³ The Astronomical Table Solved in the Sindhind;¹⁰⁴ Degree by Degree—it is in two sections, the first about the science of astrology and the second about the science of changes of times (dynasties).

Abū al-'Anbas al-Ṣaymarī

More detailed mention has already been made about him. He was an astrologer, and his books about it [astrology] were:

Nativities; An Introduction to the Science of the Stars.

Ibn Simawayh¹⁰⁵

He was a Jew whose name was ———. Among his books there were:

An Introduction to the Science of the Stars; Rains.

'Alī ibn Dā'ūd

He was an excellent man and a leading astrologer. Among his books there was *Rains*.

Ibn al-A'rābī

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-A'rābī was one of the people of al-Kūfah. He was a superior type of man and a leader in his work. He was known as al-Shaybānī because he was one of the Banū Shaybān.¹⁰⁶ Among his books there was *Questions and Choices*.

¹⁰³ The Hindus and Muslims had the Archimedean tradition of dividing the circle into 96 parts. The *kardaja* (pl., *kardajāt*), probably a corruption of the Sanskrit *cramaja*, was either the arc or sine of each part. See Sarton, I, 530 and Flügel edition, p. 278 n. 3.

¹⁰³ The arc (*qaws*) of a day is the circuit of the sun from the time when half of it has appeared at sunrise to the time when half has disappeared at sunset. Thus half a day is from the horizon to the zenith. See Sprenger, p. 1189.

¹⁰⁴ A copy of this famous Indian treatise, the *Sindhind*, was brought to Baghdād about A.D. 771. See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 307, 373.

¹⁰⁵ In MS 1135 the name is written Shīnawayh and the first title is omitted.

¹⁰⁶ For this tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 155, 210.

Al-Ḥārith al-Munajjim

He was attached to al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl [the vizier] and was a superior type of man, quoted (told about) by Abū Ma'shar. Among his books there was *The Astronomical Table*.¹⁰⁷

Al-Maṣṣīṣī

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Maṣṣīṣī (al-Miṣṣīṣī). Among his books there was *Conjunctions*.¹⁰⁸

Ibn Abī Qurrah

He was surnamed Abū 'Alī and was the astrologer of al-'Alawī al-Baṣrī.¹⁰⁹ Among his books there was *The Cause of the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon*, which he wrote for al-Muwaffaq [the caliph's brother].

Ibn Sam'ān

His name was Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh and he served as an apprentice to Abū Ma'shar. Among his books there was *An Introduction to the Science of the Art of Astrology*.

Al-Farghānī

His name was Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Kathīr.¹¹⁰ He was a man of a superior type and a leading astrologer. Among his books there were:

Sections; Selections from "Almagest";¹¹¹ The Making of Sundials.

Ibn Abī Rāfi'

He was Abū al-Ḥasan, an excellent man. Among his books there was *Differences of Risings [of the Heavenly Bodies]*.

His Son, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī al-Ḥasan ibn Abī Rāfi'

Among his books there was his epistle on geometry.

¹⁰⁷ The manuscripts omit the title. MS 1934 leaves a space to be filled in.

¹⁰⁸ The manuscripts omit the title.

¹⁰⁹ Khallikān, II, 11 n. 4, explains that al-'Alawī al-Baṣrī was 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, who A.D. 869 became the leader of the Zanj Rebellion.

¹¹⁰ MS 1135 inserts the "Aḥmad ibn," which is correct.

¹¹¹ The translation follows Qifā'i, p. 286, in separating the first two titles instead of combining them into one. This seems to have been the original intention.

Ibn Abī 'Abbād

He was Muḥammad ibn 'Isā, surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan, but nothing else is known about him. Among his books there was *Operation with the Bifurcated Instrument (Dhāt al-Shu'batayn) and Other Instruments*, one section.¹¹²

Al-Nayrīzī¹¹³

He was Abū al-'Abbās al-Faḍl ibn Ḥātim al-Nayrīzī, one of the prominent [scholars] of the science of the stars, especially of the science of astronomy. Among his books there were:

The large book of astronomical tables; the small book of astronomical tables; The Azimuth of the Qiblah; a commentary on Ptolemy's "The Four" [Quadrupartitum de apotelesmatibus et judiciis astrorum]; Happenings in the Heavens, which he wrote for al-Mu'tadid; Proofs and Preparation of Instruments for Determining the Distances of Objects.

Al-Battānī Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Jābir ibn Sinān al-Raqqī

He was a Ṣāhian whose origin was at Harrān. Ja'far ibn al-Muktafi recorded that, when he questioned him, he [al-Battānī] told him that he started to make [astronomical] observations beginning with the year two hundred and sixty-four [A.D. 877/78] and continuing until the year three hundred and six [A.D. 918/19]. He confirmed the fixed stars in his astronomical table until the year two hundred and ninety-nine [A.D. 911/12]. He went to Baghdād with the Banū al-Zayyāt, from among the people of Raqqah, at the time of their oppressions.¹¹⁴ While returning, he died on the way, at Qaṣr al-Jaṣṣ,¹¹⁵ during the year three hundred and seventeen [A.D. 929/30]. Among his books there were:

Astronomical Tables, two manuscripts, the first and the second—the second was better than the first;¹¹⁶ Knowledge of the Risings of the

¹¹² Ḥajjī Khalifah, I, 396, III, 568, gives *instrumenti bifurci*. This was probably the Ptolemaic parallactic instrument named for *παράλλαξις* or mutual inclination of two lines forming an angle.

¹¹³ MS 1934 gives the name as al-Yazīdī, which is a mistake. See Qiftī, p. 254, for the correct name as given.

¹¹⁴ The Banū al-Zayyāt were probably a clan or family living at al-Raqqah. MS 1934 has a small error in copying in this passage.

¹¹⁵ A great castle built by al-Mu'tasim near Sāmarrā; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 110.

¹¹⁶ This book forms the basis for a study of the history of Islāmic astronomy. See Battānī, *Al-Battānī sive Albatēnii Opus astronomicum*, and Nallino, 'Ilm al-Falak.

Zodiacal Signs in the Quarters of the Heavens; his epistle, Verification of the Times of Conjunctions, which is extant and which he wrote for Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Furāt.

Ibn Amājūr

He was Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh ibn Amājūr, one of the sons of al-Farā’inah.¹¹⁷ He was a man of a superior type. Among his books there were:

Examining;¹¹⁸ the astronomical table known as The Pure; Provision for a Traveler; the astronomical table known as The Girdled; the astronomical table known as The Wonderful; the astronomical table known as The Sindhind; The Astronomical Table of Transits.¹¹⁹

His Son, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Abī al-Qāsim

Among his books there were: ———.

Al-Harawī

His name was Yūsuf ibn ———. Among his books there was *Stellar Azure*, about three hundred leaves [in length].

Abū Zakarīyā’

He was Jannūn ibn ‘Amr ibn Yuḥannā ibn al-Ṣalt. Among his books there was *Proof of the Veracity of the Stars and of Determinations Based on Them*.

Al-Ṣaydanānī

His name was ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāsib al-Munajjim.¹²⁰ Among his books there were:

An explanation of the book of Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī about algebra; an explanation of his book about addition and subtraction; about multiplication and division.

¹¹⁷ MSS 1934 and 1135 give the word in this form. Qiftī, p. 220, and Flügel give al-Farāghanah, meaning the inhabitants of Farghānah; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 878 bottom.

¹¹⁸ Instead of *al-qann* ("examining"), this may be *al-qinn*, which is a certain legal status in slavery; see Sprenger, p. 1229; Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1148.

¹¹⁹ For an understanding of this title, see Bīrūnī, *Al-Bīrūnī on Transits*.

¹²⁰ Qiftī, p. 221, and MS 1135 call him ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan.

Al-Dandānī

He belonged to an early period. His name was 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī al-Naṣrānī,¹²¹ and he was surnamed Abū 'Alī. Among his books there was *The Art of Astrology*, which I saw to be an old [book].

Members of Another Group, Whose Places in Sequence Are Not Known¹²¹

Recent Astrologers and Geometricians:

Al-Adamī, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad

Among his books there was *Techniques, Walls, and the Making of Sundials*.¹²²

*Al-Ḥayyānī*¹²³

He was surnamed Abū al-Faḍl, his [real] name being ————. Among his books there was *Geometrical Table of Astronomy*.

Ibn Bāghān

He was al-'Abbās ibn Bāghān ibn al-Rabī', surnamed Abū al-Rabī'. He was a scholar of the astronomical sciences. Among his books there was *Division of the Cultivated Lands and the Form of the World*.

Ibn Nājiyah

His name was Muḥammad ibn ——— al-Kātib. Among his books there was *Measurements*.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Akhī Hishām al-Shaṭawī

He had among his books:

¹²¹ The literal translation is, "Another Group, Their Places Unknown."

¹²² MS 1135 has a variation. This title seems strange but is probably correct, as sundials were constructed on the walls of courtyards and buildings.

¹²³ It is impossible to identify accurately this name and the names of the two men who follow, but see the Biog. Index for possibilities.

Making Oblique Sundials; Making of Drnm-Shaped Sundials, the Technique of Balls,¹²⁴ and Determination of the Elevation of the Azimuth.

Recent Arithmeticians and Masters of Calculation:

'Abd al-Ḥamīd

He was Abū al-Faḍl 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Wāsi' ibn Turk al-Jilī,¹²⁵ the arithmetician, said to be surnamed Abū Muḥammad. Among his books there were:

The Compilation on Arithmetic, including six sections; Commercial Arithmetic.¹²⁶

Abū Barzah

He was al-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Turk ibn Wāsi' al-Jilī. Among his books there were:

Commercial Arithmetic; Measurement.

Abū Kāmil

He was Abū Kāmil Shujā' ibn Aslam ibn Muḥammad ibn Shujā', the arithmetician, who was an Egyptian. He was an excellent man, an arithmetician, and a scholar, among whose books there were:

Prosperity;¹²⁷ The Key to Prosperity; Algebra and Equation;¹²⁸ The Essence; The Bird; Addition and Subtraction; Regula Falsa (Rule of Double False Position); Measurement and Geometry; The Sufficiency.

¹²⁴ This must refer to a clepsydra, in which water lifted balls to an elevation. Then these balls dropped, first to one side and then to the other side of a lever, so as to make the instrument work like the balance wheel of a clock and thus to indicate the time. See Carra de Vaux, *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, Ser. 3, I (1900), 31, 32.

¹²⁵ See Biog. Index for information on this name.

¹²⁶ Qifṣī, p. 230, says that this scholar made astrological tables and wrote a compilation, showing that he was learned in computation. He does not mention this second title, which is probably given inaccurately in MS 1934. It is evidently *al-mu'āmalāt*, translated "commercial arithmetic," although it is as a rule used either for "commercial transactions" or for "domains." For the following paragraph, Qifṣī, p. 254, gives an account of Abū Barzah similar to the translation.

¹²⁷ Qifṣī, p. 211, omits the titles in his account of Shujā'. Here the word may not be *ṣalāḥ* ("prosperity"), but a technical word derived from *ṣalaj* ("dividing into two parts").

¹²⁸ See Glossary.

Sinān ibn Fath

He was one of the people of Ḥarrān and a leader in the art of arithmetic and numbers, among whose books there were:

The Takht in Indian Arithmetic;¹²⁹ Addition and Subtraction; Explanation of Addition and Subtraction; Wills;¹³⁰ The Calculation of Cubes; The Exposition of Algebra by al-*Khawārizmī*.¹³¹

Abū Yūsuf al-Maṣṣīṣī

His name was Ya'qūb ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib. Among his books there were:

Algebra and Equation; Wills; Increasing the Squares (Houses) of Chess; The Compilation; Relationship of the Years; Assembling the Total (Collections of the Compilation); Regula Falsa (The Rule of Double False Position); Computation of the Cycles.¹³²

Al-Rāzī

His name was Ya'qūb ibn Muḥammad, and he was surnamed *Abū Yūsuf*. Among his books there were:

The Compilation on Arithmetic; Al-Takht; Calculation of the Regula Falsa; Thirty Strange Questions.¹³³

Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Aktham al-Qāḍī

He had among his books *Problems of Numbers*.

Al-Karābīsī

He was Aḥmad ibn 'Umar, one of the best of the geometers and scholars of numbers. Among his books there were:

A commentary on Euclid; Calculation of the Cycle (Circumference);¹³⁴ Wills; Area of the Circle; The Indian (Al-*Hindī*).¹³⁵

¹²⁹ See the Glossary.

¹³⁰ Arithmetic was needed for the complicated Muslim system of dividing estates.

¹³¹ See Karpinski, *Bibliotheca mathematica*, Ser. 9, III (1911), 125.

¹³² Ḥajjī Khalifah, III, 62, gives this title as *Computandi in orbem circumlata*. For an illustration of an astronomical year computation, see Kennedy, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXIII, No. 3 (1963), 315. See also Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 1132 ll. 2.

¹³³ MS 1135 has a variation, but Ṭūqān, *Turāth al-'Arab*, p. 264, confirms the title as given in the translation. Instead of "strange" the word may instead mean "foreign."

¹³⁴ See n. 132.

¹³⁵ Qiftī, p. 79, has *Indian Arithmetic*.

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad

He was [called] al-Ḥāsib; nothing more than this is known about him. Among his books there were:

Book to *Muḥammad ibn Mūsā* [ibn Shākir] about the Nile;¹³⁶ Introduction to the Science of the Stars; Addition and Subtraction.

Al-Makkī

He was *Ja'far ibn 'Alī*, the geometrician from Makkah.¹³⁷ Among his books there were:

Book about geometry; his epistle, The Cube.

Al-Iṣṭakhrī al-Ḥāsib

His name was ———. Among his books there were:

The Compilation on Arithmetic; an explanation of the book of Abū Kāmil about algebra.¹³⁸

A Man Known as Muḥammad ibn Ludhdhah (Larah) al-Ḥāsib

He was one of the people of Iṣbahān. Among his books there was *The Compilation on Arithmetic*.

Recent Geometricians, Calculators, and Astronomers in Death and Life Close to Our Time:

Yūḥannā al-Qass

His name was Yūḥannā ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Baṭrīq al-Qass. He was one of those with whom they studied Euclid and other books on geometry. He also made translations from the Greek and was a man of excellence. He died ———. Among his books there were:

An abridgment of two geometrical tables; a discourse about the proof that when one straight line crosses two other straight lines drawn on a plane, it forms two angles on the inside [next to the transverse line], but leaves lacking two right angles [on the outside].¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Instead of *al-Nīl* ("the Nile"), perhaps the word is meant to be *al-mayl* ("inclination").

¹³⁷ MS 1934 gives only the name. The rest of the paragraph is given by Flügel and a marginal note in MS 1135.

¹³⁸ This was evidently the book of *Shujā' ibn Aslam*, Abū Kāmil, entitled *Algebra and Equation*.

¹³⁹ This was clearly a study of the fifth postulate of Euclid on parallels. From attempts to prove this, non-Euclidean geometry developed.

Ibn *Raḥ* al-Ṣābī ———

Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin

His name was ———. Among his books there were:
'Tables for the Plates;¹⁴⁰ Numerical Problems.

'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-'Imrānī

He was one of the people of al-Mawṣil, a man of excellence, who collected books. He was sought out by people from distant places so that they could be his pupils (read with him). He died during the year three hundred and forty-four [A.D. 955/56]. Among his books there was *Explanation of the Book Algebra and Equation by [Shujā'] Abū Kāmil*.

Abū al-Wafā' Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ismā'īl ibn al-'Abbās

He was born in Būzjān¹⁴¹ in the region of Nisābūr during the year three hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 939/40], on Wednesday at the time of the new moon of Ramaḍān [the ninth Muslim month]. He studied what there was [to be known] of numbers and arithmetic under his paternal uncle, who was known as Abū 'Amr al-Mughāzīlī, and his maternal uncle, known as Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Anbasah. Abū 'Amr studied geometry under Abū Yaḥyā al-Māwardī¹⁴² and Abū al-'Alā' ibn Karmīb.¹⁴³ Abū al-Wafā' moved to al-'Irāq during the year forty-eight [A.D. 959/60]. Among his books there were:

What Administrators and Secretaries Require of the Skill of Arithmetic——it was in seven chapters, each chapter having seven sections. The first chapter was about proportion, the second chapter about multiplication and division, the third chapter on processes of measurement, the fourth

¹⁴⁰ MS 1135 omits this title. It refers to tables of laying out the plates of the astrolabe. See Kennedy, *American Philosophical Society, Transactions*, XLVI, No. 2 (1956), 137, entry x200.

¹⁴¹ For Būzjān, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 756.

¹⁴² See Biog. Index, Abū Yaḥyā, al-Marwazī, for the man probably referred to by this name. Qifī, p. 288, however, gives the last part of the name as al-Bāwardī.

¹⁴³ Compare this passage with Qifī, pp. 287–88.

chapter about processes of taxation, the fifth chapter on processes of apportionments [of inheritance], the sixth chapter about exchange [of currency], and the seventh chapter on the transactions of merchants.¹⁴⁴ A commentary on the book of *al-Khwārizmī* about Algebra and Equation; a commentary on the book of *Diophantus* about algebra; a commentary on the book of *Hipparchus* about algebra;¹⁴⁵ introduction to the "Arithmetica," one section;¹⁴⁶ Proofs of the Propositions Which Diophantus Employed in His Book and [Proofs] of the Things he Used in the Commentary; Deriving the Square of a Cube, Square by Square, and What Is the Total, one section;¹⁴⁷ Knowledge of the Circle from the Heavens, one section.¹⁴⁸

The Perfect (Complete), three sections—the first section is about the things which must be learned before studying the movements of the heavenly bodies, the second section is about the movements of the heavenly bodies, and the third section is about the things which expose the movements of the heavenly bodies.¹⁴⁹ Astronomical Tables of the Evident, three sections—the first is about the things which must be learned before studying the movements of the heavenly bodies, the second is about the movement of the heavenly bodies, and the third about the things which expose the movement of the heavenly bodies.

His Uncle, Abū Sa'īd

He had among his books *Examination of the Sciences*, for students, about six hundred leaves.

¹⁴⁴ In the Arabic text the word translated "chapter" is *al-manzilah*.

¹⁴⁵ MS 1934 has Abū Ḥasan, but the other versions have a name which is probably meant to be Hipparchus.

¹⁴⁶ For the *Arithmetica* of Diophantus, see Heath, *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, p. 473; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 1050; Sarton, I, 336.

¹⁴⁷ This was probably a treatise on extraction of cube and fourth roots. Suter (1892), p. 39, gives the title as "Die Auffindung der Seite des Würfels, des Quadrates des Quadrates und dessen was aus beiden Zusammengesetzt ist." See also Sarton, I, 91 bottom, 169; Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, 83, 85, 118; II, 298, 313-16; Cajori, *History of Mathematics*, p. 25 ff; Sprenger, pp. 886, 1351; Lucky, *Rechenkunst*, p. 18 ff. The Arabic for "square by square" is *bi-mal mal* in both the Flügel edition and Qifā'i, p. 288.

¹⁴⁸ This was written A.D. 986/87 and has been recently published; see Wafā', *Rasā'il al-Muṭafarrīq f' il-Ha'at*.

¹⁴⁹ The word translated "expose" can also mean "befall" or "interfere with." In the description of the following book, MS 1135 omits the third topic.

Al-Kūhī, Abū Sahl *Wayjan* ibn Rustum

He was from al-Kūh,¹⁵⁰ the mountains of Ṭabaristān. Among his books there were:

Centers of Celestial Spheres,¹⁵¹ which he did not finish; The Elements, according to the model of the book¹⁵² of Euclid, with what issued from it; The Complete Compasses, two sections; Construction of the Astro-labe with Proofs, two sections; Projection of Points on Lines,¹⁵³ against the logicians concerning the succession of two movements, in defense of *Thābit* ibn Qurrah; Centers of Circles on Lines according to Analysis and without Synthesis; Deriving Two Lines Proportionally;¹⁵⁴ Contiguous Circles by Method of Analysis; additions to the second treatise of *Archimedes*; The Determination of the Side of a [Regular] Heptagon Inscribed in a Circle.

Ghulām Zuḥal

He was Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ['Ubayd Allāh] ibn al-Ḥasan from among the people of ———. Among his books there were:

Al-Tasyīrāt,¹⁵⁵ one section; The Rays of Light, one section; Judgments of the Stars; Motions and Rays, a large book; Compilation, a large book; The Fundamental Origins; Choices; Things Detached.¹⁵⁶

Al-Šūfī, Abū al-Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Umar

He was one of the best of the astronomers. He was a servitor of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah when he was at Shādhkūh.¹⁵⁷ His birth was

¹⁵⁰ *Kūh* (*qūh*) is a Persian word for mountain. Here it evidently refers to the Alburz range of Ṭabaristān rather than to the low mountains of Kūhistān. See Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, map facing p. 185, province of Māzandarān (Ṭabaristān).

¹⁵¹ "Celestial spheres" is in Arabic *al-ukr*, which is a plural form for *kurah* ("sphere"). The translation follows Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 30, which also describes *al-ukr* as being used for small round objects. In MS 1934 this word is unfinished and in MS 1135 it is given as *al-arḍ* ("earth"). Qifṭī, p. 353 bottom, and Ṭūqān, *Turāth al-'Arab*, p. 251, give *al-ukr*; Suter (1892), p. 40, has the German *kugeln*.

¹⁵² Qifṭī, p. 353, and Flügel, p. 283 n. 5, suggest that instead of *naḥw kitāb* ("model of the book") this might be *taḥrīkāt* ("motions").

¹⁵³ MS 1135 omits this title. The word translated "projection" is *aḥdāth*.

¹⁵⁴ This title and the one following are found in Qifṭī, pp. 353-54, and the manuscripts but not in the Flügel edition.

¹⁵⁵ See Chap. VII, sect. 1, n. 206.

¹⁵⁶ This may refer to isolated stars or have a mathematical significance as explained in Sprenger, p. 1141.

¹⁵⁷ 'Aḍud al-Dawlah ruled the caliphate A.D. 975-83. For Shādhkūh, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 228.

———, and he died during the year ———. Among his books there was *The Stars*, which was illustrated.¹⁵⁸

Al-Anṭaki

He was nicknamed al-Mujtabā, his real name being ———. He died recently, during the year three hundred and seventy-six [A.D. 986/87]. Among his books there were:

The large book about the takht, concerning Indian arithmetic; Calculation on the Takht without Erasing; a commentary on the "Arithmetica";¹⁵⁹ Deriving Interpretations;¹⁶⁰ a commentary on *Euclid*; about cubes.

Al-Kalwadhānī

He is Abū Naṣr *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kalwadhānī al-Ḥāsib. He is one of the best of the arithmeticians, and is still living, in our own time. Among his books there is *The Takht in Indian Arithmetic*.

Al-Qaṣrānī

His name is ———.¹⁶¹

Statement about the Instruments and Their Makers

In ancient times the astrolabes were plane. The first person to make them was Ptolemy. It is said that they were made before his time, but this has not been verified. The first [Muslim] to make a plane astrolabe was *Abīyūn* al-Baṭriq. Then the instruments came to be made in the city of Ḥarrān. Later they were distributed, becoming common and increasing in number, so that the work

¹⁵⁸ This was *Kitāb al-Kawākib al-Thābiṭah al-Muṣawwar*. See Sarton, I, 666 top; "'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī," *Enc. Islam*, I, 57. This book was published as *Kitāb Suwar al-Kawākib* by Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyah, 1953. The same bureau also published his *Kitāb al-'Amal bil Asturlāb* in 1962. As the author died in Persia A.D. 983 or 986, this latter book, on astrolabes, was evidently written too late to be mentioned in *Al-Fihrist*.

¹⁵⁹ For this book of *Diophantus*, see n. 146.

¹⁶⁰ This may refer to interpretations of astrological or mathematical calculations, or else to making translations.

¹⁶¹ In MS 1934 a whole page has been left blank after this name, evidently for information which al-Nadīm had hoped to fill in later.

became plentiful for the makers during the 'Abbāsīd period, from the days of al-Ma'mūn to this our own time.

When al-Ma'mūn wished to make [astronomical] observations, he selected Ibn Khālid al-Marwarrūdhī,¹⁶² who made a circular form for him which was assigned to some of the scholars of our city. Thus al-Marwarrūdhī made the astrolabe.

Names of the Makers

Ibn Khālid al-Marwarrūdhī; al-Fazārī, who has already been mentioned; 'Alī ibn 'Isā, an apprentice of al-Marwarrūdhī; Khafīf, an apprentice of 'Alī ibn 'Isā who was clever and of a superior type;¹⁶³ Aḥmad ibn Khalaf, an apprentice of 'Alī ibn 'Isā; Muḥammad ibn Khalaf, also an apprentice of 'Alī; Aḥmad ibn Ishāq al-Ḥarrānī; al-Rabī' ibn Farrās al-Ḥarrānī; Betulus,¹⁶⁴ an apprentice of Khafīf; 'Alī ibn Aḥmad the geometrician, an apprentice of Khafīf; Muḥammad ibn Shaddād al-Baladī,¹⁶⁵ an apprentice of Betulus; 'Alī ibn Ṣurad al-Ḥarrānī, an apprentice of Betulus; Shujā' ibn ———, an apprentice of Betulus, who was with Sayf al-Dawlah; Ibn Salm, an apprentice of Betulus; al-'Ijlī al-Aṣṭurlāhī, an apprentice of Betulus; al-'Ijlīyah, his daughter, a pupil of Betulus, who was with Sayf al-Dawlah.

Some of the Apprentices of Aḥmad and Muḥammad, the Sons of Khalaf

Jābir ibn Sinān al-Ḥarrānī; Jābir ibn Qurrah al-Ḥarrānī; Sinān ibn Jābir al-Ḥarrānī; Farrās ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī Abū al-Rabī';¹⁶⁶ Ḥāmid ibn 'Alī, an apprentice of 'Alī ibn Aḥmad the geometrician.

¹⁶² MS 1934 has Ibn Khalaf and MS 1135 has Ibn Dā'ūd, but both give Ibn Khālid in the paragraph which follows, which seems to be the correct name, although Flügel differs.

¹⁶³ The translation follows MS 1934; MS 1135 differs.

¹⁶⁴ This name is written in different ways in the various texts. It is probably the same name as the Betulus repeatedly given below. It is obviously a foreign name and, since it cannot be identified, is omitted in the Biog. Index. Another form for Betulus is Bituitus. For the spelling of these forms, see Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie*, I, Part 2, 2368, 2391. Suter (1892), p. 75, suggests Bathulos.

¹⁶⁵ The order of the names from this point to the end of the list follows MS 1934, as the sequence in MS 1135 and the Flügel edition is badly confused.

¹⁶⁶ The translation follows MS 1934 in placing the surname Abū al-Rabī' with Farrās ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī. Flügel and MS 1135 are evidently wrong in placing the surname with Ḥāmid ibn 'Alī.

Some of the Apprentices of *Ḥamid* ibn 'Alī

Ibn *Najīyah*, whose name was ———; al-*Būqī*, whose name was al-*Ḥusayn*, but he substituted for it 'Abd al-*Ṣamad*.

Some of the Instrument-Makers who were Preeminent

'*Alī* ibn Ya'qūb al-*Raṣṣās*; '*Alī* ibn Sa'īd al-*Uqlīdīsī*; *Aḥmad* ibn 'Alī ibn 'Isā, near to our own time.

Qurrah ibn Qamīṭā al-*Ḥarrānī*

This man made a description of the world which *Thābit* ibn *Qurrah* al-*Ḥarrānī* plagiarized. I saw this representation on *Dubayqī* cloth, unbleached but with dyes, the dyes being waxed.¹⁶⁷

The Titles of Books Composed about Motions

The Making of the Instrument Which Drops Balls,¹⁶⁸ by *Archimedes*; Circles and Wheels, by *Heracles* al-*Najjār*; Things Moving by Their Own Nature, by *Heron*; The Trumpet Instrument;¹⁶⁹ The Wind Flute; Wheels, by *Mūrṭas* (*Murīstas*); The Organ; Mechanics, by the *Banū Mūsā* al-*Munajjim*, which included a number of motions.

Abū Ya'qūb *Ishāq* ibn *Ḥunayn*¹⁷⁰

He was of his father's stock in excellence and accuracy of translating the Greek and Syriac languages. He was a master of Arabic style, more able than his father¹⁷¹ in that [art]. He served the same caliphs and chiefs whom his father served and, during his last days, was in a preeminent position in the special service of al-*Qāsim* ibn 'Ubayd Allāh [the vizier], who entrusted to him his confidential matters.

¹⁶⁷ *Dubayqī* (*Dabīqī*) is a kind of cloth known in both Damascus and North Africa; see Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 654; *Yāqūt*, *Geog.*, II, 548; *Maṣ'ūdī*, II, 46.

¹⁶⁸ See n. 124.

¹⁶⁹ For the musical instruments here, see Farmer, *History of Arabic Music* and *The Organ of the Ancients*. For an exhaustive account of music, see the six-volume work, Erlanger, *Musique arabe*.

¹⁷⁰ MS 1135 omits this account.

¹⁷¹ MS 1934 has "his son," but Flügel must be correct in giving "his father," who was the famous *Ḥunayn* ibn *Ishāq* al-*Ibādī*.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Third Section of the Seventh Chapter

*of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, including accounts of the ancient and recent physicians and the names of the books which they composed.*¹

The Beginning of Medicine²

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: There is a difference of opinion as to who first discovered medicine and as to who was the first of the physicians. Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn said in his history:

Some people state that it was the people of Egypt who developed medicine. The reason [they did so] was because of a woman in Egypt who was in great distress and anxiety. She was afflicted with grief and pain,³ as well as weakness of the stomach, a chest filled with vicious humors, and blocked menstruation. She happened to eat *rāsan*,⁴ for which she had a fondness. Then all of her ailments left her, so that she returned to her normal health. Thereupon everyone who shared any of her complaints used it [*rāsan*] and by means of it was cured. The people also experimented with other diseases.

¹ This title is taken from MS 1934. Some of the authorities who are helpful in studying Arab medicine are Gordon, Leclerc, Qifī, and Uṣaybi'ah. See also Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, Campbell, *Arabian Medicine and Its Influence in the Middle Ages*, Elgood, *Medical History of Persia*, Garrison, *Introduction to the History of Medicine*, and Whipple, *Role of the Nestorians and Muslims in the History of Medicine*. These sources are listed in the Bibliography.

² In the passage which follows it is impossible to learn from the Arabic text which statements are quoted and which are paraphrased.

³ "Pain" is *al-dard*. Another possibility here is *al-darad* ("loss of teeth").

⁴ *Al-rāsan* is identified, by different authorities, as "elecampane," "juniper," or *Paederia foetida*.

Others have said, "When *Hermes* brought to light the other arts and philosophy, medicine was one of the things which he also developed." Others say that the people of Qū, also called Qūlūs,⁵ discovered it, and they verify this from the medicine which a mid-wife made for the king's wife, whom she was with. Still others say that sorcerers were the discoverers, and others that it was the Babylonians, the Persians, the Indians, the people of al-Yaman, or al-Ṣaqālibah.⁶

Mention of the First to Speak about Medicine

According to the opinion of *Yahyā al-Naḥwī*, which is found in his history, there were eight leaders in succession to the time of *Galen*: *Aesculapius* the First; Ghūrūs;⁷ Mīnus;⁸ *Parmenides*; Plato (Flāṭun) the Physician;⁹ *Aesculapius* the Second;¹⁰ *Hippocrates* the Second, Retainer of the Souls;¹¹ and *Galen*, which means "the one at rest."¹²

Yahyā [al-Naḥwī] said:

The number of years from the time of the appearance of *Aesculapius* the First to the death of *Galen* was five thousand five hundred and sixty years. During these years there were intervals between each one of the eight

⁵ Qifṭī, p. 92 l. 17, makes it clear that this is meant to be Cos.

⁶ This was a general term, somewhat like Scythians, for the peoples of eastern Europe and central Asia. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 405.

⁷ For the legendary *Aesculapius*, see Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, p. 16. Maybe Ghūrūs is meant to be Horus, but this is very uncertain.

⁸ Mīnus might refer to Menes, the Egyptian king of the first dynasty, who was a patron of medicine and whose son Athoris wrote on anatomy; see Gordon, p. 199.

⁹ See Wenrich, p. 125. This man cannot be properly identified in ancient literature.

¹⁰ This man may have been Herodicus, who was the teacher of Hippocrates and almost certainly one of the order of the Asclepiadae.

¹¹ This was the famous Hippocrates, the "Father of Medicine," whom the ancients designated as Hippocrates the Second.

¹² *Yahyā al-Naḥwī*, who lived during the seventh century A.D. found these names and those which follow in some old manuscript. The author of *Al-Fihrist* (late tenth century), al-Qifṭī (1172-1248) and Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'ah (1203-70) quote these names with numerous variations in spelling; see Qifṭī, pp. 12, 13, 92, 93; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, p. 22. For a list of ancient authorities, see Leclerc, I, 87-89, 231-58.

From the statement in *Al-Fihrist* it seems evident that these medical authorities were of a somewhat legendary character, with only a few exceptions.

leaders. In connection with the medicine¹³ during these intervals, the persons between Aesculapius and Ghūrūs¹⁴ were Sūranidūs, Māniyūs, Sāwiyās, Mssaniyāwūs, Suqridūs the First,¹⁵ Asfalūs, Samadibalus, Afīmīyākhus, Aflatīmūn,¹⁶ Aghātūys,¹⁷ and Abicūrus the Physician.¹⁸

Then he said:

Between Ghūrūs and Minus there was an interval during which there appeared in connection with medicine Afaynūrus, Suqridūs the Second, Aḥṭifūn, Asqūrīs, Warrawūs, Asfaṭus, Mūṭimūs, Plato (Flāṭun) the First, the physician,¹⁹ *Hippocrates* the First.

He said:

Between Mīnus and *Parmenides* there was an interval during which there appeared in connection with medicine Sīmānūs, Sāwārus,²⁰ Harzātīmūs, Mūlūqūs,²¹ Sūrānidīqūs, Sāmūs, Miqnāwūs the Second, Fiṭāfūn, Sūnākhus, Sūnānūs,²² Māmānikhus, and *Parmenides*.

Then there was an interval during which there were in connection with medicine, between *Parmenides* and Plato the Physician, Aqrān al-Afrāghūtī, Sijyūs, Anqalus, Fīlus, Aghafūtīmūs, Aksidūs, and Milastus.²³

Between Flāṭun (Plato) the First and *Aesculapius* the Second there was an interval during which in connection with medicine there were Nilus al-Afrāghūtī, Themistius the Physician, Andromachus the Elder,²⁴

¹³ Both manuscripts have *al-ṭibb* ("medicine"), whereas Flügel and Qifī, p. 12, have *al-aṭibbā'* ("physicians"). The same variation occurs in the paragraphs which follow.

¹⁴ The names in the following lists are taken from MS 1934, which differs from the other versions. In many cases it is impossible to know what the original name was, as few vowel signs are given. The names are badly garbled but are included in the translation to give an impression of what this curious passage is like.

¹⁵ Perhaps Socrates the First, who cannot be identified.

¹⁶ Possibly *Philotimus*.

¹⁷ Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 22, spells the name Qalghūmūs.

¹⁸ The Greek name may be Epicurus, although this is obviously not the famous philosopher.

¹⁹ See n. 9.

²⁰ Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 22, l. 29, calls him Ghawānus. The texts differ greatly in connection with this passage.

²¹ See *ibid.*, p. 22, which calls him Fūlūs.

²² Other versions have Syrianus, evidently an error.

²³ The first name may be for *Acron* of Agrigentum, who was an ancient authority, but the other names cannot be identified.

²⁴ These names look like Nilus, Themistius, and Andromachus, but apparently these men were very early physicians, not well-known ones of the same names who lived later.

Aflaghūrus,²⁵ Makhālūs, Nastūs, Menodorus,²⁶ Ghālūs,²⁷ Mārātīyas, Afiraqlīs the Physician,²⁸ Pythagoras the Physician, Malkhīs, Faṣṭus, Ghālūs, Madhammūs.

Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn said:

The philosophers of this period who are remembered are *Pythagoras*, *Diocles*, Bārūn,²⁹ *Empedocles*, Aqlidūs,³⁰ Tūnā,³¹ Yātāīs, *Anaximenes*, Sāwarī,³² *Thales*, and *Democritus*, who was contemporary with *Hippocrates* and his teacher *Aesculapius* [II].

He said that among the Greek poets there were Amyrūs, Filachīs, and Mārīs.³³

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: We have mentioned a group of physicians whose books have not come down to us and, as far as we know, no book of whom has been issued in Arabic, until this our time. We shall now begin to mention the physicians who were authors and whose books have come down to us translated into Arabic. We begin with *Hippocrates*, head of the physicians.

*Hippocrates*³⁴

He was Hippocrates, son of *Heracides*, and one of the pupils of *Aesculapius* the Second. When *Aesculapius* died, there came after him three pupils—Māghātīūs, Wārakhus, and *Hippocrates*.³⁵ When

²⁵ This could be Philagrius.

²⁶ Menodorus is a guess. This is certainly not the first-century man of that name.

²⁷ This name might be Gallus or Gellius in Greek. It is repeated below, perhaps an accidental duplication.

²⁸ Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 23, makes it clear that this name is possibly Hierocles, though not the Hierocles described in the Biog. Index.

²⁹ A guess for this name is *Pyrrhon*.

³⁰ Although this looks like Euclid, it is very likely meant to be some other name, such as *Heraclitus*.

³¹ Flügel joins this name to the next one, but MS 1934 separates the two names.

³² This may be an unidentified Severus.

³³ The first two names are probably meant to be *Homer* and *Philocles*. The third name may be *Horace*, as *h* and *m* can be confused and the Arabs did not always distinguish between Greek and Roman names. Cf. Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 23.

³⁴ In Arabic this name is written as Buqrāṭ, with a *fā'* (f). But the words "it is said *īḍ'*" are inserted in the manuscript, indicating that the name is sometimes spelled with a *īḍ'* (ḍ).

³⁵ "Hippocrates," *Enc. Brit.*, XIII, 517, gives the names of the immediate predecessors of Hippocrates. These names and others given by Smith, *GRBM*, II, 48a, do not seem to correspond to the first two pupils mentioned here.

Māghātūs and Wārakhus died, the leadership culminated with Hippocrates.

Yahyā al-Nahwī said:

Hippocrates was unique in his time. He was so perfect, superior, and lucid in knowledge of the action of phenomena that he was proverbial as the "Physician-Philosopher." His authority reached the point where people worshipped him. His life was a long one. He surpassed in the practice of analogy and experimentation, having such remarkable ability that no criticism resulted. He was the first person to teach medicine to strangers, whom he treated as his own children, fearing lest medicine might disappear from the world, as is recorded in the statement of his charge to the physicians who were strangers and to whom he indicated what prompted him so to act.³⁶

From Sources Other Than the Statement of Yahyā, According to Some of the Ancient Histories

Hippocrates lived at the time of Bahman, son of Ardshir.³⁷ When Bahman fell sick, he sent to the people of the land of Hippocrates, to ask for his help. But they intervened, saying, "If Hippocrates is taken away from our city, all of us will emigrate or else suffer death without him." So Bahman had pity on them, leaving him [Hippocrates] with them. Hippocrates appeared during the ninety-sixth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which was the fourteenth year of King Bahman.³⁸

We return to the account of Yahyā:

Hippocrates was the seventh of the eight who were in succession after Aesculapius, the first discoverer of medicine. *Galen* was the eighth and

³⁶ Before Hippocrates' time, medicine was the monopoly of a priestly order, but he made it a science for all to learn. For his charge or oath, see Gordon, pp. 502, 517; *Uṣaybi'ah*, Part 1, p. 26.

³⁷ In the legendary history of Persia, the name Bahman, son of Ardshir, was confused with that of *Artaxerxes* I, Longimanus, who ruled Persia 465-425 B.C., at the time of *Hippocrates*. See Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, V, 281-82; Sykes, *History of Persia*, I, 146; Qisfī, p. 93 l. 15.

³⁸ This statement is either inaccurate or else estimated in years of a special type, as *Nebuchadnezzar* ruled 604-561 B.C. and *Artaxerxes* I, 465-425 B.C.

with him there culminated the leadership. Galen did not come into contact with him because there were six hundred and sixty-five years between them.

Yahyā said:

Hippocrates lived for ninety-five years. During sixteen of these years he was a boy who was learning, and for seventy-nine years he was a scholar and a teacher. When Hippocrates died, three children from the fruit of his loins followed him. They were *Thessalus*, *Dracon*, and *Panaceia*, his daughter, who was more distinguished than his sons.³⁹ Among his grandchildren there were *Hippocrates* the son of *Thessalus* and *Hippocrates* the son of *Dracon*.

According to [what is written in] the handwriting of Ishāq [ibn Hunayn], Hippocrates lived for ninety years.

The Pupils of Hippocrates Who Belonged to His Family, and Others besides Them

Lādhan;⁴⁰ Māsarjus;⁴¹ Sāwari;⁴² Maksānūs;⁴³ Fülūs;⁴⁴ the most eminent pupil of Māsībūs; Isṭāth;⁴⁵ Ghūrus;⁴⁶ Sinbliqīyūs;⁴⁷ and Thāthālus.⁴⁸

Commentators on the Books of Hippocrates: Those Who Came after Him until the Time of Galen⁴⁹

³⁹ MS 1934 gives the daughter's name as *Mānā-Arsīyā*, but *m* can be confused with *b* or *p*. See Biog. Index for references.

⁴⁰ The transliteration and identification of these names is guess work. Lādhan does not suggest any Greek name.

⁴¹ Possibly a later authority such as *Masarjawayh* or *Sergius* of the city of Ra's al-'Ayn.

⁴² Perhaps *Severus*.

⁴³ Qifṭī, p. 94, l. 4, omits the name, so it may be an error.

⁴⁴ This may be a corruption for *Herophilus* or for *Paulus Aegineta*.

⁴⁵ If the preceding name is meant to be *Herophilus*, this may refer to his younger associate *Erasistratos*.

⁴⁶ Probably *Praxagoras*.

⁴⁷ Almost certainly *Simplicius*.

⁴⁸ Perhaps *Thessalus*, son of Hippocrates.

⁴⁹ See Qifṭī, p. 94, for a similar list. As most of these names can be identified, the Arabic forms are not given here. Evidently the title is misleading, as some of the persons mentioned lived after the time of Galen.

Simplicius; *Antyllus*;⁵⁰ *Dioscorides* the First; *Timaeus* the Palestinian;⁵¹ *Mantias*; *Erasistratus* the Second, the analogist; *Palladius*, whose commentary applies to the "Aphorisms";⁵² and *Galen*.

The Names of Hippocrates' Books, with Their Translations, Expositions, and Commentaries, Which Ones of Them Are Extant in the Language of the Arabs, and about Which Ones of Them Galen Wrote Commentaries⁵³

The Oath of Hippocrates [*Hippocratis Jusjurandum*], with the commentary of *Galen*, which *Hunayn* [ibn Ishāq] translated into Syriac, adding something of his own, and then *Hubaysh* and 'Isā ibn Yahyā translated it into Arabic, one section; *Aphorisms* [*Aphorismi*], with the commentary of *Galen*, which *Hunayn* translated into Arabic for *Muhammad* ibn Mūsā, seven sections;⁵⁴ *Prognosis* [*Prognosticon*], with the commentary of *Galen*—*Hunayn* translated the text into Arabic and then 'Isā translated the commentary, also into Arabic; *Acute Diseases* [*De ratione victus in morbis acutis*], with the commentary of *Galen* in five sections, three of which 'Isā ibn Yahyā translated into Arabic; *Fracture* [*De fracturis et vinctura*], with the commentary of *Galen*, which *Hunayn* translated into Arabic for *Muhammad* ibn Mūsā, four sections.

Epidemics [*De morbis popularibus*]*—Galen* wrote a commentary on the first part in three sections and on the third in six sections; *Galen* did not write any commentary on the fourth, fifth, and seventh parts, but he did comment on the sixth in eight sections, all of which 'Isā ibn Yahyā explained in Arabic; *Bodily Humors* [*De humoribus*], with the commentary of *Galen* in three sections, which 'Isā ibn Yahyā translated into Arabic

⁵⁰ Qifī, p. 94 l. 7, gives *Nastās*, and p. 337 describes this man as a tenth-century Christian in Egypt. Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 23 l. 27, mentions the name with the ancient physicians. *Antyllus* is a guess.

⁵¹ *Al-Fihrist*; Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 34 l. 20; and Qifī, p. 94; give the name as *Timaeus*, but it is probably an error, meant to be *Timotheus* Gazaicus.

⁵² The Arabic is *Al-Fuṣūl*, which is used by the Arabs to indicate the *Aphorisms*; see *Wenrich*, p. 98.

⁵³ Compare these titles with *Diels* in *Abhandlungen der Königlich preussischen*, Article 4 (1905), pp. 3 ff.; Qifī, p. 94; Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, pp. 31–32; *Wenrich*, p. 97 ff; *Leclerc*, I, 146, 231; *Smith*, *GRBM*, II, 486. The translation of each title is followed, in brackets, by the familiar Latin form of the original Greek title.

⁵⁴ *Muhammad* ibn Mūsā and *Aḥmad* ibn Mūsā, mentioned in the next paragraph, were two members of the famous family of the Banū Mūsā, great patrons of scientific translation and Greek culture in ninth-century Baghdad.

for *Aḥmad* ibn Mūsā; Medical Treatment⁵⁵ [De officina medici]—Galen commented on three sections, which *Ḥunayn* translated into Arabic for Muḥammad ibn Mūsā; Water and Air [De aëre, aquis, et locis], with the commentary of Galen in three sections—*Ḥunayn* translated the text into Arabic and *Ḥubaysh* ibn al-Ḥasan the commentary; The Nature of Man [De natura hominis], with the commentary of Galen in three sections—*Ḥunayn* translated the text into Arabic and 'Isā ibn Yalyā the commentary.

Archigenes

He was before Galen, who mentioned him in his book, being receptive to him. [Later, however,] he repudiated him.⁵⁶

*Galen*⁵⁷

Galen appeared six hundred and sixty-five years after the death of *Hippocrates*,⁵⁸ and the leadership during his period culminated with him. He was the eighth of those leaders of whom *Aesculapius*, the discoverer of medicine, was the first. Galen's teacher was *Arminius*⁵⁹ the Roman. He also drew upon *Glaucus*, to whom he addressed treatises and with whom he had debates.

In the first section of his book *Dispositions* [De anatomiae]⁶⁰ he spoke about the fulfillment of responsibility, praising it. He came to a place in it in which he mentioned the people who were made wretched by the removal of their master. When it was demanded

⁵⁵ The Arab title is a transliteration of the Greek title *Kar'* 'Ἰντρον.

⁵⁶ *Galen* wrote a commentary on *Archigenes'* book about the pulse. Later, however, he repudiated *Archigenes'* works, as he felt that instead of explaining medicine they confused it. *Galen* then tried to accomplish what *Archigenes* had failed to do. In Arabic the word for "repudiated" literally means "cut." See Gordon, pp. 681-82.

⁵⁷ See Qiftī, p. 122 ff; Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 71 ff; Sarton, I, 301; Gordon, p. 697 ff; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 207; Wenrich, p. 241; Diels in *Abhandlungen der Königlich preussischen*, Article 4 (1905), p. 58; Leclerc, I, 242; *Galen, Medicorum Graecorum opera*; *Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XVII, No. 2 (1925), 1-53.

⁵⁸ As *Hippocrates* died during the first half of the fourth century B.C. and *Galen* became known about the middle of the second century A.D., this statement is incorrect.

⁵⁹ This may have been *Albinus*, who taught *Galen* philosophy. In that case some careless scribe has cut down and discontinued the letter *l*, making it look like *r*. The name might also be *Arctaeos*, a medical authority contemporary with *Galen*.

⁶⁰ For this book about humors, see *ibid.*, p. 49 (Arabic text), and Wenrich, p. 252.

of them that they should expose without prejudice their friends,⁶¹ mentioning their violations, they became resigned to misfortune, refusing to comply with this and enduring the most severe distress. This was during the year five hundred and fourteen of Alexander. It is the most authentic mention made about Galen, his time and date in history.⁶²

Another Account

Galen lived during the time of the Kings of the Tribes, in the days of Qubādh ibn Sābūr ibn Ashghān.⁶³ It was nine hundred years from the death of Galen to our own time, according to the sum of the reckoning recorded by *Yahyā al-Nahwī* and *Ishāq ibn Hunayn* subsequent to him.⁶⁴ Galen was honored by the kings, often being [sent as] an emissary to them. He was a great traveler in different lands, seeking to improve mankind. Most of his journeys were to a Roman city,⁶⁵ for during his lifetime the king was ill, so that he often summoned him.

Galen frequently met with *Alexander* of Aphradosius; Alexander nicknamed him "Mulehead" because his head was so large. Galen died in the days of the Kings of the Tribes. Between the time of the

⁶¹ The translation follows MS 1934, which differs slightly from the other versions.

⁶² The year 514 of Alexander indicates a year between A.D. 177, when Commodus was made Augustus, and A.D. 180, when Marcus Aurelius died. It is possible that "the removal of their master" refers to Marcus Aurelius' death and that the informing on friends and misery refer to the reign of Commodus, who encouraged accusation and proscribed to death even some of the best citizens.

⁶³ Qubādī ibn Sābūr ibn Ashghān evidently means Kubād son of Shāpūr son of Ashkān. It seems that the Arab historians did not know Persian history well. The Kings of the Tribes were the Parthian or Ashkānian rulers in Persia. The Parthian king at the time of Galen was Balash, called Vologases; he ruled A.D. 147-91. See Rawlinson, *Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 323; Magic, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, pp. 660-62.

This king seems to be confused with Kubād (Shirwī), of the Sāsānian dynasty, who became king A.D. 628. Perhaps Kubād is called "son of Shāpūr" because he was a descendant of Shāpūr, who was well known to the Arabs. "Son of Ashkān" may refer to the fact that the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty married the daughter of the last king of the Ashkānian dynasty. See Firdawsī, *Shahname*, VI, 193, 254, 327, 357; VIII, 187; IX, 3, 175.

⁶⁴ As Galen died A.D. 199 and *Al-Fihrist* was written at the end of the tenth century, this reckoning is inaccurate.

⁶⁵ This almost certainly refers to Rome. Galen was called there on numerous occasions to care for Marcus Aurelius, his son Verus, and other persons.

Christ and his time there were fifty-seven years. The Christ (*al-Masīh*), for whom may there be peace, preceded him.⁶⁶

Naming of Galen's Books with Their Translations and Commentaries

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [*al-Nadīm*]: It was the good fortune of Ḥunayn [ibn Ishāq] that the things which Ḥubaysh ibn al-Ḥasan al-A'sam, 'Isā ibn Yaḥyā, and others translated into Arabic were attributed to him, Ḥunayn. If we have recourse to the catalogue of Galen's books which Ḥunayn made for 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā, we learn that most of the things which Ḥunayn translated were [translated] into Syriac, although he may also have corrected and examined the Arabic of other people's translations.

Confirmation of the Sixteen Books Which the Physicians Read in Successive Order⁶⁷

Distinction [*De variis medicorum sectis*], translation of Ḥunayn [ibn Ishāq], one section; The Art [*De arte medica*], translation of Ḥunayn, one section; To Tūthran on the Pulse [*De pulsibus ad Tirones*], translation of Ḥunayn, one section;⁶⁸ To Glaucon, on setting things in order for the healing of diseases [*De curatione ad Glauconem*], translation of Ḥunayn, two sections;⁶⁹ five sections, Anatomy [*De anatomiae libri V*], translation of Ḥunayn; The Elements [*De elementis*], translation of Ḥunayn, one section; Temperament [*De temperamentis*], translation of Ḥunayn, three sections; Natural Abilities [*De facultatibus naturalibus*], translation of Ḥunayn, three sections; Causes and Symptoms [*De morborum causis et symptomatibus*], translation of Ḥubaysh [ibn al-Ḥasan], six sections.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Galen was born A.D. 129, so that 57 years is an error. The names cited in the footnotes for this paragraph have not been included in the Biog. Index, as they are not properly given in *Al-Fihrist*.

⁶⁷ See Qifī, p. 129; Wenrich, p. 241 ff; Leclerc, I, 244 ff; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 212-17; and the Arabic titles with German translations in Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XVII, No. 2 (1925), 1-53.

⁶⁸ Tūthran is very likely meant to be Tirones, but the name is not in the Biog. Index as it cannot be identified with certainty. MS 1934 adds Ḥubaysh at the end of the clause, but the other versions omit the name.

⁶⁹ This may be more correctly given as *Ad Glauconem de medendi methodo*. This work should not be confused with the other book, also entitled *Mendendi methodus*. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 216.

⁷⁰ MS 1934 has Ḥubaysh, though the other versions give Ḥunayn.

Knowing Diseases of the Internal Organs [De morborum internorum cognitione], translation of Ḥubaysh, six sections; large book of the pulse [Compendium pulsuum], translation of Ḥubaysh, sixteen sections in four divisions—Ḥunayn translated one section into Arabic;⁷¹ The Fevers [De differentiis febrium], translation of Ḥunayn, two sections; The Crisis [De crisis], translation of Ḥunayn, three sections; Days of Crisis [De criticis diebus], translation of Ḥunayn, three sections; Trick of the Cure [Medendi methodus], translation of Ḥubaysh into Arabic—Ḥunayn corrected the first six [sections]; the book has fourteen. He also corrected the last eight sections at the request of *Muḥammad* ibn Mūsā.⁷² Treatment of the Healthy [De sanitate tuenda], translation of Ḥubaysh, six sections.

Books Other Than the Sixteen⁷³

The Great Book of Dissection [De anatomicis administrationibus], fifteen sections—*Ḥunayn* [ibn Ishāq], did not mention in his catalogue who translated it into Arabic, but I saw it as translated by Ḥubaysh [ibn al-Ḥasan]; Differences in Dissection [De anatomiae differentiis], translation of Ḥubaysh into Arabic, two sections; Dissection of the Dead Animal [De animalis mortui dissectione], translation of Ḥubaysh into Arabic, two sections; Dissection of the Living Animal [De animalis vivi dissectione], translation of Ḥubaysh into Arabic, two sections; On Hippocrates' Knowledge of Dissection [De Hippocratis scientia anatomica], translation of Ḥubaysh, five sections; Aristotle's Knowledge of Dissection [De Aristotelis scientia anatomica], translation of Ḥubaysh, three sections; Dissection of the Uterus [De uteri dissectione], translation of Ḥubaysh into Arabic, one section.

Motions of the Chest and Lung [De motu thoracis et pulmonis], translation of *Iṣṭifān* ibn Baṣīl into Arabic, with Ḥunayn's correction of his errors, three sections; Causes of Respiration [De respirationis causis], translation of *Iṣṭifān* ibn Baṣīl, with Ḥunayn's corrections for his son, two sections; The Voice [De voce], translation of Ḥunayn into Arabic for *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, four sections; Movement of

⁷¹ This work was probably spurious. It was very likely a collection of short accounts about the pulse; see Wenrich, p. 251 bottom, and Diels in *Abhandlungen der Königlich preussischen*, Article 4 (1905), pp. 86-88, for treatises which may have been included in this book.

⁷² Qifṭī, p. 129, has "the last eight sections which *Muḥammad* ibn Mūsā received." MS 1934 gives the titles in the order as translated, but other versions place this book at the end of the list.

⁷³ Cf. Qifṭī, pp. 129-32.

the Muscles [De matu musculorum], translation of Iṣṭifān, with the corrections of Ḥunayn, two sections; Need for the Pulse [De usu pulsuum], translation of Ḥubaysh, one section; Need for Respiration [De respirationis usu], translation of Iṣṭifān—Ḥunayn translated half of it—one section; Habits [De bono habitu], translation of Ḥubaysh, one section; Opinions of *Hippocrates* and *Plato* [De Hippocratis et Platonis placitis], translation of Ḥubaysh into Arabic, ten sections; Obscure Motions [De motibus obscuris], translation of Ḥunayn into Arabic, one section.

The Plethora [De plenitudine], translation of Iṣṭifān, one section; Benefits of the Parts of the Body [De usu partium corporis humani], translation of Ḥubaysh, with Ḥunayn's corrections of his errors, seventeen sections; The Best of Forms [De optima constitutione], translation of Ḥunayn into Syriac and Arabic, one section; Abundant Good Things of the Body [De bono corporis habitu], translation of Ḥubaysh, one section; Evil of an Uneven Temperament [De temperamenti inaequalis vitio], translation of Ḥunayn, one section; Medical Simples [De medicamentis simplicibus], translation of Ḥunayn, eleven sections; Tumors [De tumoribus], translation of *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-Ṣalt, one section; Semen [De semine], translation of Ḥubaysh, two sections; Born at Seven Months [De septimestri partu], translation of Ḥunayn, one section; Black Bile [De atra bile], translation of Iṣṭifān, one section; Weakness of Respiration [De difficili respiratione], translation of Ḥunayn for his son, three sections.

Prognosis [De praenotione], translation of 'Isā ibn Yaḥyā, one section; Venesection [De venarum arteriarumque sectione], translation of 'Isā ibn Yaḥyā, interpreted by Iṣṭifān and 'Isā; Emaciation [De marasmo], translation of Ḥunayn, one section; Qualifications for an Epileptic Boy [Pnero epileptico consilium], translation of *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-Ṣalt into Syriac and Arabic, one section; The Strength of Nutriments [De alimentorum facultatibus], translation of Ḥunayn, three sections; The Application of Alleviating Medicines [De adtenuante victus ratione], translation of Ḥunayn, one section; Chyme [De chymo], translation of *Thābit* [ibn Qurrah], *Shamlī*, and Ḥubaysh into Arabic, one section;⁷⁴ Ideas of *Erasistratus* about the Treatment of Diseases [*Erasistrati de morbis curandis deliberatio*],⁷⁵ translation of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq; *Hippocrates'* Treatment for Acute Diseases [De victus ratione in morbis acutis ex Hippocratis sententia], translation of Ḥunayn, one section.

⁷⁴ Chyme is partly digested food expelled from the stomach into the intestine.

⁷⁵ The manuscripts place *afkār* ("ideas") before the name of *Erasistratus*, although Flügel omits it.

Composition of Medicines [De medicamentorum compositione secundum locos et genera], translation of Ḥubaysh al-A'sam, seventeen sections; Medical Simples Counteracting Diseases [De antidotis], translation of 'Isā ibn Yaḥyā, two sections; Treacle to Baysan [De theriaca ad Pisonem],⁷⁶ translation of Yaḥyā ibn al-Baṭriq, one section; To Thrasybulus [Ad Thrasybulum], translation of Ḥunayn, one section; Exercise with a Small Ball [De parvae pilae exercitio], translation of Ḥubaysh, one section;⁷⁷ That the Excellent Physician Is a Philosopher [Quod optimus medicus necessarius sit quoque philosophus], translation of Ḥunayn, one section; The Authentic Books of Hippocrates [De genuinis Hippocratis libris], translation of Ḥunayn, one section; Barley Broth (Al-Ḥuthth) in Connection with the Study of Medicine [De ptisana], translation of Ḥubaysh, one section; The Trial of the Physician [De medici tentatione],⁷⁸ translation of Ḥunayn, one section; What One Believes as an Opinion [De secta sua], translation of Thābit [ibn Qurrah], one section; The Proof [De demonstratione], which he composed as fifteen sections, those of them which are extant being-----.

A Man's Knowledge of His Own Defects [De animi vitiorum cognitione atque medela], interpretation of Tūmā, with the corrections of Ḥunayn, one section; Moral Customs [De moribus], translation of Ḥubaysh; Benefit of the Superior from Their Enemies [De utilitate quam boni ex inimicis suis percipiunt], translation of Ḥubaysh, one section;⁷⁹ What Plato Mentioned in the "Timaeus" [In Platonis "Timaeum" commentarii]—what is extant in Arabic⁸⁰ is one section with the translation of Ḥunayn, and the interpretation of Ishāq [ibn Ḥunayn] of the three remaining ones; Strength of Spirit Depends upon Dispositions of the Body [Quod animi mores corporis temperamentum sequantur], translation of Ḥubaysh, one section; The First Mover Does Not Move [Quod primus motor non moveatur], translation of Ḥunayn, one section, and the translation also of 'Isā ibn Yaḥyā and Ishāq; Introduction to Logic [Isagoge in logicam], translation of Ḥubaysh, one section; The Number

⁷⁶ See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 209 right-hand column, 214, sect. vii, no. 75.

⁷⁷ MS 1934 has this title written twice here. Qifṣī, p. 131 l. 11, gives it once, and MS 1135 omits it. Flügel gives it once but follows it with the title *Exercise with a Large Ball*.

⁷⁸ Qifṣī, p. 131 l. 13, Flügel, and MS 1135 have *Mihnat al-Ṭabīb* ("The Trial of the Physician"). MS 1934 has what must be an error, *Muḥabbat al-Ṭabīb* ("Love of the Physician").

⁷⁹ Literally, *Benefit of the Best with Their Enemies*.

⁸⁰ Flügel, Qifṣī, p. 131, and MS 1135 have "twenty," but MS 1934 is probably correct in giving "Arabic."

of Syllogisms [De syllogismorum numero], translation of Iṣṭifān and also of Iṣḥāq for 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā; Second Commentary on the Books of Aristotle [Commentarius in secundum librorum Aristotelis qui inscribitur], translation of Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, three sections.

Rufus before Galen

He was from the city of Ephesus, living earlier than Galen, a leader in the profession of medicine.⁸¹ None of the members of the school of Rufus were superior to him.⁸² Among his books there were:

Naming of the Organs of Man's Body [De corporis humani partium adpellatione], one section;⁸³ About the Cause on Account of Which There Is Fear of Water [De causis e quibus hydrophobia oritur], one section; Jaundice and Gall Bladder [De morbo icterico atque cholera], one section; Diseases which Appear in the Joints [De morbis qui articulis obveniunt], one section; Diminishing of Flesh, one section;⁸⁴ Treatment of a Person When No Physician Is with Him [De aegrorum qui medico destituntur vivendi ratione], two sections; The Sore Throat [De gutturis dolore], one section; The Medicine of Hippocrates [De Hippocratis medicina], one section; The Use of Drinks [De vini usu], one section;⁸⁵ Treatment of Those Who Do Not Become Pregnant [De curatione steriliū], one section.

Precepts for the Care of the Health [Propositiones de conservanda valitudine], one section; Epilepsy [De epilepsia], one section; Treacle as an Antidote [Therīaca], one section; Quartan Fever [De febris quartana], one section; Black Bile [De atra bile], two sections; Pleurisy and Inflammation of the Lungs [De pleuritide et peripneumonia], one section; The Treatment [De recta vivendi ratione], two sections; Coitus [De coitu], one section;⁸⁶ Medicine [De arte medica], one section; Works Accomplished

⁸¹ For Rufus and his books, see Wenrich, pp. 221-24; Rufus of Ephesus, p. xxxvi; Leclerc, I, 239-41; Smith, GRBM, III, 669. As in the case of Galen, the titles in brackets are given in Latin rather than Greek, following the English translations of the Arabic. *Maqālah* is translated as "section."

⁸² "Members of the school of Rufus" is in Arabic *al-Rūfusiyyūn*.

⁸³ See Rufus of Ephesus, p. 133 ff.

⁸⁴ The original Greek title and its Latin equivalent have not been identified.

⁸⁵ Perhaps this is meant to be *De medicamentis purgantibus*. See Smith, GRBM, III, 669 left column.

⁸⁶ This title is repeated five titles further in all versions of the list except Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, p. 34.

in the Hospitals, one section;⁸⁷ Milk [De lacte], one section; Distinction, one section;⁸⁸ Coitus [De coitu], one section; The Virgins, one section;⁸⁹ The Fig [De mariscis], one section; Treatment of the Traveler [De viatorum vivendi ratione], one section; Halitosis [De oris foetore], one section; Vomiting [De vomitu], one section;⁹⁰ Deadly Medicines [De medicamentis lethiferis], one section; Diseases of the Kidneys and Bladder [De medicamentis in renum atque vesicae morbis adhibendis], one section.⁹¹

Is Much Drinking of Medicine at Banquets Profitable? [Utrum multus assiduusque medicamentorum usus prosit];⁹² Hardened Swellings [De scirrhis]; Memory [De memoria], one section; The Disease of Dionysus, Which Is Pus, one section;⁹³ Wounds [De vulneribus], one section; Treatment for Old Age [De senum vivendi ratione], one section; Precepts of the Physicians [Praecepta medicorum], one section; Clysters [De clysteribus], one section; Parturition [De partu], one section; Dislocation [De luxatura], one section; Repression of Menstruation [De menstruorum repressorum curatione], one section;⁹⁴ Chronic Diseases According to the Opinion of Hippocrates [De morbis chronicis secundum Hippocratis doctrinam], one section; Classes of Medicines [De medicamentorum ordine], one section.

Philagrius

Ishāq ibn Hunayn did not mention him in *The History of Physicians* nor is it known in which period he lived. According to what I have

⁸⁷ The original title has not been identified.

⁸⁸ The manuscripts have *al-farq*, whereas Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 34, has *al-firāq*; both forms signify "distinction." Rufus of Ephesus, p. xxxvi, no. 41, and Leclerc, I, 240, give the title as *De la Distinction* or *De Hoquet*.

⁸⁹ The Arabic *Al-Abkār* may also mean "The First Born." The original title has not been identified.

⁹⁰ MS 1934 has an error, giving *f* instead of *q* in the word *al-qay* ("vomiting").

⁹¹ See Rufus of Ephesus, pp. 1 ff, 85 ff.

⁹² "Banquets" (*al-walā'im*) is found in MSS 1934 and 1135. Flügel contains an error with a note.

⁹³ The original Greek title and its Latin equivalent have not been identified, but Leclerc, I, 240, and Rufus of Ephesus, p. xxxvii, give *Suppuration*. Dionysus (Diyunūsūs) is mentioned by Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 34 l. 9. Instead of referring to the legendary Dionysus, the name may refer to the physician of that name; see Smith, *GRBM*, I, 1045.

⁹⁴ Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 34 l. 10, gives the title as *The Treatment of the Repression of Menstruation*.

seen affirmed in the last section [of a book written] in the handwriting of 'Amr ibn al-Faḥḥ, there were among his books:⁹⁵

To Those Unattended by a Physician [Qui medico destituuntur], one section; The Affliction of Arthritis [De arthritidis morbo], one section; Calculi [De renum vel vesicae calculo], one section; Yellow Water, one section;⁹⁶ Affliction of the Liver [De hepatis morbo], one section; Colic [De morbo colico], one section; Jaundice [De morbo icterico], one section; Strangulation of the Womb, one section; Sciatica ('Irq al-Nisā'), one section;⁹⁷ Cancer [De cancri morbo], one section; Making an Antidote for Salt, one section;⁹⁸ The Bite of a Mad Dog [De morsu canis], one section;⁹⁹ The Signs of Diseases [De morborum indiciis], five sections; Impetigo (Ringworm) [De impetigine], one section—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī translated it but did not finish it;¹⁰⁰ To——about What Befalls the Gums and the Teeth [De iis quae gingivae dentibue accidunt]—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī translated it.

Oribasius

It is not known whether he lived before or after *Galen*, nor is mention made of him in *The History of Physicians*.¹⁰¹ Among his books there were:

To his son, *Eustathius*, nine sections, translation of Ḥunayn [ibn Ishāq]; to his father *Eunapius*,¹⁰² four sections, translation of Ḥunayn; Dissection of Abdominal Viscera [De membrorum anatomia], one section; The Medicines Which Are Used [De medicamentis usitatis], translation of *Iṣṭifān* ibn Bāsil; The Seventy [Collectionis medicinalis libri LXX], one section, which Ḥunayn and 'Isā ibn Yahyā translated into Syriac.

⁹⁵ See Biog. Index and Qifṭī, p. 261; Sarton, I, 37; and Puschmann, *Berliner Studien für klassische Philologie u. Archäologie*, V (1886), 74.

⁹⁶ This title is not found elsewhere. It may be the title which Leclerc, I, 255, gives as *Sérosité citrine*.

⁹⁷ See Sprenger, p. 1011. The original titles here and preceding have not been identified.

⁹⁸ The original title has not been identified.

⁹⁹ The manuscripts have *Aḍḍat al-Kalb al-Kalib* ("The Bite of a Mad Dog"). Flügel and Wenrich, p. 296, omit *al-kalib*, which emphasizes the idea of madness.

¹⁰⁰ Flügel and MS 1135 have Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī, whereas MS 1934 has Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥarrānī. For this man see Biog. Index, *Thābit* ibn Ibrāhīm.

¹⁰¹ The book of *Ishāq* ibn Ḥunayn.

¹⁰² Smith, *GRBM*, III, 44, gives the name *Eunapius* as that of an intimate friend of the physician.

The Names of a Group of Ancient Physicians,¹⁰³ Who Wrote Only a Little and Whose Dates Are Not Accurately Known

Stephenus, Cassius, Nicolaus [of Alexandria], *Marinus*.¹⁰⁴ These were Alexandrians who wrote commentaries on the books of Galen which they collected, abridging them and abbreviating their statements, especially in connection with Galen's sixteen books.

*Awārus*¹⁰⁵

He belonged to the period between *Aesculapius* and Ghūrus, and among his books there was *Destructive Diseases*, one section.

*Aflaṭun*¹⁰⁶

He was the author of *Cauterization*. It is said that he was one of the persons from whom Galen derived knowledge. Among his books there was *Cauterization*, one section. It is not known who translated it.

Archigenes

He lived earlier than Galen. Among his books there was *The Disposition of Man*, one section, the translator unknown.

Magnus al-Himṣī (of Emessa)¹⁰⁷

He lived before the time of Galen and was one of the pupils of Hippocrates. Among his books there was *Urine* [*De urin*], one section.

Paul of Aegina (Paulus Aegineta)

He was known as "the Obstetrician" and among his books there were:

The Pandect [*De medica syntagma*], about medicine, translated by Ḥunayn, seven sections; Diseases of Women [*De mulierum morbis*].

¹⁰³ See Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 103.

¹⁰⁴ For these physicians see Biog. Index. These identifications seem to be reasonable guesses, even though Cassius is given in Arabic as Jāsīūs and Galen commented on Marinus rather than Marinus on Galen.

¹⁰⁵ This physician cannot be identified.

¹⁰⁶ This may be *Philon* of Tarsus, or *Philotas* of Amphissa, see index.

¹⁰⁷ MS 1934 has an error, confusing *l* with *n* in the name, but the other versions are correct.

Dioscorides of Anazarba

He was called the "Traveler through the Lands." *Yahyā al-Nahwī* praised him in his book of history, saying:

He was devoted to what is most precious,¹⁰⁸ the master of a brilliant spirit, serving humanity with great usefulness, fatigued but enthusiastic;¹⁰⁹ a traveler through the lands, an examiner¹¹⁰ of the sciences of medical simples which are gathered from the wildernesses, the islands, and the seas. He was, moreover, an illustrator of them, enumerating their uses even before looking into their applications.

Among his books there was *Herbs* [*De re herbaria*], five sections. He added two sections about animals and poisons, but some say that these two sections were plagiarized (falsely ascribed to him). The translation was by *Ḥunayn* [ibn Ishāq], or some say *Ḥubaysh* [ibn al-Ḥasan].

Criton

He was known as "the Adorner." He was before the time of *Galen* but after *Hippocrates*. Among his books there was *Adornment* [*Kosmētikos*].

Alexander

He was known as *Trallianus* and was *Alexander the Physician*, who lived before the time of *Galen* and among whose books there were:

Diseases of the Eye and Their Treatment [*De oculi morbis eorumque curatione*], three sections, which I have seen in an ancient translation; *Pleurisy* [*De pleuritide*], translation of *Ibn al-Baṭrīq* for *al-Qaṭṭabī*;¹¹¹ *The Ṣuffār*,¹¹² *Worms, and Threadworms, Which Generate in the Stomach* [*De taeniis vermibusque qui in ventre nascuntur*], an ancient translation, one section.

¹⁰⁸ *Anfas* means "the most precious." Another possibility is *anfus* ("spirits" or "persons").

¹⁰⁹ The word translated "enthusiastic" literally means "well established."

¹¹⁰ The translation follows MS 1934, which unlike the other versions has *al-mufattiḥ* ("examiner").

¹¹¹ This man cannot be identified with certainty, but *al-Qaṭṭabī* *Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad* is a possibility.

¹¹² *The ṣuffār* is a parasite which causes a yellow fluid in the intestines.

*Syncellus*¹¹³

Among his books there was *The Womb*.

Soranus the Physician

His place is not known, but among his books there was *Enemas*, translation by *Eustathius* (Aṣṭāth), with the corrections of *Ḥunayn*.

From [What Is Written in] the Handwriting of Thābit about the Different Hippocrates

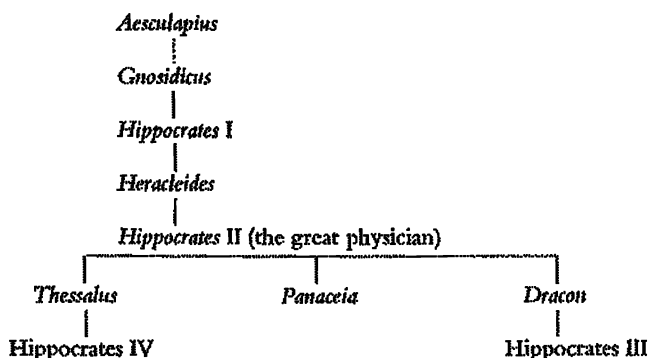
When Thābit ibn Qurrah was asked how many Hippocrateses there were he said:¹¹⁴

The first ones who were descendants of *Aesculapius* were four in number: Between the first *Hippocrates*, who was the son of *Gnosidicus*, and *Aesculapius* there were seven ancestors.¹¹⁵ Between *Aesculapius* and the second *Hippocrates*, who was the son of *Heracleides* and grandson of the first *Hippocrates*, there were nine ancestors. This second *Hippocrates* lived at the time of the final years of the war of the people, designated by the Peloponnesus.

Between *Aesculapius* and the third *Hippocrates*, who was the son of *Dracon* and the grandson of the second *Hippocrates*, there were eleven ancestors. Between *Aesculapius* and the fourth *Hippocrates*, who was the

¹¹³ In the Arabic text this name is written as *Sisqalis*. *Syncellus* is a guess.

¹¹⁴ The sequence was as follows:



See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 482, 486.

¹¹⁵ Although Flügel and MS 1135 give "nine," the translation follows MS 1934 in giving "seven," which is evidently correct. The passage which follows is freely translated.

son of *Thessalus* and grandson of the second Hippocrates, there were also eleven ancestors. The third and fourth Hippocrates were cousins; for that reason the number of ancestors between each one of them and *Aesculapius* was the same.¹¹⁶

It is necessary to understand¹¹⁷ that another [Hippocrates] entered into the lineage of these four Hippocrates, or that of *Thessalus*, son of the second Hippocrates.¹¹⁸ These five followed a course which made their work and their influence glorious. Even though some [of their works] were superior to others and more accurate in presentation, you will be so pleased with all of their books that you will undertake to write commentaries about them, no matter to whom the book may be ascribed.

It is said that the first Hippocrates was the first person to write about medicine. He was the son of *Gnosidicus* and he composed two books:¹¹⁹ *Fracture and Dislocation* [De fracturis]; *Joints* [De articulis].

The second Hippocrates wrote four books, which were: *Prognosis* [Prognosticon]; *Aphorisms* [Aphorismi]; the first section of *Epidemics* [De morbis popularibus]; the third section of *Epidemics*.

The books which *Galen* recorded were eight, six of which have already been mentioned. They were:

Fracture and Dislocation [De fracturis et vinctura]; *Joints* [De articulis]; *Prognosis* [Prognosticon]; *Aphorisms* [Aphorismi]; the first [section] of *Epidemics* [De morbis popularibus]; and the third [section] of it.

The two remaining books, which complete the number of eight volumes were:

Atmospheres, Waters, and Countries [De aëre, aquis, et locis]; *Acute Diseases* [De ratione victus in morbis acutis], which was *Barley Water* [De hordei aqua].¹²⁰

It is said that in all parts of the earth the pupils of *Aesculapius* numbered twelve thousand, and that he used to teach medicine by word of mouth. The descendants of *Aesculapius* inherited the profession of medicine until

¹¹⁶ As *Thessalus* was supposed to have been the elder son, some authorities say that Hippocrates III was the son of *Thessalus* and Hippocrates IV, the son of *Dracon*.

¹¹⁷ The translation follows MS 1934, which has "understand," although the other versions have a different form.

¹¹⁸ This is a free translation of the text, which is not very clear and seems to have an error, as it speaks of *Thessalus* as the "father" rather than the "son" of Hippocrates II. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 482-87, for the Hippocrateses other than the original four.

¹¹⁹ In this list, as in the preceding ones, the Latin names are given in brackets, although the original titles were in Greek.

¹²⁰ "Barley Water" was probably the title of one chapter or else part of the treatment.

this legacy of the medical profession diminished at the time of Hippocrates. He [Hippocrates] noticed that the members of the family and lineage had become scarce, so fearing lest the profession of medicine might die out, he began to compose books in an abridged form.

Here ends the account of *Thābit*.

The Recent [Medical Authors]

Ḥunayn

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq al-'Ibādī was surnamed Abū Zayd. The 'Ibād were Christians of al-Ḥīrah.¹²¹ He excelled in the profession of medicine and was a master of literary style in the Greek, Syriac, and Arabic languages. He traveled through the land to collect ancient books, even going into the Byzantine country. Most of his translation was for the Banū Mūsā. He died on Tuesday, the sixth day of Ṣafar [the second Muslim month], during the year two hundred and sixty [A.D. 873/74], which was the first day of Kānūn al-Awwal (December) in the year one thousand one hundred and eighty-five of *Alexander* the Greek.¹²²

The books which he wrote, other than his translations of ancient works, were:¹²³

Rules of Declension, according to the schools of thought of the Greeks, two sections; Catechism of Medicine for Students—*Ḥubaysh* al-A'sam, his pupil, added to it;¹²⁴ The Bath, one section; Milk, one section; Meats, three sections; Treatment of the Eye, ten sections, excellent; Categories of the Diseases of the Eye, one section; Choice of Medicines

¹²¹ Al-Ḥīrah, the Lakhmid state, was before the time of Islām a buffer kingdom between the territories of the Byzantine Empire and the tribal lands of Arabia; see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 82-84, 312; Qifī, p. 172 bottom; Khallikān, I, 188; Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 39.

¹²² *Alexander* became king 336 B.C. The reckoning seems to be more accurate if given in the lunar years of the Muslim calendar.

¹²³ Cf. Qifī, p. 173. This list supplements the books which Ḥunayn translated, already mentioned in *Al-Fihrist* and listed in Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XVII, No. 2 (1925), 1-53.

¹²⁴ The title *Rules of Declension* was probably the Syriac grammar called *Kethābhā Dhē-nuqzē*, which also contained a Syriac-Greek lexicon. The second title was probably the *Ars parva*, known in medieval times as *Isagoge Johanniī ad tēgnī Caleni* or *Liber introductionis in medicinam*. See Sarton, I, 611.

for Eye Diseases, one section; Treatment of Eye Diseases with Iron [Cauterization], one section; Organs of Nutrition, three sections; The Teeth and Gums, one section; Coitus, one section; Care of a Convalescent, one section; Knowledge of Pains (Maladies) of the Stomach and Their Treatment, two sections; The Flow and the Ebb, one section; The Reason Why the Water of the Sea Becomes Salt, one section; Colors, one section.

About urine, in the form of questions and answers, one section; Children Born after Eight Months of Pregnancy—he wrote it for the mother of a child of *al-Mutawakkil*; Treacles, two sections; The Eye, in the form of questions and answers, three sections; Mention of the Books Which Have Been Translated, two sections; The “*Categoriae*,” according to the opinion of *Themistius*, one section;¹²⁶ his epistle to *al-Tayfur*¹²⁶ on the “Prick of the Rose”; The Ulcer¹²⁷ and Its Formation, one section; Deaths (Fates), one section; The Generation of Fire between Two Stones, one section; Formation of Urinary Calculi, one section; Choice of Proven Medical Simples, one section;¹²⁸ To *Abū al-Najm* about “Calculation of the Books,” which *Galen* wrote.¹²⁹

Qusṭā

He was *Qusṭā ibn Lūqā al-Ba‘labakkī*, who should have come before *Hunayn* [*ibn Ishāq*] because of his excellence and genius, as well as his superiority in the profession of medicine, but some colleagues have asked to have *Hunayn* precede him. Both men were of a superior type.

Qusṭā translated a quantity of the ancient books. He excelled in many sciences, among which there were medicine, philosophy, geometry, calculation, and music. He was never subject to criticism, being a master of literary style in the Greek tongue and excelling also in Arabic diction.

¹²⁶ This of course was the work of Aristotle.

¹²⁶ See p. 699.

¹²⁷ MS 1934 has *al-qarūh* (“ulcerated”), whereas Flügel gives *al-qarḥ* (“ulcer”), with a footnote.

¹²⁸ MS 1934 has *al-mujarrabah* (“proven”), which seems to be correct, although Qifṭī, p. 174 l. 4, Flügel, and MS 1135 have *muhraqah* (“burning”).

¹²⁹ MS 1934 has *Abū al-Najm*; see Biog. Index for possibilities. The other versions have *Ibn al-Munajjim*; this might be ‘*Alī ibn Yaḥyā*, or, less likely, *Hārūn ibn ‘Alī*.

He died in Armenia while staying with some kings there. From there he also replied to Abū 'Isā al-Munajjim¹³⁰ in connection with his epistle about the prophetic mission of Muḥammad, for whom may there be peace. While there he also wrote *Paradise in History*. Among his books, other than the translations, commentaries, and expositions, there were:¹³¹

Blood; Phlegm; Yellow Bile; Burning Mirrors;¹³² Insomnia; about weights and measures; Government (Politics), three sections; The Cause of Sudden Death; Enemies;¹³³ Knowledge of Numbness and Its Treatment; The Days of Crisis; Diseases (Causes) of the Hair; The Distinction between the Soul (al-Nafs) and the Spirit (al-Rūḥ); Coitus; The Reason for the Blackness of Khaysh and Its Change from Sprinkling;¹³⁴ Fans;¹³⁵ about the fan and the causes of wind; about what the four humors have in common.

Al-Farastūn;¹³⁶ Inference from Observing Different Kinds of Urine; Introduction to Logic; Use of the Astrological Sphere; Rare Forms (Anecdotes) of the Greeks, which he translated; Exposition of the Greek Doctrines; Introduction to the Science of Geometry; his epistle about dye; his epistle about the rules of nutrition; Doubts about the Book of Euclid; Venesection, eighteen sections; Introduction to the Science of the Stars; The Bath; *Paradise in History*; his epistle about the solution to the problems of numbers in the third book of Euclid; his commentary on three and a half discourses on the book of *Diophantus* about numerical problems.

Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh

He was Abū Zakarīyā' Yaḥyā ibn Māsawayh, an excellent man and a physician who was preeminent among the kings as a scholar and author. He served al-Ma'mūn, al-Mu'taṣim, al-Wāthiq, and al-Mutawakkil. I have read from [what was written in] the handwriting

¹³⁰ This was Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim.

¹³¹ For the following list of titles, cf. Qifī, pp. 262-63; Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, pp. 244-45; Leclerc I, 158.

¹³² See Sarton, I, 170, 183, 427.

¹³³ *Al-a'dā'* ("enemies") here may mean "infections."

¹³⁴ MS 1934 and Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 245, have *khaysh*, which is a kind of cloth often used for sacks. Qifī, p. 263, and Flügel give *Ḥabash* ("Abyssinians"), which is probably an error.

¹³⁵ Flügel omits this title.

¹³⁶ This is a public standard for weights and measures.

of al-*Hakīmī*, who said, "Ibn al-*Ḥamidūn*, the court companion, made fun of Ibn Māsawayh in the presence of al-Mutawakkil, whereupon Ibn Māsawayh said to him, 'If in the place of your ignorance there were intelligence, it could be divided among a hundred black beetles so that each one of them would be more intelligent than *Aristotle*!'"

Yahyā ibn Māsawayh died ———. Among his books there were:¹³⁷

Perfection and Completion; The Perfect; The Bath; Avoiding the Harm of Nutriment; Diarrhea; Treatment of Headache; Stupefaction and Giddiness; Why Physicians Have Abstained from Treating Pregnant Women during Certain Months of Their Pregnancy; Trial of the Physician; Feeling the Veins;¹³⁸ The Voice and Hoarseness; Barley Water; Venesection and Cupping; Black Bile; Treatment of Women Who Do Not Become Pregnant; The Toothpick and Dentifrices; Adjusting of Laxative Medicines; Fevers, diagramed;¹³⁹ Colic.

Yahyā ibn Sarāfyūn

Everything which he wrote was in Syriac. He lived at the beginning of the regime.¹⁴⁰ His two books on medicine were translated into Arabic.

The Large Pandect of Yūḥannā (Yahyā), twelve sections, translated; The Small Pandect, seven sections.

'Alī ibn Rabal, with I¹⁴¹

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Sahl al-Ṭabarī, and served as secretary to al-Māzyār ibn Qārīn. But when he became a Muslim under the patronage of al-Mu'taṣim, he associated with him and his superiority became known at the court. As al-Mutawakkil included

¹³⁷ Cf. Qifī, pp. 380-81; Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 183; Leclerc, I, 108-9.

¹³⁸ Qifī, p. 381, Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 183, and Flügel give *Majassat al-'Urūq* ("Feeling the Veins"). MS 1934 does not mark the *j*.

¹³⁹ MS 1934 has a variation for *Fevers*.

¹⁴⁰ This probably refers to the Buwayh regime, which was established in al-'Irāq, A.D. 945; see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 470-71.

¹⁴¹ "With I" refers to the spelling of Rabal. The translation follows MS 1934. Flügel and MS 1135 have Zayl instead of Rabal; Qifī, p. 231, and Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 309, have Raban.

him in his group of court companions, he was in an atmosphere of culture. Among his books there were:

The Paradise of Wisdom—he wrote it in seven divisions and these divisions comprised thirty sections, each section containing three hundred and sixty headings; The Precious Object of Kings; Pandect of the Court; The Benefits of Foods, Drinks, and Drugs.

‘Isā ibn Māsah

He was one of the leading physicians, among whose books there were:

The Potentialities of Nutriments; Whoever Is Not Attended by a Doctor.

Jūrjis Abū Bakhtīshū’

He was of the early period of the dynasty and was a man of a superior type.¹⁴² Among his books there was *The Known Pandect*.¹⁴³

Salmuwayh ibn Bunān

He was a man of a superior type and preeminence who served al-Mu’tasim, being so attached to him that when Salmuwayh died, al-Mu’tasim said, “I shall be joined to him, for he kept me alive and took care of my body.” Among his books there were: ———.

Bakhtīshū’

He was surnamed Abū Jibril and was the son of Jibril. He was well known, celebrated, and preeminent among the kings, serving al-Rashīd, al-Amīn, al-Ma’mūn, al-Mu’tasim, al-Wāthiq, and al-Mutawakkil. He learned more about medicine than anyone else, so that the caliphs entrusted their children’s mothers to his care. Accounts about him are well known. Among his books there was *The Reminder (Testimonial)*, which he wrote for his son Jibril [ibn Bakhtīshū’].

¹⁴² There were many members of this famous Bakhtīshū’ family of physicians, but *Al-Fihrist* gives special attention to the ones who wrote books. The family first became prominent at Jundī-Shāpūr in southern Persia in connection with the medical studies there. Later its members were chiefly responsible for introducing Greek medicine to the court of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs in al-‘Irāq; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 309; Leclerc, I, 95; Uşaybi’ah, Part I, p. 123 ff; O’Leary, *How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs*, p. 149 ff; “Bakhtīshū’,” *Enc. Islam*, I, 601; “Djundai-Sābūr,” *Enc. Islam*, I, 1064.

¹⁴³ This may be instead “the pandect known as ———,” with the title omitted.

Masīḥ al-Dimashqī

He was Abū al-Ḥasan. Nothing more than this is known about him. Among his books there were: ———.

Ahron the Priest

Living in the first part of the regime [of Islām] he wrote in Syriac his book which *Māsarijs* translated. Among his books there was *The Pandect*. He wrote it in thirty sections and *Māsarijs* added two more sections to it.

Māsarijs

He was one of the physicians, and he translated from Syriac into Arabic. Among his books there were:

The Potentialities of Forms of Foods, Their Benefits and Injuries; The Strengths of Drugs, Their Benefits and Injuries.

Sābūr (Shāpūr) ibn Sahl

He was the director of the hospital at Jundī-Shāpūr, and an excellent, learned, and preeminent man. Among his books there were:¹⁴⁴ *Antidotes (Al-Aqrābādhīn)* Employed in the Hospitals and Pharmacies, twenty-two headings; The Potentialities of Forms of Foods, Their Injuries and Benefits.

Sābūr ibn Sahl died as a Christian on Monday, nine days before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [the twelfth Muslim month], during the year two hundred and fifty-five [A.D. 869].

Ibn Qusṭantīn

His name was 'Isā and he was surnamed Abū Mūsā. He was one of the most excellent of the physicians. Among his books there was *Hemorrhoids, Their Causes and Treatment*.

'Isā ibn Māsarijs

Among his books there were:

Colors; Odors and Tastes.

¹⁴⁴ For an account of the two books which follow, see Hamarneh, *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften*, XLV, No. 3 (October 1961), 247-60.

'Isā ibn 'Alī

He was one of the pupils of Ḥunayn [ibn Ishāq] and an excellent man. Among his books there was *The Benefits Made Use of from the Organs of an Animal*.

Ḥubaysh ibn al-Ḥasan al-A'sam

He was a Christian. He was one of the pupils of Ḥunayn and one of those who translated from Syriac into Arabic. Ḥunayn pushed him ahead, increasing his importance, praising him, and taking pleasure in his translation. Among his books, in addition to those he translated, there was *Appendix to the Questions of Ḥunayn*.¹⁴⁵

'Isā ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ibrāhīm

He was one of the pupils of Ḥunayn and one of the successful translators. Among his books, other than those which he translated, there were: ———.

Al-Ṭayfūrī the Physician

Ḥunayn [ibn Ishāq] translated for him a number of books on medicine. He was preeminent and excellent, serving the caliphs. Among his books there were: ———.

Al-Ḥallājī

He was known as Yaḥyā ibn Abī Ḥakam and was one of the physicians¹⁴⁶ of al-Mu'taḍid. Among his books there was: *Treatment of Anemic Bodies*¹⁴⁷ Which Are Subject to Yellow Bile, which he wrote for al-Mu'taḍid.

Ibn Ṣahār-Bakht

His name was 'Isā and he was one of the people of Jundī-Shāpūr. Among his books there was *The Potentialities of Medical Simples*, which was arranged alphabetically.

¹⁴⁵ This was the book of Ḥunayn called *Catechism of Medicine for Students*. See n. 124.

¹⁴⁶ "Physicians" (*aṭibbā*) follows Flügel. MSS 1934 and 1135 have *ṭibb* ("medicine").

¹⁴⁷ MS 1934 has *al-idān*, which can mean "macerating," "dissolving," or "giving birth to a puny child." The translation follows the MS 1135 and Flügel, which have *al-ibḍān* ("bodies").

Ibn Māhān

He was known as *Ya'qūb al-Sirāfī*. His time is unknown, but among his books there was *Travel and Residence*, about medicine, a delightful [book].

We Return to the Sequence after *Hunayn*

We have recorded the persons who have been mentioned before this point [together], as they were similar in their scientific work and periods [of life]. Now we are going to mention those who followed *Hunayn*¹⁴⁸ and to whom fell the leadership of the men of their profession.

Ishāq ibn Hunayn

Abū Ya'qūb *Ishāq ibn Hunayn* was of the same type as his father in connection with excellence and accuracy of translation from the Greek and Syriac languages into Arabic. He was a master of Arabic literary style, even surpassing his father in this respect. He served the caliphs and chiefs whom his father served, but was attached to *al-Qāsim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh* in a special way, being given such importance that he [al-Qāsim] told him his secrets. At the end of his life he was stricken by paralysis and died as the result of it. He passed away in the month of *Rabī' al-Ākhir* [the fourth Muslim month], during the year two hundred and ninety-eight [A.D. 910/11]. Among his books, other than his translations of ancient works, there were:

Medical Simples, in alphabetical order; The Pandect, a delightful [book]; The History of Physicians; Medical Simples, a delightful book, arranged alphabetically.¹⁴⁹

Abū 'Uthmān al-Dimashqī

He was Abū 'Uthmān *Sa'īd ibn Ya'qūb al-Dimashqī*.¹⁵⁰ He was one of the good translators, and specially attached to 'Alī ibn

¹⁴⁸ "Followed *Hunayn*" might be more literally given as "were attached to *Hunayn*."

¹⁴⁹ In these titles, the word translated "delightful" is *al-lafif*. Possible alternate translations are *The Delightful Pandectae* and *The Delightful Medical Simples*.

¹⁵⁰ This name is taken from Flügel. MS 1934 omits *Sa'īd*; MS 1135 inserts the name 'Umar after *Sa'īd*.

‘Isā [ibn Dā’ūd ibn al-Jarrāh]. His books, other than his translations, were: ———.

Al-Sāhir

His name was *Yūsuf* [ibn al-Ḥakam] and he lived during the days of al-*Muktafi*. Among his books there was *Pandect*, which was known by his name and ascribed to him.

Al-Rāzī¹⁵¹

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyā’ al-Rāzī, from among the people of al-Rayy, was unique in his time, unrivaled during his period. He gathered together information about the ancient sciences, especially about medicine, and he traveled through various countries. There was a friendship between him and *Manṣūr* ibn Ismā‘īl, for whom he wrote the book *Al-Manṣūri*.¹⁵²

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Warrāq told me:

When I questioned a man, one of the people of al-Rayy and an aged man,¹⁵³ about al-Rāzī, he said to me, “He was an old man with a large sack-shaped head, who used to sit in his clinic¹⁵⁴ with students around him. Alongside of them were their students, and still other students were with them.¹⁵⁵ A patient would enter and describe his symptoms to the first persons who met him.¹⁵⁶ If they had knowledge [of what was wrong,

¹⁵¹ For brief English accounts of the life of al-Rāzī, see “al-Rāzī,” *Enc. Islam*, III, 1134; Elgood, *Medical History of Persia*, pp. 196 ff.; Campbell, *Arabian Medicine and Its Influence in the Middle Ages*, I, 65. See also Biog. Index.

¹⁵² “Ibn Ismā‘īl” is incorrect. See n. 169.

¹⁵³ The phrase translated as “aged man” is literally “great shaykh.” As al-Rāzī lived until A.D. 925, an aged person who had seen him might have lived until the time of al-*Nadīm*.

¹⁵⁴ The Arabic word is *maḥlis* (“place of sitting”), which here evidently refers to a place to which the sick came and where the students received instruction. Accordingly, “clinic” seems appropriate.

¹⁵⁵ The connecting word used to describe the proximity of the students to al-Rāzī and in turn to one another is *dūn*. The most likely explanation of this arrangement is that al-Rāzī sat on a chair or stool with his elder students forming a semicircle in front of him. Then the younger pupils, who learned from the older ones, were seated on the floor in the rear. The students, both old and young, probably sat on straw mats unless they could afford sheepskins.

¹⁵⁶ The word here translated as “patient” is *al-raḥul* (“man”); “his symptoms” is literally “what is found.” This colloquial passage is freely translated.

good], but if they did not [have the required knowledge], he would pass from them to others. Then if they hit [upon the diagnosis, good], but if not, al-Rāzī himself would discuss the case. He [al-Rāzī] was generous, distinguished, and upright with the people. He was so kindly compassionate with the poor¹⁵⁷ and the sick that he used to bring them substantial rations and provide nursing for them." He went on to say, "He was never found when not noting and transcribing. I never went in to him without seeing him transcribing, whether it was to make a rough draft or a revised copy. He had wet eyes because he ate beans so often, and he became blind at the end of his life. He used to say that he studied philosophy with al-Balkhī."¹⁵⁸

Account of the Philosophy of This Man [al-Balkhī]¹⁵⁹

This person was an inhabitant of Balkh who traveled through the lands, roaming about in various countries. He had a good knowledge of philosophy and the ancient sciences. It has been said that al-Rāzī made claims to his books about these subjects. I have read many selections, written in his handwriting, about numerous sciences. They were rough copies and samples, not one of them being issued to the public as a completed book. It is said [however] that books of his are in Khurāsān. He was contemporary with al-Rāzī.

A Man Known as *Shahīd* ibn al-Ḥusayn¹⁶⁰

He was surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan and, although his philosophy was helter-skelter with regards to learning, this man had [properly] compiled books. Controversies took place between him and al-Rāzī, each one pulling his friend to pieces.

¹⁵⁷ MS 1135 and Flügel give *al-fuqarā'* ("the poor"). Possibly MS 1934 is more correct in giving *al-ghurabā'* ("strangers").

¹⁵⁸ MS 1934 has '*ala falsafat al-Balkhī*', literally "according to the philosophy of al-Balkhī." Flügel and MS 1135 have *al-falsafah 'ala al-Balkhī*, meaning "the philosophy according to al-Balkhī."

¹⁵⁹ Al-Balkhī may have been the son or relative of the man who follows, *Shahīd* ibn al-Ḥusayn; see *al-Balkhī*, 'Alī ibn Shahīd, in Biog. Index.

¹⁶⁰ *Shahīd* was probably the *Shahīd* al-Balkhī mentioned later in this section; see nn. 179, 182. The passage is further complicated because some of the versions substitute *Suhayl* for *Shahīd*.

The Books Which al-Rāzī Compiled, as Quoted from His Catalogue¹⁶¹

The Proof [Analytica posteriora], two sections, the first in seventeen parts and the second in twelve parts; Spiritual Medicine, twenty sections;¹⁶² That Man Has a Wise Creator, one section; Hearing of Existences [Physica auscultatio], one section;¹⁶³ Introduction to Logic, which is Isagoge;¹⁶⁴ Collection of the Meanings of the "Categoriae"; Collections of the Meanings of "Analytica priora," to the Completion of the Categorical Syllogisms; The Form of the World (Astronomy of the Cosmos); Refutation of Anyone Who Neglects the Distinctions of Geometry; Pleasure, one section; The Reason Why the Samūm Wind Kills Most of the Animals, one section;¹⁶⁵ about what passed between him and Sīs (Sisinnius) the Manichaean;¹⁶⁶ about autumn and spring; about the difference between a vision of warning and the ordinary types of visions; Doubts concerning Galen; Methods of Sight; Refutation of the Contradiction of Medicine of al-Nāshī;¹⁶⁷ That the Art of Alchemy Is Closer to What Is Necessary than to Things Prohibited.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: This [last title] is one of the twelve books, all of which are mentioned in the proper place in this volume, as are also the rest of his books about the Art [alchemy]. Whoever desires to know about this subject may look into the tenth chapter, if Allāh Almighty so wills.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶¹ Compare with the lists of titles given by Qifī, p. 273; Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 315; Bīrūnī, *Risālah*, p. 5; Leclerc, I, 350; Elgood, *Medical History of Persia*, p. 198. The first, fourth, sixth, and seventh titles in the list refer to the books of Aristotle.

¹⁶² The translation follows MS 1934. Flügel does not give the title properly. Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 315 l. 19, gives the book as *Ṭibb al-Nufūs* ("Medicine of the Souls").

¹⁶³ Here the Arabic is *Sam' al-Kiyān* ("Hearing of Existences"). The *Physica auscultatio* of Aristotle is as a rule entitled *Al-Samā' al-Ṭabī'ī* ("Natural Hearing").

¹⁶⁴ This is very likely based on the famous "Isagoge" of Porphyry.

¹⁶⁵ This is a hot wind which causes much damage.

¹⁶⁶ This was probably a contemporary of al-Rāzī who had the same name as the well-known disciple of Mānī, Sīs.

¹⁶⁷ This was probably al-Nāshī al-Akbar. In Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 316 top, it is explained that this book was about *The Ten Questions*; cf. *The Ten Difficult Questions* in Chap. VII, sect. 1, near n. 147.

¹⁶⁸ For al-Rāzī's work in connection with alchemy, see Chap. X, n. 174.

Coitus, one section; Al-Manṣūrī about medicine and addressed to Manṣūr¹⁶⁹—it included ten sections; Al-Ḥawī [Continens], also called the Compilation Encompassing the Art of Medicine¹⁷⁰—this book is divided into twelve divisions: The first of its divisions is about treatment of the sick and diseases; the second division is about caring for the health; the third division is on beautifying,¹⁷¹ bone setting, and operations; the fourth division is about the potentialities of drugs and nutriments, and all of the substances required for medicine; the fifth division is on compounded drugs; the sixth division is about the art of medicine; the seventh division is about the dispensing¹⁷² of medicine and drugs, their colors, tastes, and odors; the eighth division is about bodies; the ninth division is on weights and measures; the tenth division is about dissection and uses of the organs [physiology]; the eleventh division is on natural causes according to the art of medicine; the twelfth division is an introduction to the art of medicine in two treatises—in the first there are the medical terms and in the second, the fundamentals of medicine.

On accounting for Galen's extant books which are not mentioned by Hunayn or Galen in his catalogue, one section; that clay in which one is immersed is beneficial, one section; that excessive heat harms bodies, one section; about the reasons which turn the heart of people from the best

¹⁶⁹ This was the *Liber Almansoris* of medieval Europe. It was presented to Manṣūr ibn Ishāq ibn Aḥmad.

There are differences about the name. In the Flügel version the name Manṣūr is followed by "ibn Ismā'il." Qifṭī, p. 274 top, omits reference to the father. Bīrūnī, *Risālah*, p. 6, gives Manṣūr ibn Asad, governor of Khurāsān. Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 317 l. 18, has Manṣūr ibn Ishāq ibn Ismā'il ibn Aḥmad, ruler of Khurāsān. MS 1934 has a blank after Manṣūr, but some scribe has inserted "ibn Ismā'il" below the line, while another scribe has inserted, above the line, "ibn Nūḥ ibn Naṣr, from the kings of the Sāmānīd dynasty." This last-mentioned man, Manṣūr ibn Nūḥ ibn Naṣr, was the Sāmānīd ruler of Khurāsān, A.D. 961-76; see "Sāmānids," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 122; Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 132.

Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 901 l. 17, has Abū Ṣāliḥ Manṣūr ibn Ishāq ibn Aḥmad ibn Asad, the governor at al-Rayy, to whom the book was presented, A.D. 903. Elgood, *Medical History of Persia*, p. 201, also states that the man was Manṣūr ibn Ishāq, the governor at al-Rayy. These last two references seem to be correct.

¹⁷⁰ This book was especially famous. For a modern Arabic edition, see Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Ḥawī fī al-Ṭibb*. See also Bīrūnī, *Risālah*, p. 6.

¹⁷¹ Flügel and MS 1135 do not give this form clearly. MS 1934 has what seems to be *zīnah* ("beautifying"), perhaps referring to the repair of injuries, removing growths, and the like. It might also be *raynah* ("wine") used for wounds.

¹⁷² This word is badly written, but *ṣaydalāh* ("dispensary") must be the word meant.

to the most contemptible of physicians; Which of the Fruits and the Forms of Nutriment Take Precedence and Which Come Last; against *Aḥmad* ibn al-Ṭayyib, concerning his refutation of Galen about bitter taste; a refutation of al-Misma'ī [*Misma'* ibn 'Abd al-Malik] the theologian, about his rejection of upholders of primordial matter; a refutation of *Jarīr*, the physician, concerning his disagreement about the Damascus mulberry as coming after the melon;¹⁷³ concerning the refutation of the book to *Anebos* by *Porphry*, about explaining the Aristotelian doctrines on theology;¹⁷⁴ Void and Fullness, Which Are Time and Place; the small book on theology; Matter, Absolute (Primordial) and Divided.

To Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī, with an addition to his answer and to the reply to this answer; Smallpox and Measles;¹⁷⁵ Stones in the Kidney and Bladder; To Whoever Is Unattended by a Physician; The Medicines Which Can Be Found Everywhere; Kingly Medicine (The Royal Book of Medicine); Dividing and Diagramming; an abridgment of Galen's large book on the pulse; refutation of al-Jāhīz concerning the deficiency of medicine; contradiction of al-Jāhīz in connection with his book on the excellency of theology; Paralysis; Facial Paralysis; The Form of the Liver; Gout (Arthritis) and 'Arq al-Madīnī;¹⁷⁶ The Form of the Eye; The Testicles; The Form of the Heart; The Form of the Orifice of the Ear; Pains (Afflictions) of the Joints, twenty-two parts; *Materia Medica*; Criticism and a Frank Statement about the Mu'tazilah; Bitter Cucumber; Mode of Nutriment; Substitution of Medicine; The Properties (Characteristics) of Phenomena; the large book on Primordial Matter; The Reason for the Standing of the Earth in the Middle of the Celestial Sphere; The Reason Why the Celestial Sphere Moves in Its Rotation; refutation of "Spiritual Medicine," against al-Tammār;¹⁷⁷ That It Is Impossible for the World to Continue in the Form in Which We Observe

¹⁷³ Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 317 l. 8, explains that Jarīr made a famous attack on the emir Aḥmad ibn Ismā'īl in connection with the Damascus mulberry.

¹⁷⁴ This probably refers to Porphry's *Lettera ad Anebo*.

¹⁷⁵ This was the famous monograph called *De variolis et morbillis* in medieval Europe; see Sartou, I, 609.

¹⁷⁶ 'Arq al-Madīnī (al-Madani) is a parasite called *Filaria medinensis*, which forms a sore on the skin. See Sprenger, p. 1011 bottom; Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 119.

¹⁷⁷ The Flügel version; Qifī, p. 275 l. 9; and Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 316 bottom, give Ibn al-Yamān, whereas MS 1934 has al-Tamunār and MS 1135 has Ibn al-Tammār. Al-Tamunār may be 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl ibn Mitham al-Tammār, the first theologian of the Iṭu'mah sect; see Chap. V, sect. 2, n. 4. Birūnī, *Risālah*, p. 12 no. 79, speaks of Ḥusayn al-Tammār, a name which cannot be identified.

It;¹⁷⁸ That Motion Is Not Seen, but Known; That a Body Moves Because of Its Own Nature and Motion Is Innate, According to Nature; about doubts concerning Proclus.

The Division, Causes, and Treatment of Diseases, as an exposition; a commentary on *Plutarch's* book commenting on the book "Timaeus"; a refutation of *Shahīd al-Balkhī* in connection with what he refuted from pleasure;¹⁷⁹ about the diseases of some people with swelling from head colds; about kindness in granting a sick person some of his cravings; against al-Tammār in connection with his refutation of the refutation of al-Misma'ī (*Misma'* ibn 'Abd al-Malik) concerning primordial matter;¹⁸⁰ The Cause of the Creation of Wild Beasts and Reptiles;¹⁸¹ refutation of al-Kayyāl in connection with the imamate; refutation of the refutation of the book on treatment of the sick; an abridgment of *Galen's* book "Trick of the Cure" [Medendi methodus]; his abstract of the book on afflicted (painful) places.

Refutation of al-Balkhī's refutation of theology;¹⁸² his epistle about the diagonal of a square; that the elements have no bodies (substances); about the superior life; about obligations of prayer; on pity for the savants among the theologians and those affecting to be philosophers; The Advantage of Theology; his epistle about theology, delightful; Avoiding the Injuries of Nutriment; against *Shahīd al-Balkhī*,¹⁸³ about confirmation of future life; The Reason Why the Lodestone Attracts; The Soul Does Not Have Body (Substance); the large book, The Soul; the small book, The Soul; Measure of Intelligence; Diabetes, two sections; Colic, one section; Oxytel,¹⁸⁴ one section; a commentary about

¹⁷⁸ Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, p. 316 bottom, has *It Is Impossible for the World to Be Other than We Observe It*. MS 1934 gives "observe" in the singular.

¹⁷⁹ "Pleasure" may be the title of a book. *Shahīd al-Balkhī* was probably *Shahīd ibn al-Huṣayn*; see n. 160.

¹⁸⁰ Flügel, MS 1135, and Qiftī, p. 275, give Ibn al-Yamān, whereas MS 1934 has al-Tammār; cf. n. 177. MS 1934 gives "refutation" twice, Flügel and MS 1135 give it only once.

¹⁸¹ MS 1135 and Qiftī, p. 275 l. 9, omit "creation," in which case the title might be *The Disease of Wild Beasts and Reptiles*, as the word *al-'illah* can mean either "cause" or "disease."

¹⁸² For al-Balkhī, see n. 159.

¹⁸³ The name is taken from MS 1934. MS 1135, Flügel, and Qiftī, p. 175 l. 17, give Suhayl instead of *Shahīd*. Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, p. 320 l. 10, gives 'Alī ibn *Shahīd al-Balkhī*. See n. 159.

¹⁸⁴ Oxytel (*al-sikanjubīn*) is a mixture of honey and dilute acetic acid used as an excipient.

the commentary on a book of Galen about the "Aphorisms" of Hippocrates.

Aphorisms, also called The Guide; The Girl and Her Treatment; refutation of the book "Existence" by *Manṣūr ibn Ṭalḥah*; about what he rejects from the contested evidences for the faults of the prophets; That the World has a Wise Creator; Signs of the Illustrious, Infallible Imam; Imaginings, Gestures, and Passionate Love; about purging fever patients before the time is ripe; The Imam, the Led, and Those Knowing the Truth;¹⁸⁵ Characteristics of a Pupil; Conditions of Vision (Sight); Natural Opinions; System for Eating Fruit; The Mistake in the Purpose of a Physician; his advice about theology;¹⁸⁶ The Superior Way of Life; rendering into poetry "Al-Ass" of *Jābir*;¹⁸⁷ his poem about logical discussions; his poem about Greek preaching.

What al-Rāzī Called an Epistle¹⁸⁸

His epistle, Nudity and Wrapping in Robes; his epistle, The Compound;¹⁸⁹ his epistle, Algebra, How to Approach It and Indication of Its Truth; his epistle, What Does Not Adhere from What Is Cut from the Body, if Minor, and What Does Adhere from Operations, if Major;¹⁹⁰ his epistle, The Cooling of Water over Snow, and the Cooling of Water by Putting Snow in It; his epistle, Fish Thirst and the Disease Connected with It; his epistle, The Reason Why No Potion Exists Which Does the Work on the Body as a True Potion; his epistle, Logic; his epistle, The Setting of the Sun and the Stars, that This Is Not Due to the Motion of the Earth, but to the Motion of the Celestial Sphere; his epistle,

¹⁸⁵ This may refer to the imam who conducts the mosque prayers, or to the ideal caliph, but more likely to a descendant of 'Alī with the divine right to rule.

¹⁸⁶ The translation follows MS 1934 and Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, 320 l. 23. The Flügel version is garbled.

¹⁸⁷ The title *Al-Ass* is given clearly in MS 1934 but confused by Flügel. It refers to the book written by *Jābir* entitled *Iṣṭāqīs al-Ass* ("The Element of Genesis"). *Iṣṭāqīs* comes from the Greek word ὁτοιχείον.

Al-ass can also be spelled *al-iss* or *al-uss*. For the mention of this title in the list of *Jābir*'s books, see Chap. X near n. 108.

¹⁸⁸ The Arabic word *risālah* means "epistle," "essay," or "monograph." The word "about," found before most of the titles, is omitted.

¹⁸⁹ Probably referring to a compounded medicine.

¹⁹⁰ For this title and the three which follow, see the more detailed version in Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 318 l. 25. For the titles on astronomy, see *Bīrūnī*, *Risālah*, p. 15.

A Person Who Has Not Had Training in [Recognizing] Proof Cannot Visualize the Earth as a Ball, with the People around It; his epistle, Putting Aside the Idea of Those Who Suppose that the Stars Are Not Perfectly Round.

His epistle, examination as to Whether the Earth in Its Natural State Is Clay or Stone; his epistle, The Manner of Growth;¹⁹¹ his epistle, Confirmation of Transmutation [in Alchemy]; his epistle, Thirst and Increase of Temperature Because of It; his epistle, Habit, that It Becomes Second Nature; his epistle, The Reason Why the Eyes Are Narrow in the Light, but Wide Open in the Dark; his epistle, The Reason Why Some Ignorant People Suppose that Snow Causes Thirst; his epistle, Foods for the Sick; his book about what part of the idea he rectified in connection with the statements of those affirming the newness of the [heavenly] bodies, against those affirming their antiquity;¹⁹² his book, Some Light Diseases Are More Difficult to Diagnose and Treat than the Serious Ones; his epistle, The Reason Why Some Persons and the Common People Leave a Physician Even if He Is Clever;¹⁹³ his epistle, Uncertain Diseases (Diseases Difficult to Diagnose); his epistle, A Clever Physician Does Not Have the Power to Heal All Diseases, for That Is Not within the Realm of Possibility.

His epistle, The Diseases Which Are Fatal Due to Their Severity, and Those Which Are Fatal Due to Their Sudden Appearance; his epistle, A Worker Engrossed in a Profession Is Lost in Most of the [other] Professions with the Exception of Medicine, and the Reason Why This Is Apparent in the Medical Profession;¹⁹⁴ his epistle, The Reason Why the Ignorant Physicians, the Common People, and the Women in the Cities are More Successful than Men of Science in Treating Certain Diseases, and the Physician's Excuse for This; his book, A Diagram of Medicine, with the method of the pandect; his epistle, The Trial of a Physician and

¹⁹¹ "Growth" (*numū*) is taken from Bīrūnī, *Risālah*, p. 11, no. 68. MSS 1934 and 1135 and Qifṭī, p. 276 l. 14, have *naḥw* ("grammar"), and Flügel has *nuḥūr*, meaning "beginnings," referring to days and months. These latter words have no real significance.

¹⁹² See Bīrūnī, *Risālah*, p. 18 no. 144, where this title is given in a section about divinity. It evidently refers to heavenly rather than human bodies. All of the versions except MS 1934 have *al-aḡsām* ("bodies"), which must be correct. MS 1934 erroneously gives *al-Islām*.

¹⁹³ The word translated "leave" is *tarak*, meaning literally "left," in the manuscripts. Flügel has another word, which is probably an error.

¹⁹⁴ Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 319 l. 14, gives the title in simpler and perhaps more correct form.

in What State He Should Be with Regards to His Spirit, Body, and Drinking;¹⁹⁵ his epistle, The Extent to Which It Is Possible to Rectify Astrological Determinations in Accordance with the Opinion of Natural Philosophers, and Who among Them Denies that the Stars Are Living.¹⁹⁶

Termination of what is found in the catalogue of al-Rāzī.

Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah

He was Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥarrānī, whose father's genealogy has already been given. He was a distinguished surgeon, who fled when [the Caliph] al-Qāhir desired him to become a Muslim. But [later] he did embrace Islām. Fearing al-Qāhir, however, he went to Khurāsān. He [later] returned and died as a Muslim in Baghdād during the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 942/43], at the time of the new moon of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [the twelfth Muslim month]. Among his books there were: ———.

Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah

He was a clever physician. He died on the eleventh of Dhū al-Qa'dah [the eleventh Muslim month], during the year three hundred and sixty-five [A.D. 975/76].¹⁹⁷ Among his books there was a book of history from the year two hundred and ninety-five [A.D. 907/908] to the time of his death.

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī

His name was *Thābit* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zahrūn and he was a clever and efficient physician, but niggardly and avaricious in doing good. He died ———. Among his books there were:

A correcting of the sections in the book of *Yahyā* ibn Sarāfīyūn; a translation

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, l. 20, the words "his deportment and morality" are given instead of "his drinking."

¹⁹⁶ The last phrase in this title might be "and who among them does not say that the stars are alive." MS 1934 leaves a space after the list of epistles and then has a new heading. "Then (*Thumm*) What Is Found in the Catalogue of al-Rāzī," after which another space is left, evidently with hopes of filling it in later with a new list of titles.

¹⁹⁷ The translation follows the Flügel version. MS 1934 omits reference to the month and year, while the year is added on the margin of MS 1135.

of *Philagrius* about the gums;¹⁹⁸ answers to questions addressed to him.

The Names of Indian Books on Medicine Extant in the Language of the Arabs¹⁹⁹

Book of Sasard,²⁰⁰ ten sections—*Yahyā* ibn Khālīd ordered Mankah (*Kankah*) the Indian to translate it at the hospital and to render it in the form of a compilation; of Sirak,²⁰¹ which ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī [al-*Dandānī*] translated from Persian into Arabic—originally it had been translated from Sanskrit into Persian; *Istankārājāmi*, translated by Ibn Dahn;²⁰² Sundastāq,²⁰³ which means the Book of Best Success, an exposition (translation) by Ibn Dahn, director of the hospital; an abridgment of the Indians about drugs; Treatment of the Pregnant, by the Indians; Tūqshtal,²⁰⁴ in which there are mentioned one hundred diseases and one hundred medicines; of Rūsā the Indian about the treatment of women;²⁰⁵ Diabetes, by the Indians; Names of the Drugs of India, which Mankah (*Kankah*) translated for Ishāq ibn Sulaymān; of Pālī²⁰⁶ the Indian about the kinds of snakes and their poisons; Imagination in Diseases and Maladies, by the Indian Yūqastak.²⁰⁷

¹⁹⁸ This last word is not written clearly but the word intended must be *al-lithah* or *al-lithhā*, both of which mean “the gums.” *Philagrius* wrote the book *Quae gingivae dentibus accidunt* on that subject; see Wenrich, p. 296.

¹⁹⁹ A few references for Indian medicine are Jolly, *Indian Medicine*; Siggel, in *Abhandlungen der Geistes und sozial wissenschaftlichen Klasse*, New Ser. 14 (1950), 1100–52; Cureton, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, VI (1841), 105–19; Ṭabarī, *Firdausu’l-Hikmat*; Uṣaybi’ah, Part 2, pp. 32–33; “Sanskrit,” *Enc. Brit.*, XXIV, 182; Leclerc, I, 282–90; Flügel, *ZDMG*, XI (1857), 149.

²⁰⁰ This is probably meant to be *Susruta*.

²⁰¹ This is probably meant to be *Caraka*.

²⁰² Perhaps this is meant to be the great Indian medical work, *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya-asamhitā*; for references see *Vagbhata*, the author of this book, in *Biog. Index*.

²⁰³ Uṣaybi’ah, Part 1, p. 109 l. 22, gives *Sindhishar*. The Flügel edition, p. 303 n. 9, suggests *Siddhishana*, but this title cannot be identified with certainty.

²⁰⁴ This may be *Nūfshal*, See Flügel, *ZDMG*, XI (1857), 151; Cureton, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, VI (1841), 108; and Uṣaybi’ah, Part 2, p. 32 l. 27.

²⁰⁵ Rūsā is taken from Uṣaybi’ah, Part 2, p. 32 l. 27. MS 1934 gives a form which appears to be Duwaynā. Hājī Khalīfah gives Rūshā.

²⁰⁶ MS 1934 has what might be Bālī, perhaps meant to be Pālī. The other versions have Ra’i; see Flügel, *ZDMG*, XI (1857), 152. Pālī seems the most reasonable interpretation of this name.

²⁰⁷ The author’s name is taken from MS 1934. Another possible choice is Yoga-sataka; see Jolly, *Indian Medicine*, pp. 187, 208. Flügel gives what appears to be Tuqashtal, with a note of explanation. MS 1135 and Uṣaybi’ah, Part 2, p. 32 bottom, have Abū Qibīl; see Flügel, *ZDMG*, XI (1857), 152. These names are too uncertain to be included in the *Biog. Index*.

The Names of the Books of the Persians about Medicine

The persons famous for medicine during the days of the kings of the Persians, whose compositions have come down to us and have been translated into Arabic:

Theodorus

He was a Christian for whom *Shāpūr* [II] Dhū al-Aktāf²⁰⁸ built the churches in his city, though it is also related that the person who built them for him was *Bahrām Gūr*. His [work] translated into Arabic is *Pandects of Theodorus* [*Pandectae medicinae*].

Theodocus

He was the physician of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf and was attached to the king ———.

²⁰⁸ See Elgood, *Medical History of Persia*, p. 48.

The Eighth Part

*of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the ancient and recent scholars of the rest of the sciences and the names of the books which they composed. The composition of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, Ishāq known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq.*¹

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Eighth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed; three sections.

The First Section

*with accounts of those who converse in the evenings and tellers of fables,² with the names of the books which they composed about evening stories and fables.*³

¹ This title is taken from MS 1934. It contains the ungrammatical expression *Ishāq al-ma'rūf bi-Abī Ya'qūb al-Warrāq* ("Ishāq known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq"), which also appears in the title of Chapter II in the Beatty MS. Under the title on the left is the inscription, "An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His [Allāh's] servant Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Warrāq." On the right and somewhat lower down on the page is written "In it, the Eighth Chapter." MS 1135 has a different title, which is incorrect. The names of persons in this chapter who are heroes and heroines of fiction, or names which are too badly written to be spelled correctly, are omitted from the Biog. Index.

² "With accounts . . . of fables" is in Arabic *fī akhbar al-musāmīrīn wa-al-mukharrafīn*. The last term is an unusual form, perhaps derived from the expression for clowns and popular entertainers.

³ "Evening stories and fables" is in the Arabic *al-asmār wa-al-khurafāt*. See MacDonald, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Part 3 (July 1924), p. 371, for a definition of *asmār* and *khurafāt*. As good lighting was not available in the Middle Ages, even in the palaces, people enjoyed whiling away their evenings by listening to stories, which took the place of the television and movies of modern times. Although coffee was still unknown and the Muslims were not legally permitted to sell and drink

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: The first people to collect stories, devoting books to them and safeguarding them in libraries, some of them being written as though animals were speaking, were the early Persians. Then the Ashkānian kings, the third dynasty of Persian monarchs, took notice of this [literature]. The Sāsānian kings in their time adding to it and extending it. The Arabs translated it into the Arabic language and then, when masters of literary style and eloquence became interested, they refined and elaborated it, composing what was similar to it in content.⁴

The first book to be written with this content was the book *Hazār Afsān*, which means "a thousand stories."⁵ The basis for this [name] was that one of their kings used to marry a woman, spend a night with her, and kill her the next day. Then he married a concubine of royal blood who had intelligence and wit. She was called Shahrāzād,⁶ and when she came to him she would begin a story, but leave off at the end of the night, which induced the king to spare her, asking her to finish it the night following. This happened to her for a thousand nights, during which time he [the king] had intercourse with her, until because of him she was granted a son, whom she showed to him, informing him of the trick played upon him. Then, appreciating her intelligence, he was well disposed

liquor, there must have been places where the men of the population met to spend their leisure time. Undoubtedly professional storytellers obtained tales of adventure and sex from books in the libraries and book shops; it is books of this nature which are discussed in this section of *Al-Fihrist*. This section of *Al-Fihrist* is important in revealing an aspect of life not often dealt with in other books.

⁴ Compare this translation with that of Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 457-58, which gives a freer rendering. The dynasties which ruled Persia were: (1) ancient overlords; (2) the Achaemenian dynasty, 546-330 B.C.; (3) the Parthian or Ashkānian dynasty, 249 B.C.-A.D. 226; (4) the Sāsānian dynasty, A.D. 227-632. Cf. Mas'ūdī, II, 77, 237.

⁵ See MacDonald in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Part 3 (July 1924), p. 366, for a translation. See also Abbott in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, VIII, No. 3 (July 1949), 129-64; Mas'ūdī, IV, 90; "Alf Laila wa-Laila," *Enc. Islam*, I, 252. The final version of *A Thousand and One Nights* was not completed until after *Al-Fihrist* was written.

⁶ Shahr Azād comes from the Persian *chihr azād* ("of noble race").

towards her and kept her alive. The king had a head of the household⁷ named Dīnār Zād who was in league with her in this matter. It is said that this book was composed for Humā'ī,⁸ the daughter of Bahrām, there being also additional information about it.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: The truth is, if Allāh so wills, that the first person to enjoy evening stories was Alexander, who had a group [of companions] to make him laugh and tell him stories which he did not seek [only] for amusement but [also he sought] to safeguard and preserve [them]. Thus also the kings who came after him made use of the book *Hazār Afsān*, which although it was spread over a thousand nights contained less than two hundred tales, because one story might be told during a number of nights. I have seen it in complete form a number of times and it is truly a coarse book, without warmth in the telling.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī, author of *The Book of Viziers*,⁹ began the compiling of a book in which he was to select a thousand tales from the stories of the Arabs, Persians, Greeks, and others. Each section (story) was separate, not connected with any other. He summoned to his presence¹⁰ the storytellers, from whom he obtained the best things about which they knew and which they did well. He also selected whatever pleased him from the books composed of stories and fables. As he was of a superior type, there were collected for him four hundred and eighty nights, each night being a complete story, comprising more or less than fifty pages. Death overtook him before he fulfilled his plan for completing a thousand stories. I saw

⁷ This is the feminine form of *qahramān*, which Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 457, translates as "stewardess" and Mas'ūdī, V, 364, in the French translation gives as "régente." The woman referred to was probably the sister of Shah-rāzād, usually called Dunyāzād. She helped to get the king interested in listening to stories.

⁸ Humā'ī is taken from MS 1934. Mas'ūdī, II, 121, 123, 235, gives the name as Humāyah and on p. 129 says that she was known with her mother Shahrāzād. Sykes, *History of Persia*, I, 422, says that Bahrām "married his sister Humai." See also Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, V, 290 ff. Flügel and Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 457, spell the name as Humānī.

⁹ MS 1135 unlike the other versions has *The Book of Viziers and Secretaries*. This is also the title given to the book in the passage about al-Jahshiyārī; see Chap. III, sect. 2, n. 117.

¹⁰ He had authority, as he was an able member of the government.

a number of the sections of this book written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ṭayyib [ibn Idrīs], the brother of al-Shāfi‘ī.

Before that time there was a group of people who composed stories and fables in the speech of humans, birds, and beasts. Among them there were ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa’; Sahl ibn Hārūn; ‘Alī ibn Dā’ūd, the secretary of Zubaydah;¹¹ and others besides them. I have dealt thoroughly with these [authors] and what they composed in the appropriate places in this book.

There is the book *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*¹² about which they have disagreed. It is said to be the work of the Indians (Hindus), information about that being in the first part of the book. It is also said to be the work of the Ashkānian kings to which the Indians made false claims, or of the Persians and falsely claimed by the Indians. One group has said that the man who composed parts of it was *Buzurjmihr*, the wise man, but it is Allāh who knows about that.

There was the book *Sindbādh al-Ḥakīm*,¹³ which is in two transcriptions, one long and one short. They disagreed about it, too, just as they disagreed about *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. What is most probable and the closest to the truth is that the Indians composed it.

The Names of the Books of the Persians

Hazār Dastān;¹⁴ Būsfās and Simās; Jaḥd Khusraw;¹⁵ Kitāb al-Marbiyīn; Fable and Amusement; The Bear and the Fox;¹⁶ Rūzbih the Orphan;¹⁷

¹¹ The queen of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

¹² For this famous book of fables, see the Glossary.

¹³ See the Glossary also for this hero of fiction.

¹⁴ *Hazār* is “thousand” and *dastān* “story.” MS 1135 adds, “It comprises a thousand nights with something less than two hundred tales.” The following title is garbled in the Arabic text, but it evidently refers to an old book written during the Parthian regime.

¹⁵ If this title and the one which follows are Arabic translations from the Persian, they mean “The Stinginess (Refusal) of the Persian King” and “Book of the Tutors.” It is possible, however, that the words are Persian, garbled by Arab scribes so that they cannot be identified.

¹⁶ See Perry, *Humaniora* (1960), p. 158.

¹⁷ This may refer to the high priest of King Bahrām; see Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, VII, 26–27. Or perhaps it refers to some character of fiction.

Mashkad Nānah and Shāh Zanān;¹⁸ Nīmūd King of Bābal;¹⁹ Khalīl and Da'd.²⁰

The Names of the Books Which the Persians Composed about Biography, and the Evening Stories about Their Kings Which Were True

Rustum and *Asfandiyādh*, a translation of *Jabalah* ibn Sālim; *Bahrām Chūbīn*; *Shahr-Bazār* and *Parwīz*;²¹ *Al-Kārnāmāh*, about the life of *Anūshirwān*;²² The Crown and What Good Auguries Their Kings Drew from It; *Dārā* and the Golden Idol;²³ The Book of Institutions (*Āyīn Nāmāh*);²⁴ The Book of Lords (*Khuday Nāmāh*);²⁵ *Bahrām* and *Narsī*;²⁶ *Anūshirwān*.²⁷

The Names of the Books of the Indians about Fables, Evening Stories, and Anecdotes

*Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*²⁸ is in seventeen sections, or, it is said, eighteen sections.²⁹ 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffā' and others translated it. This book was also converted into poetry. *Abān* ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Lāḥiq ibn 'Ufayr al-Riqāshī translated it, 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd set it into

¹⁸ *Mashkad nānah* is probably an inaccurate transliteration of the Persian *mushk-dānah*, which means "grain of musk," probably the nickname of a girl.

¹⁹ See Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, III, 552, article on Nimrod; "Namrūd," *Enc. Islam*, III, 842.

²⁰ Da'd is a girl's name, garbled in the Arabic text.

²¹ Flügel gives *Shahryazād*, which is evidently a mistake. MS 1934 has *Shahr-Barāz*, who was the general of *Parwīz* (Chosroes II).

²² MS 1934 has *Al-Kārnāmākh* and Flügel gives *Al-Kārnāmāj*. The name means "The Book of Deeds" and is usually known as *Al-Kārnāmāh*; see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 9, 108, 137 ff for an example of the contents. See also Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, VI, 195 bottom; Mas'ūdī, II, 162, 449.

²³ Evidently an imaginary story about Darius III.

²⁴ The Arabic text has what is almost certainly a mistaken form. This title is evidently meant to be an ancient book called *Āyīn Nāmāh*.

²⁵ MS 1135 gives this title clearly. It was also known as *The Book of the Ancients* (*Bāstān Nāmāh*). It was translated into Arabic from the Persian by Ibn al-Muqaffā', but is no longer extant. See Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, I, 66; V, 24; VI, 17 top, 373.

²⁶ This may refer to *Bahrām* and *Narsī*, kings of Persia at the end of the third century A.D., or it may refer to *Bahrām Gūr*, who ruled A.D. 420-40, and his brother *Narsī*. See Sykes, *History of Persia*, I, 466-70; Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, VII, 86, 99.

²⁷ Flügel gives this name once; it is repeated in the manuscripts.

²⁸ See Glossary for this famous book.

²⁹ Flügel and MS 1934 differ in writing the words for "it is said" but the meaning is the same.

poetry. *Bishr* ibn al-Mu'tamir also translated it. What was made known was only a part of it. I myself have seen a manuscript with two extra sections. The poets of the Persians converted this book into verse, translating it [from the Indian] into both Persian and Arabic. There are collections and selections of this book compiled by a group of persons, among whom there were Ibn al-Muqaffa'; *Sahl* ibn Hārūn; *Salm*, the director of the Bayt al-Hikmah; and *Mūbadhān*-*Mūbadh*, whom al-Mutawakkil summoned from Persia during his reign (days).

Among Their Books

The large book, *Sindbādh*;³⁰ the small book, *Sindbādh*; The *Buddha*;³¹ *Būdāsāf* and *Balawhar*;³² *Būdāsāf* Alone; The Culture of India and China; *Hābil* about Wisdom;³³ India in the Story of the Fall of *Adam*, for Whom May There be Peace;³⁴ of *Ṭarq* (*Ṭarq*);³⁵ of *Dabak*³⁶ the Indian, about men and women; Definitions of Indian Logic; *Shādhirm*;³⁷ The King of India, the Murderer, and the Swimmer;³⁸ of *Shānāq*, about administration;³⁹ of *Aṭar*,⁴⁰ about drinks;⁴¹ of *Bidpai*, about wisdom.⁴²

³⁰ See Glossary for this hero. Inserted in the text of MS 1135 and as a note on the upper margin of MS 1934 is the statement, "This book was translated by al-Aṣḥabī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Sālim al-Sijistānī and is known by him as *Aslam* and *Sindbādh*." Al-Aṣḥabī cannot be identified.

³¹ For the *Buddha*, see "Budd," *Enc. Islam*, I, 769; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 2, p. 358.

³² See Glossary.

³³ *Hābil* (*Hābil*) was Abel, but here may refer to some Indian author.

³⁴ The manuscripts omit the pious epithet, which is taken from Flügel.

³⁵ Instead of an Arabic word, this is very likely meant to be some Indian proper name, perhaps that of Channa, the famous charioteer of *Buddha*, called *Zardani* in Pehlevi, and *Zardan* in Greek. See Budge, *Baralām and Yēwāṣēf*, p. lxxxviii. The name is evidently not correct as given in the text. Perhaps *ṭā'* should be *zā'* and *qāf* may be a badly copied *dāl* with *nūn*, which could have spelled the Greek name *Zardan*.

³⁶ MS 1135 gives a different form, which is not clearly written.

³⁷ This title is given in various forms in different versions and cannot be identified.

³⁸ Both Flügel and MS 1934 give *al-sabbāḥ* ("swimmer"); MS 1135 has a variation. Possibly the word is something different.

³⁹ Both Flügel and MS 1135 give what seems to be *Shānāq*, who was probably the author of this book. See Flügel, *ZDMG*, XI (1857), 325. MS 1934 lacks consonant signs.

⁴⁰ *Aṭar* is probably an Indian proper name, but it cannot be identified and may not be correctly spelled.

⁴¹ "Drinks" may refer to medicines, but not necessarily so.

⁴² For information about this well-known work, see Jacobs, *Fables of Bidpai*, and "Bidpai," *Enc. Brit.*, III, 919. MS 1135 spells the name incorrectly.

The Names of the Books of the Byzantines about Evening Stories, Histories, Fables, and Proverbs⁴³

History of the Byzantines; Samsah wa-Dimn, like the book "Kalilah wa-Dimnah," but its title is in Greek—it is a book which is unappealing (cold) in authorship and destestable in composition; it has been said that some of the recent authors produced it;⁴⁴ Cultures (Literature) of the Byzantines; of *Myronianus* about culture;⁴⁵ Anthony the Holy Man and the Byzantine King;⁴⁶ Dialogue of the King with Muḥammad 'Ārabūs;⁴⁷ Dīsūn and Rājil, the Two Kings;⁴⁸ Simās the Learned, about proverbs;⁴⁹ Intelligence and Beauty; Account of the King of Lud;⁵⁰ Shahriyār the King and the Reason for His Marrying Shahrāzād the Storyteller.⁵¹

The Names of the Books of the Kings of Babylon and Others Among the Kings of the Tribes, with Accounts about Them

The Righteous King of Babylon and the Devil, How He Tricked and Deceived Him; *Nimrūd* the King of Babylon; The King Riding the Stick; The Old Man and the Youth; *Ardashīr* the King of Babylon and

⁴³ "Proverbs" may also be translated as "allegories." "Fables and proverbs" is omitted in the Flügel edition. For these titles, see the article by Rosenthal in *Oriens*, XV (1962), 35.

⁴⁴ See Perry, *Humaniora* (1960), p. 157.

⁴⁵ This title is given in various forms by the different versions, but it almost certainly refers to a book by Myronianus. See Diogenes Laërtius, p. 157; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 1131.

⁴⁶ In Arabic the name is Anṭūs. For this book, see Rosenthal, *Oriens*, XV (1962), 35. Rosenthal explains that *sā'iḥ*, which usually means "traveler," refers to a "holy man" here.

⁴⁷ 'Ārabūs is probably supposed to be the Greek word meaning "the Arab." "Dialogue" may refer to Muḥammad's correspondence with the emperor at Constantinople. See "Muḥammad," *Enc. Islam*, III, 653.

⁴⁸ These names cannot be identified.

⁴⁹ This is probably the Simās of the ancient book *Firzah wa-Simās*. See Mas'ūdī, IV, 90, 463; "Bidpai," *Enc. Brit.*, XXVI, 883–84; Flügel, p. 306, n. 4.

⁵⁰ This is evidently Lydda in Palestine; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 354. The story may refer to the slaying of the dragon, as Lydda was supposed to have been the place where Perseus saved Andromeda.

⁵¹ In the manuscripts the forms appear to be Shāzād and Shaṭarīyarus, but they are probably Greek corruptions for the names of the king and storyteller in *A Thousand and One Nights*. The *ṣ* in the king's name could be mistaken for *hā* and the *ū* for *r*, while *s* would be a common Greek ending.

Artawān, His Vizier;⁵² *Lāhij ibn Abān*;⁵³ The Wise Man Who Was a Hermit.

The Names of the Passionate Lovers during the Pre-Islāmic Period and the Period of Islām about Whose Historical Traditions There Were Books⁵⁴

The books which we mention were composed about their traditions by a group [of authors] such as *ʿIsa ibn Daʿb*, *al-Sharqī ibn al-Qaṭmī*, *Hishām al-Kalbī*, *al-Haytham ibn ʿAdī*, and others as well.

Muraqqish and *Asmāʾ*; *ʿAmr ibn ʿAjlān* and *Hind*; *ʿUrwah* and *ʿAfrāʾ*; *Jamīl* and *Buthaynah*; *Kuthayyir* and *ʿAzzah*; *Qays* and *Lubnā*; *Majnūn* and *Laylā*; *Tawbah* and *Laylā*; *Al-Ṣimmah ibn ʿAbd Allāh* and *Rayyā*;⁵⁵ *Ibn al-Ṭathrīyah* and *Wahshīyah*;⁵⁶ Playing [Music] and Attachment; *Yazīd* and *Habābah*; *Qābūs* and *Munyah*; *Asʿad* and *Laylā*; *Waddāh* al-Yaman and *Umm al-Banīn*; *Amīm ibn ʿAmrān* and *Hind*; *Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣalt* and *Jannat al-Khuld*; *Al-ʿUmar ibn Dirār* and *Juml*; *Saʿd* and *Asmāʾ*; *ʿUmar ibn Abī Rabīʿah* and a Multitude;⁵⁷

Al-Mustahall and *Hind*; *Bākīr* and *Laḥḥah*;⁵⁸ *Mulaykah*, *Nuʿm*, and the Son of the Vizier; *Aḥmad* and *Dāḥah*;⁵⁹ The Young Man of al-Kūfah, the Protégé of Muslimah and His Female Companion; *ʿAmmār*, *Juml*,

⁵² *Ardashīr* was the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty and *Ardawān* (Artawanah) was the last king of the Ashkānian dynasty. The title should probably have an "and" before "vizier": *Ardashīr the King of Babylon, Ardawān, and His Vizier*.

⁵³ These are probably names in fiction.

⁵⁴ These names are book titles. These men and women were historical persons, though also characters about whom stories were written. The names which cannot be identified elsewhere have not been listed in the Biog. Index. Those listed can be identified by the lovers connected with them.

⁵⁵ Tammām, *Al-Ḥamāsah*, Part 2, sect. 448, gives this name in German as *Rejjā*; *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part 5, p. 132 l. 8, speaks of the love of *al-Ṣimmah* for a girl named *al-ʿĀmirīyah*; see also Biog. Index.

⁵⁶ MS 1934 gives this title incorrectly; MS 1135 and Flügel omit "and" between the names.

⁵⁷ The word translated "multitude" may mean "his sexual intercourse," but more likely refers to the many girls loved by the poet, who was famous for his amours.

⁵⁸ This title and the one preceding are omitted by MS 1135. *Bākīr* means "starting early in the morning" and *laḥḥah* means "the twinkling of an eye." These are evidently nicknames for persons who cannot be identified, perhaps characters about whom poems were written. Some of the persons on this list were evidently not poets themselves, but persons about whom the poets composed verses.

⁵⁹ *Dāḥah* may be the singer *Dāḥah* included in the Biog. Index, or perhaps some less famous person.

and Ṣawāb; Al-*Ghamr* ibn Malik and *Qabūl*; 'Amr ibn Zayd al-Ṭā'ī and *Laylā*; 'Alī ibn Ishāq and *Sumnah*; Al-*Aḥwaṣ* and 'Abdah; Bishr and *Hind*; The Lover of the Hand; The Lover of the Picture; 'Abqar and *Ṣaḥām*;⁶⁰ *Iyās* and *Ṣafwah*; Ibn Maṭ'ūn, Raṭilah, and Sa'ādah; Khurāfah and 'Ishriq;⁶¹ Al-Makhzūmī and al-Hidāyah;⁶² 'Amr ibn al-'Inqafīr and Nahd ibn Zayd Manāh;⁶³ *Murrah* and *Laylā* [bint Zuhayr]; *Dhū al-Rummah* and *Mayy*.

The Names of the Passionate Lovers from the Rest of the People,
about Whose Traditions Books Were Written⁶⁴

Sabīl and Qālūn;⁶⁵ 'Alī ibn Ādam and *Manhalah*;⁶⁶ Al-Mu'adhdhab (the Tormented) and *Ladhdhah* (the Delight);⁶⁷ Al-Faḍl ibn Abī Dulāmah and Ḥalīm;⁶⁸ Al-Mu'adhdhab (the Tormented), al-Gharā (the Angry, Bright), and al-Ṭirah (the Bad Omen); *Siḥr al-Lahw* (The Enchantment of Amusement) and *Sukr* (Intoxication of Love); Ibrāhīm and 'Alam; Ṭarab (Rejoicing) and 'Ajab (Admiration); 'Amr ibn Ṣālīḥ and *Quṣāf*; Aḥmad and *Sanā'*; Muḥammad and *Duqāq*;⁶⁹ *Ḥakam* and *Khuld*;⁷⁰ 'Abbād al-Fātik (the Intrepid) and *Fanak*.

⁶⁰ MS 1135 spells this name with a *jīm(j)* instead of a *ḥā'(h)*, probably an error.

⁶¹ Ziriklī, Part 2, pp. 179, 347, cites names of men called Khurāfah, Ḥudhāfah, and Ḥudhāqah. The man's name may be the same as one of these, but neither he nor the girl can be identified.

⁶² Al-Makhzūmī is probably the ninth-century poet; see Abū Sa'd al-Makhzūmī. In MS 1934 the girl's name is al-Hidāyah; Flügel and MS 1135 give al-Hudhaliyah.

⁶³ Al-'inqafīr means "misfortune," evidently a nickname. Neither this father nor his son can be identified, though they were probably Arabs. For the Nahd and Zayd Manāh tribes, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 133, 320.

⁶⁴ These names are book titles. In the Arabic, the last clause of this heading is in the singular. Many of the names of this list seem to belong to fiction. Only the names which can be identified are in the Biog. Index.

⁶⁵ MS 1135 has *Shibl* instead of *Sabīl*; these names cannot be identified.

⁶⁶ *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part 14, pp. 51, 52, gives Ādam. The various versions of *Al-Fihrist* give Ādim.

⁶⁷ In MS 1934, a small extra *waw* ("and") has been inserted before the second name, so that instead of *wa-Ladhdhah* it becomes *wa-waladuhū* ("and his son"). The translation follows Flügel.

⁶⁸ MS 1934 gives Ḥalīm and the other versions *Kalīm*.

⁶⁹ MS 1135 has Aḥmad instead of Muḥammad. Aḥmad was the son of Duqāq.

⁷⁰ *Khuld* is taken from Flügel. MSS 1934 and 1135 give *Khālid*, which is probably wrong.

Su'ūf and 'Aṭūf;⁷¹ Aḥmad and Zayn al-'Usūr (Adornment of the Ages);⁷² Bishr al-Muhallabī and Basbāṣah;⁷³ 'Āṣim and Sulṭān;⁷⁴ Dhawb and Rakhīm; Aḥmad ibn Qutaybah and Bānūjah;⁷⁵ Sahl and Salīmah; Al-Kātib (the Secretary) and Munā; Abū al-'Atāhiyah and 'Utbah; 'Abbās and Fawz;⁷⁶ The Lover of the Cow; 'Isā and Sarāb; 'Iṣām and Dumaynah; Mazīd (Yazīd) and al-Zahrā'; 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Muhadhdhab and Lubnā bint al-Mu'tamir.⁷⁷

Names of the Loving and Fickle Girls⁷⁸

Rīḥānah and Qaranful; *Ruqayyah* and *Khaḍījah*;⁷⁹ Mu'ayyis (One Who Drives to Despair) and Dakyā' (Becoming Pure);⁸⁰ *Sukaynah* and al-*Rabāb*;⁸¹ Al-Ghiṭrīfah (Princess, Beautiful) and Dalfā';⁸² Hind and the Daughter of al-Nu'mān [ibn al-Mundhir];⁸³ 'Abdah al-'Āqilah (the Intelligent) and 'Abdah al-Ghaddārah (the Treacherous); Lu'lu'ah (the Pearl, the Unsullied) and Shāṭirah (the Clever, the Wanton); Najdah and Za'ūm (Ineffectual in Speech); *Salmā* [bint Sa'id] and *Su'ād* [of al-Kūfah]; Sawāb (Correctness) and Surūr (Delight); Al-Dahmā' and Nī'mah.

⁷¹ *Su'ūf* has many meanings. Here it may mean "endowed with genius or generosity," which fits with 'aṭūf ("affectionate" or "well-favored"). Flügel and MS 1135 have *sha'ūb* ("death") instead of *Su'ūf*. Flügel gives 'aṭarraḡ instead of 'aṭūf, but the word cannot be identified and seems to be an error.

⁷² MS 1135 has *qaṣr* ("palace") instead of 'usūr ("ages").

⁷³ Flügel, p. 307, n. 1, suggests that this was Bishr ibn al-Mughīrah. The second name seems to be the rare nickname for a girl, meaning "Covering of a Nutmeg."

⁷⁴ This may refer to 'Āṣim ibn Thābit.

⁷⁵ Bānūjah was the name of the sister of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

⁷⁶ MS 1135 has an error in giving these names.

⁷⁷ MS 1934 gives al-Mu'tamir; Flügel and MS 1135 give al-Mu'ammār.

⁷⁸ These names are book titles. In the Arabic, "loving and fickle" is *al-ḥabā'ib al-mutaṭarrīfāt*. An "and" is inserted between the two words in the translation to make better sense, as some of those mentioned were not "fickle." These women were probably real persons, some of them slave girls called by nicknames which cannot be identified. MS 1135 gives the last word of the heading as *al-mutaṭarrīfāt* ("affecting elegance"). Only the names which can be identified are in the Biog. Index.

⁷⁹ This may refer to the Prophet's first wife and his eldest daughter.

⁸⁰ MS 1135 has a different form for *Mu'ayyis*, probably incorrect. *Dakyā'* is a Persian word.

⁸¹ The wife and daughter of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī.

⁸² MS 1135 has *al-ghīṭrīf*, probably meant to be the feminine form of *al-ghīṭrīfah*.

⁸³ See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part 2, p. 34 top; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part 5, p. 259.

The Names of Passionate Lovers Whose Traditions Enter into the Evening Stories⁸⁴

The Master (Friend) of *Bishr* ibn Marwān and the Daughter of His Cousin; Al-Kalbī and His Cousin; The Man and the Girl of the Tamīm Tribe Who Gave Pledges [of Love]; The Egyptian and the Girl from Makkah; 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far and the Tree upon Which There Was an Inscription; *Asmā'* ibn Khārijah al-Fazārī; *Mālik* ibn *Asmā'* and the Mistress of al-Ḥuss; 'Abbās [ibn al-Aḥnaf] al-Ḥanafī and the One [Girl] Whom He Hit; The Daughter of the Chief (al-Wajīhah) and the Bedouin; The Youth and the Woman Who Threw the Pebble; 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Ḥassān al-Asadī and Sa'd, the Two Owners of the Wood; The Slave Girl, Her Master, and 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ma'mar; Al-Rabāb and Her Husband, Who Were Pledged Together;⁸⁵ Sulaymān, 'Unwān, and Shaybān; *Sulaymān* ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the Concubine, and Her Child; The Woman, Her Brothers (Sisters), and the Man Who Loved Her; The Arabian and the Daughter of His Other (Last) Uncle; 'Abd al-Malik and al-Kalbī, the Friend of *Khālid* ibn al-Walīd.

Al-Zuhri and the Daughter of His Paternal Uncle, Who Journeyed to *Hishām* ibn 'Abd al-Malik;⁸⁶ *Dīyār* and *Zamyā* (*Zamīyā*); *Mālik* al-'Ayyār (Charleton)⁸⁷ and His Cousin; Ghanamah, Uzayhir, and 'Amr the King;⁸⁸ The Kurd, His Love, and the Daughter of the Priest;⁸⁹ The Two Brothers, One from al-'Irāq and the Other from al-Madinah; Al-Mu'allā and Sīnā; The Naked Man among (Al-Mutajarrīd about) the Women;⁹⁰ Badr and Shādhān;⁹¹ Ḥabīb al-'Attār (the Perfume Dealer); Ḥasan and the Jewish Thief; Ḥāfiyah, the Daughter of Ḥāshim al-Kindī; Al-Mu'ammal ibn al-Sharīf, the Picture, and Maṭ'ūn⁹² the Jinnī; 'Amir

⁸⁴ These names are book titles. Many of these characters seem to be fictitious.

⁸⁵ MS 1135 omits "who were pledged together."

⁸⁶ See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part 6, p. 106.

⁸⁷ This name does not have consonant signs, but *al-'ayyār*, is probably correct.

⁸⁸ These names lack consonant signs and are given differently in the different texts.

⁸⁹ MS 1135 gives *al-Kurdiyyah* ("Kurdish woman") instead of "the Kurd," found in MS 1934. Flügel has a word which seems incorrect.

⁹⁰ Flügel and MS 1934 give *al-mutajarrīd*, MS 1135 gives *al-mujarrad*; both can mean "naked man." Or else the word may be a nickname.

⁹¹ The translation follows what is apparently intended in MS 1934, as both of these names are in common use. Flügel has *Badan* and *Shādan*, which are uncommon forms.

⁹² Flügel has *maz'ūn*, an uncommon form. MS 1934 gives *maṭ'ūn* ("pestilential" or "with the plague"), a good name for a *jinnī*. Al-Sharīf may be a proper name, or refer to a "nobleman" with special reference to descent from the Prophet's grandson.

and Da'd, the Handmaid of Khālīṣah (the Pure); 'Urwah ibn 'Abd Yālīl al-Ṭā'ī and His Girl Cousin;⁹³ The Passionate Youth and His Mistress; Al-Mukhannath (the Impotent) and the Damsel Who Loved Him; The Passionate Youth and Hind the Precipitate; The Youth Passionately in Love with the Lady and Dhāt al-Khāl;⁹⁴ The Foolish Youth and Shamsah, Who Was in Love with Him; The Crazy Lover and Salm and Her Handmaid with Hallucinations.

The Names of the Humans in Love with the Jinn and the Jinn in Love with the Humans⁹⁵

Da'd and al-Rabāb; Rifā'ah al-'Absī and Sukr; Sa'sa' and Qum'; Nā'im ibn Dārim, Raḥimah, and *Shayṭān* al-Ṭāq; Al-Aghlab and al-Rabāb; Al-Ḍirghām (the Lion), Jūd (the Liberal), the Waqs (the Worthless);⁹⁶ 'Amr and Diqyānūs;⁹⁷ Al-Shammākh (the Proud) and Dam' (the Weeping); The Tricky Khazrajī and Asmā'; Ḥuṣn (Modesty, Chastity) ibn al-Nabhān and the Female Jinnī;⁹⁸ Al-Dilfā,⁹⁹ Her Brothers, and the Jinnī; Da'd al-Fazāriyah, the Jinnī, and 'Amr; 'Umar ibn Sufyān al-Sulamī and the Female Jinnī; 'Amr ibn Makshūḥ and the Female Jinnī; Rabī'ah ibn Qudām (Qaddām) and the Female Jinnī; Sa'd ibn 'Umayr and al-Nawār (the Timid, Innocent).

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: Evening stories and fables were sought after, especially during the days of the caliphs of the Banu al-'Abbās, particularly at the time of al-Muqtadir. Accordingly, the *warrāqūn*¹⁰⁰ made [stories] and told untrue [tales].

⁹³ Yālīl was a Pre-Islāmic idol; see Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1703; Kalbī, *Aṣṇām*, p. 25.

⁹⁴ *Dhāt al-Khāl* ("With a Mole") was the nickname of a famous singer at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Here it may refer to a girl in a story. Compare Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part 15, p. 79; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part 1, p. 423.

⁹⁵ These names are book titles. These stories seem to be about imaginary characters. The only person who can be identified is *Shayṭān al-Ṭāq*. Some of the names appear in the old poems, but apparently refer to different characters.

⁹⁶ The translation follows MS 1934. The other versions do not separate the two last names clearly, so that it is impossible to be sure of the original.

⁹⁷ MS 1934 gives a form which might be Daqābūs; this name is very uncertain.

⁹⁸ Ḥuṣn is taken from MS 1934. Flügel gives the word *ḥaḍar* ("settled regions"), and MS 1135 omits the name.

⁹⁹ This may be Dhalfā ("Ape-Nosed").

¹⁰⁰ It is likely that these *warrāqūn* ("copyists and book sellers") collected copies of popular stories and sold them to professional storytellers.

One of the persons who did this was a man known as Ibn Dilān, whose name was *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad ibn Dilān.¹⁰¹ Another was known as Ibn al-‘*Aṭṭār*, and there were others besides them. We have already mentioned the persons who used to write fables and evening stories as if spoken by animals and other creatures. They were *Sahl* ibn Hārūn, ‘*Alī* ibn Dā’ūd, al-‘*Attābī*, and *Aḥmad* ibn Abī Ṭāhir.

The Books Composed about the Wonders of the Sea and Other Things

There is the book known as *The Book of Sakhr al-Maghrabī*, which was written by ———. It contains thirty stories: ten about the wonders of the land, ten about the wonders of the dawn, and ten about the wonders of the sea.¹⁰²

Wāthilah ibn al-Asqa’; Al-Sumayfa’¹⁰³ ibn Dhī Taraḥḥum (Possessor of Pity) al-Ḥimyarī and al-‘Aqūf bint Zayd;¹⁰⁴ The Old Man Son of the Youth.

¹⁰¹ MS 1135 does not repeat ibn Dilān.

¹⁰² *Sakhr al-Maghrabī* seems to be a character of fiction. MS 1934 makes it very clear that a space was left to be filled in here in case the author’s name could be discovered. Flügel does not indicate this space. “Dawn” (*al-suḥrah*) is taken from MS 1934. It might be *al-saḥarah* (“magicians”). Flügel gives what might be *al-shajarah* (“trees”), or, if the first letter was unmarked, *al-sujrah* (“water sources”).

¹⁰³ For the spelling of this apparently fictitious name, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 307 l. 19.

¹⁰⁴ MS 1934 gives *al-‘Aqūf*, which might be a rare form meaning “Bent Over.” Flügel has what is either *al-‘Aqūq* (“the Pregnant”) or *al-‘Uqūq* (“the rebellious”).

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Second Section of the Eighth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, including accounts of the exorcists, jugglers, magicians, and those who use incantations,¹ tricks, and talismans.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm: The exorcists and magicians assert that the devils, jinn, and spirits obey and serve them, being directed by their command and their prohibition.² The exorcists, who pretend to observe the sacred laws, claim that this is because of obedience to Allāh, may His name be magnified.

Thus invocation is addressed to Him, and oaths by the spirits and devils are by His help, with the abandoning of lusts and by consequence of religious practices. Moreover, [they claim] that the jinn and the devils obey them, either because of obedience to Allāh, may His name be magnified, or on account of [their making] oaths by Him, or else for fear of Him, blessed and exalted is He. For He has subjugated and humiliated them [the devils and jinn] by the potency of His holy names and because of mention of Him, uplifted and glorified is He.

The [other] magicians assert that they enslave the devils by offerings and prohibitive acts. They [claim] that the devils are pleased by the committing of acts which are forbidden and which Allāh, may His name be magnified, has prohibited. Thus the perpetrating

¹ The word translated "incantations" is *al-nīranjīyāt*, which is an old form; see Ḥājj Khalifah, IV, 186 l. 7. For sorcery, magic, and talismans, see Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), III, 157-227.

² A more literal translation is "and they were shifted between their command and their prohibition."

of things such as abandoning prayer and fasting, permitting blood,³ marrying forbidden women, and other kinds of evil actions is also pleasing. This is common practice in Egypt and the nearby regions; the books which are written there are many and extant. The Babylon of the magicians is in the land of Egypt. A person who has seen this [state of affairs] has told me that there still remain men and women magicians and that all of the exorcists and magicians assert that they have seals, charms of paper, sandal, *jazāb*, smoke, and other things used for their arts.⁴

Another Account

One group of philosophers and servants of the stars assert that they have talismans, based on [astronomical] observations, for all things desired in connection with wonderful actions, excitements, favor, and forms of authority. They also have designs on stones, stringed beads, and signet stones.⁵

This art is divulged openly among the philosophers. The Indians believe in it and perform wonderful things. China has trickery and magic of another form. The art of illusion is a speciality of India, where there are books on the subject, some of which have been translated into Arabic. The Turks also have an art of magic. A man, most trustworthy and superior, has told me that they perform miracles for the routings of armies, killing of enemies, crossing the water, and cutting short long distances in short time. The talismans of the land of Egypt and of Syria are numerous and their forms well known, although their use has been rendered vain because they are out-of-date.⁶

³ This may refer to ordinances about butchering animals while pronouncing the name of Allāh. It may also refer to ordinances about menstruation contained in the Muslim law. For the next item, "marrying forbidden women," see Qur'ān, 4:2-24.

⁴ Charms of paper were undoubtedly slips upon which were written either old pagan words or else verses from the Qur'ān. Sandal was evidently sandalwood, used for medical purposes. For the following word, Flügel gives *al-jizāb* which does not seem to be a proper form. Perhaps it is meant to be *al-jazāb*, which is the plant *Orchis flava*, used for drugs. MS 1934 does not give consonant signs. This passage has been translated freely.

⁵ "Stringed beads" (*al-kharaj*) are shells, gems, or beads which have been strung. "Signet stones" (*al-fuṣūṣ*) are gems or stones in signet rings.

⁶ The Arabic phrase translated "out-of-date" is *li-taqadam al-'ahd*.

A Word about the Praiseworthy System of Charms

It is said, but Allāh knows best and is the most wise, that Solomon (*Sulaymān*) son of David,⁷ for both of whom may there be peace, was the first person to enslave the jinn and the devils and to use them as menials. It is also said that the first person, according to the doctrines of the Persians, who made slaves of them was *Jamshīd* ibn *Tahmurath*.⁸ It has been said that a Hebrew named *Āṣaf* ibn *Yūḥannā*⁹ who was the son of Solomon's maternal aunt, another Hebrew named *Yūsuf* ibn 'Īsū,¹⁰ and a Persian Jew named *al-Hurmazān* ibn *al-Kurdūl* used to write for Solomon the son of David.¹¹

The Names of the Demons Who Attended Solomon (*Sulaymān*) Son of David—They Are Seventy

They [the demons] assert that Solomon son of David, for whom may there be peace, sat [in audience] and summoned the chief of the jinn and the devils, whose name was *Fuṭṭus*,¹² to review them. So *Fuṭṭus* taught him to know the name [of each demon], one by one, and also its influence over the sons of Adam. Then he [Solomon] imposed upon them a contract and a pledge. After he had adjured them by that pledge and they had complied, they departed. The pledges were [in] the name of Allāh, Exalted, Mighty, and Magnified.¹³ They [the demons] were:¹⁴ *Fuṭṭus*, 'Mrd, *Kywān*, *Shimr'āl*,

⁷ For Solomon, see "Sulaimān," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 519; Tha'labī, *Kitāb Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, p. 276 ff. Only the Flügel edition has the pious epithet after Solomon and David.

⁸ The Arabic text does not give the usual name for the father, *Tahmurath*, but some name which may be a garbled form meant for *Hūshang*, the grandfather.

⁹ *Yūḥannā* is taken from MS 1934. Flügel has *Barakhīyā* instead.

¹⁰ Probably Joseph the son of Joshua. This and the name which follows are evidently legendary.

¹¹ For this passage see Goeje, *ZDMG*, XX (1866), 486-87.

¹² *Fuṭṭus*, also known as *Quṭṭus*, is also mentioned in Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part 3, p. 165 l. 17.

¹³ "Exalted" is taken from Flügel.

¹⁴ It is possible a duplicate list to this may be found in some other book, but so far none has been discovered. The list contains 71 names, though the heading speaks of 70 demons. Perhaps the 70 are in addition to *Fuṭṭus*, the chief, or two of the names should be compounded together. MS 1934 gives numerous vowel signs and many of the names can be found in the dictionaries. Names which have no meaning and lack vowel signs are given with only the transliterations of the Arabic letters indicated. Some of the names are guesses.

Fīrūz, Mhāqāl, Zaynab, Sydūk, Jndrb, Siyyār, Zanbūr, al-Da'ḥs, Kawkab, Ḥamrān, Dāhir, Qārūn, Shidād, Ṣa'ṣa'sah, Baktān, Harthamah, Takallum, Furūq, Hurmiz, Hamhamah, 'Ayzār, Mazāhim, Murrah, Fatrah, al-Haym, Arhbh, Khyth', Khyfth, Rayāḥ, Zuḥal, Zawba'ah, Mḥtūkarā, Hayshab, Ṭq'yān, Wqāṣ, Qdmnh, Mufarrish, Ayrā'il, Nizār, Shftīl, Dywyd, Ankarā, Khaṭūfah, Tnkyūsh, Misalqar, Qādim, Ashja', Nawdar, Tythāmah, 'Uṣār, Thu'bān, Namān, Nmūdrky, Ṭyābūr,¹⁵ Sāhitūn, 'Udhāfir, Mirdās, Shyṭūb, Za'rūsh, Ṣakhr, al-'Aramram, Khashram, Shādhān, al-Ḥarith, al-Ḥurth, 'Udhrah ('Adhirah), Faqrūf.

The Names of the Seven Whose Offspring These [Demons] Were

The first was Danhash, the first day; [then] Shākhbā, the second day; Marbayā, the third day; 'Abarā, the fourth day; Mismār, the fifth day; Namūdarkī, the sixth day; Bakḥtash, the seventh day.¹⁶

*Arius al-Rūmī*¹⁷

Arius the son of Stephanus, the son of Vitellius al-Rūmī, was nicknamed the Guide (al-Rashīd) of his people. He was one of the Byzantines who were skillful with charms. Among his books there was the book mentioning the children of the Devil (Iblīs) and their dispersion in the lands, together with the way in which each type of them specializes in diseases—spirits, deaths, actions, and the relationships of the jinn.

Lawhaq

He was Lawhaq ibn 'Arfaj, of ancient times. Among his books there was *The Natures of the Jinn, Their Times of Birth, Their Punishments, and the Spirits of Epilepsy*.

¹⁵ MS 1934 separates Ṭyābūr into two names, which would make the total name count 72, but the other versions make this one name.

¹⁶ Although most of the vowel signs are given in MS 1934, some are lacking so that the names cannot be transliterated accurately. Some references which mention a few of these names and explain the demons are Kisā'ī, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*; McCown, *Testament of Solomon*; Jawbarī, *Al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Asrār*; Goeje, *ZDMG*, XX (1866), 485 ff.

¹⁷ This name is written differently in MS 1135. It cannot be the famous heretic, whose father was said to be Ammonius; see Smith, *GRBM*, I, 345.

Ibn Hilāl

He was one of the recent scholars.¹⁸ He was Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Hilāl al-Bakīl and [his father] Hilāl was the son of Waṣīf. It was he who started this interest [in sorcery] in Islām. He was served and also spoken to [by the jinn], and was known for wonderful deeds and actions of goodness, as well as for seals of tested value. Among his books there were:

The Vanished Spirit; Explanation of What the Devils Said to Solomon (*Sulaymān*) Son of David (*Dā'ūd*), May Allāh Bless Our Prophet and Also Both of Them [Solomon and David],¹⁹ and the Pledges He Imposed upon Them.

Ibn al-Imām

Among the exorcists who worked by means of the names of Allāh, may His name be magnified, there was a man known as Ibn al-Imām, who lived during the days of al-Mu'taḍid.²⁰ His system was praiseworthy rather than subject to criticism.

'Abd Allāh ibn Hilāl²¹

Ṣāliḥ al-Mudaybirī

'Uqbah al-Adhra'i

Abū Khālīd al-Khurasānī

These [above four] men were known for a system worthy of praise and they accomplished great deeds and notable achievements.

Ibn Abī Raṣṣāṣah

He was Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān ibn Abī Raṣṣāṣah, a man whom I have seen and met and who was a leader of his art. One day I questioned him, saying, "Oh, Abū 'Amr, I would place you above this showing!" He replied, "May Allāh be glorified, I am over eighty years old. If I did not know that this affair was true, I would have left it, but I do not doubt its validity." So I said, "But, by Allāh, you have not been successful." He had many books and

¹⁸ MS 1135 gives these words incorrectly.

¹⁹ The manuscripts omit the pious epithet.

²⁰ MS 1135 inserts the name al-'Abbāsī after al-Mu'taḍid.

²¹ "The first whose genealogy was certain" is inserted over the name of 'Abd Allāh ibn Hilāl in MS 1934. MS 1135 confuses the name.

achievements. Those engaged in this art regarding him as superior and preeminent.

An Account of the Condemned System

This system which is condemned (shameful) is the system of the magicians. Those informed about it claim that Bīdhūkh²² is the daughter of the Devil (Iblīs), or it is also said of the Devil's son, and that she had a throne on the water.²³ If he who seeks this affair comes to her after doing for her what she wishes, she makes a servant of whomever he desires and fulfills his purposes. He is not isolated from her nor from anyone who makes offerings to her from among humans and animals, if he renounces the ordinances [of religion] and employs that which is repugnant to the mind.²⁴

It is also said that Bīdhūkh is the Devil himself. Another person has stated that Bīdhūkh is seated on her throne, and that whoever seeks to obey her is brought to her and worships her. Almighty is Allāh and sanctified are His names!²⁵

One of them [the magicians] told me that while asleep he saw her with an appearance as when awake, and that he saw around her a group resembling the Nabataeans, black, barefoot, with cloven heels.²⁶ He said to me, "I saw in their group Ibn Mundhiryanī,²⁷ who was one of the greatest of the workers of magic, [living] near to our time. His [real] name was Aḥmad ibn Ja'far and he was an apprentice of Ibn Zurayq. He, moreover, spoke from under a basin."²⁸

Khalaf ibn Yūsuf al-Dastumīsānī Was Among Them

According to what some of his friends have recollected, he wrote books and was known as Ibn Qīnān.

²² Bīdhūkh (Bāydūk) represents Venus or Aphrodite; see Chwolsohn *Die Ssabier*, II, 171 l. 14, 811 l. 26.

²³ See Chap. IX, sect. 1, n. III.

²⁴ This passage evidently refers to persons who renounced the ordinances of Islām in order to serve the heathen goddess.

²⁵ This clause seems to be a pious exclamation by the author, an affirmation of his own faith while describing these irreligious rites. There is no punctuation to make the interpretation clear.

²⁶ See "Nabataeans" in Glossary

²⁷ Ibn Mundhiryanī is garbled and very likely an error. It is evidently meant to be a popular name for Aḥmad ibn Ja'far.

²⁸ *Al-fast* ("basin") here it probably refers to a large copper vessel. The worker of magic spoke from under it to give an air of mystery to the proceedings.

Ḥammād ibn Murrah al-Yamānī Was Among Them

He quoted al-Zarqā' the Sorceress²⁹ with his own interpretation. Among his books there was *Images*.

Al-Ḥarīrī Was Among Them

He was Abū al-Qāsim al-*Faḍl* ibn Sahl ibn al-*Faḍl*. Among his books there was *The Untied, the Tied, the Knots, and the Twistings*.

Ibn *Waḥshīyah* al-Kaldānī

He was Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Mukhtār ibn 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Ḥarathīyā ibn Badānīyā ibn Bīrnāṭīyā ibn 'Ālātīyā al-Kasdānī the Ṣūfī, one of the people of Qussīn.³⁰ He claimed that he was a magician who made talismans and practiced the Art [alchemy]. We shall mention his books on the Art in the proper place at the end of this volume. "Kasdānī" means that he was one of the Nabataeans, who were the inhabitants of the first land. He was a descendant of Sinḥārīb.³¹ He wrote books about magic and talismans, among which there were:³²

Expulsion of the Devils, also known as Secrets; the large book of magic; the small book of magic; Giddiness (Duwār) [or Revolving (Dawwār)], according to the doctrine of the Nabataeans—it is in nine sections; The Doctrines of the Chaldaeans about idols; Advice about Magic; The Secrets of the Stars; the large and small books about agriculture; of al-Kasdānī about the second category of talismans, translated by Ibn Waḥshīyah;³³ Life and Death, about the treatment of diseases, by Raḥṭā ibn Samūṭān al-Kasdānī;³⁴ Idols; Offerings; Disposition;³⁵ The

²⁹ MS 1135 has Abū Zarqā', but the "Abū" was probably inserted by a careless scribe.

³⁰ Qussīn was near al-Kūfah in Chaldaea; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 100. The names of the ancestors were evidently Nabataean and cannot be rendered accurately.

³¹ The vowel signs are not given for this name in *Al-Fihrist*. "Sinḥārīb" is a guess; it is found in Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 240 l. 4.

³² For the titles of many of his books, see p. 864. See also Ḥājj Khalifah, I, 281; III, 98, 587; IV, 166, 298, 461; V, 94, 95, 117, 132, 137, 249. He wrote in Nabataean and also made Arabic translations.

³³ Before al-Kasdānī there are two other names which are given differently in the various versions and cannot be deciphered.

³⁴ This name is written differently in the various versions.

³⁵ In the Arabic, *l h*, meaning "to him," follows this title and the following. This probably means that Ibn Waḥshīyah wrote the books himself instead of merely translating them.

Names; of his conversations with Abū Ja'far al-Umawī and Salāmah ibn Sulaymān al-Ikhmīmī about the Art [alchemy] and magic.

Abū Talib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt

He was a friend of Ibn Waḥshīyah. It was he who quoted his books. He was alive during our time, but I believe that he died recently.

A Statement about Juggling, Talismans, and Incantations³⁶

The first persons to play [tricks] with juggling during the period of Islām were 'Ubayd al-Kayyis and another known as Quṭb al-Raḥḥā. They wrote a number of books about this subject:

Juggling, by 'Ubayd al-Kayyis; Nimbleness, Compressing, and Snatching,³⁷ by Quṭb al-Raḥḥā; Swallowing the Sword, the Rod, Pebbles, and Shells,³⁸ and Eating Soap and Glass, with the Trick for That; Juggling, by 'Ubayd al-Kayyis.³⁹

The last person to play [tricks] with sleight of hand whom we have seen was Manṣūr Abū al-'Ajab. He died when he was one hundred and fifteen years old. He used to say, "I performed in the presence of al-Mu'tamid."⁴⁰

Qālīshṭānus⁴¹

He was an ancient and one of those who spoke about the special properties of phenomena, incantations, and talismans. Among his books there was *The Compilation*, about incantations and special properties.

³⁶ "Juggling" is *al-sha'badhah*, also meaning "sleight of hand." "Talismans" is *al-ṭalsamāt*.

³⁷ The word translated "snatching" (*al-laqq*) is taken from MS 1135, which seems to be correct. It is given differently in the other versions.

³⁸ *Al-sabaj* ("shells") usually signifies small black shells. The word is taken from MS 1135.

³⁹ For "juggling" (*al-makhraqa*), an unusual term, see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 366.

⁴⁰ As this caliph ruled A.D. 870-92, a man who was contemporary with him might easily have lived until the time of al-Nadīm. In the sentence preceding, Flügel gives the word for "sleight of hand" and the proper name following it incorrectly.

⁴¹ Perhaps this is meant to be *Callisthenes*. MS 1135 gives a name which appears to be Mazentius.

Apollonius the Wise⁴²

He was one of the people of Tyana, in the Byzantine territory. It is said that he was the first to initiate speech about talismans. His book about talismans, which he wrote in his own city and in the kingdoms of the kings, is known and famous.

Arūs⁴³

He was a Byzantine. His book was *Incantations*.

Babbah the Indian⁴⁴

He was one of the ancients whose system of incantations was the system of India. Among his books there was a book in which he followed the system of those who upheld illusion.

The Books of *Hermes* about Incantations, Special Properties, and Talismans

Book of *Hermes*, about resuscitation, amulets, and charms; *Al-Hārīṭūs*,⁴⁵ about incantations over trees, fruits, unguents, and herbs; of *Marqūnas*,⁴⁶ about names, safeguards, amulets, and means of protection, with the letters of the sun, moon, five planets, and names of the philosophers; of *Marqūnas* about special properties, which he divided into three sections, each section comprising a subject.

⁴² This was probably *Apollonius* of Tyan.

⁴³ This may refer to *Arius* al-Rūmī, see n. 17, or else to some man who cannot be identified.

⁴⁴ MS 1135 gives this name clearly.

⁴⁵ This is very likely meant to be the Greek word ὕδατος. See Chap. X, n. 25.

⁴⁶ This name is written imperfectly, but is probably meant to be *Marqūnas*.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Third Section of the Eighth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the books which they composed.

The Names of the Fables Known by Nickname, Nothing More than That Being Known about Them¹

Shakbadhah;² The Foot Bone of a Giant Lizard; Stooping of the Back;³ Depraved;⁴ Lover of the Cow; Stripped of the Wind;⁵ Happiness; The New; Lashing Rope;⁶ *Zanqīṭṭah*;⁷ Female Dancer (*Raqqāṣah*); A Dwelling (Domestic Comfort); Bird Droppings;⁸ He Blames (He Is

¹ This title is taken from MS 1934, which differs from the other versions. One can only guess at the meanings of the following titles, as many of the words have several meanings, some of them slang.

² Perhaps from the Persian *shakk padhah*, meaning "to cover oneself with tinder."

³ Flügel has what might be *Ḍila' al-Dayr* ("Side of the Monastery"), but MSS 1934 and 1135 have what might be *Ḍala' al-Dubar* ("Stooping of the Back") or *Ḍila' al-Dabar* ("A Side of Ulcers").

⁴ Flügel gives various suggestions, but MSS 1934 and 1135 have what might be *Khamij* ("Depraved") or *Khammaj* ("Perversion"). The word in MS 1934 might also be read as *Jamah* ("Headstrong").

⁵ MS 1934 clearly gives *Jurd al-Rīḥ* ("Stripped of the Wind"). Flügel has what might be *Ḥirrat al-Rīḥ* ("Drought of the Wind") or *Ḥurrat al-Rīḥ* ("Rain Cloud of the Wind").

⁶ Flügel has *Habl mashq* ("Lashing Rope"). The manuscripts give what might be *Ḥayl Mashū* ("Powerful Laxative"), though it is probably meant to be something else.

⁷ This name very likely comes from the Persian words *zan* ("espoused") and *qīṭṭah* ("female cat"). This was the catamite of the well-known judge *Aḥmad ibn Abī Duwād*. Flügel failed to identify this name.

⁸ The manuscripts have the plural *khurū'* ("droppings"), whereas Flügel gives the singular, *khur'*.

Blamed); The Small;⁹ The Reproach of Divorce;¹⁰ Leprosy; Happy (Rayy);¹¹ Depravity;¹² Ample; Hūshq;¹³ Cotton;¹⁴ Nightingale; Affectionate and Dreamy; Neighing of Horses.

Tales of the Buffoons

It is not known who composed them.¹⁵

Hawshab al-Asadī; 'Urwah ibn 'Abd Allāh; *Al-Ghādirī*; Abū al-Sā'ib al-Makhzūmī; Abū 'Umar al-A'raj; *Damdam* al-Madīnī; *Qalūs*; Abū *Sikkah*; *Masrūr* al-Awsī; Abū Ma'n al-Ghifārī; *Al-Dārimī*; Ibn *Aḥmar*; 'Iqrīt; *Khaṭmī* al-Dallāl; Abū al-*Hurr* al-Madīnī; *Find*; *Hibbat Allāh*; *Nawmat* al-Dūhā; Ibn al-*Shūnīzī*.

The Names of a Group of Fools about Whom Anecdotes Were Written¹⁶

It is not known who composed them.

Anecdotes of *Juḥā*; Anecdotes of Abū *Damdam*; Anecdotes of Ibn *Aḥmar*; Anecdotes of *Sawrah* al-A'rābī; Anecdotes of Ibn al-Mawṣilī; Anecdotes of Ibn Ya'qūb; Anecdotes of Abū 'Ubayd al-Ḥazmī; Anecdotes of Abū 'Alqamah; Anecdotes of Sayfawayh.¹⁷

The Names of Books Composed about Sexual Intercourse—Persian, Indian, Greek, and Arab [Books] in the Form of the Story of Passionate Love¹⁸

⁹ MS 1934 has *Al-Saghīrah* ("The Small"). Flügel and MS 1135 have *Al-Ṣa'idah* ("Sacrifice").

¹⁰ MS 1934 gives *Al-Sarāḥ* ("Divorce"), whereas Flügel and MS 1135 have *Al-Ṣurākh* ("Screams").

¹¹ This word is written carelessly in MS 1934.

¹² MS 1934 has what might be either *'Arārah* ("Depravity," "Adversity") or *'Arrārah* ("Giving Birth Only to Males"). The other versions have variations which seem to be mistakes.

¹³ *Hūshq* is from MS 1934. Another possibility is *khūshaq* ("fog," "damp"). Flügel suggests *jawsaq* ("palace").

¹⁴ The Arabic is *Qūr* ("Cotton," "Testicle," or "Wen"). Another possibility is *Qawar* ("Purblindness").

¹⁵ The names are probably those of jesters about whom stories were written. The names are also the titles of the books. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, pp. 1-9.

¹⁶ In MS 1934 this title is given on the margin. Instead of "fools" the Arabic may mean "care free people," as some of the men mentioned were not fools or jesters. For this passage, see Rosenthal, *Humor*, pp. 9-13.

¹⁷ This name may be *Sibawayh*, but was probably not the Egyptian humorist with that name; see *ibid.*, pp. 11, 14.

¹⁸ Many of these names belong to fiction and are not included in the Biog. Index.

The Daughter of Bilyān;¹⁹ The Soul of Bunyān;²⁰ The Daughter of Bahrām, about sexual intercourse; Martūs the Greek, about a story of sexual intercourse; the large book, The Capable Woman;²¹ the small book, The Capable Woman; the large book, Burdān and Ḥubāḥib (The Short), by Abū al-Ḥassān;²² the small book, Burdān and Ḥubāḥib; The Freeborn Woman and the Slave; Jaded Harlots and Adulterers;²³ composed by Ibn Ḥājib al-Nu'mān, known as The Story of Ibn al-Dukkānī; La'ūb the Head Woman and Ḥusayn the Homosexual; Concubine Mistresses.

The Books Composed about Freckles, Twitching, Moles, and Shoulders, and the Books Composed about [Good] Omen, Augury, Conjectural Prediction, and Similar Things,²⁴ [by] Persians, Indians, Greeks, and Arabs

Physiognomici by Aristotle;²⁵ Physiognomici by Philemon; The Physiognomy of the Pigeon; Augury of the Persians; Augury of the Greeks; Augury of the Indians; Augury of the Arabs; Freckles, by Menes the Greek;²⁶ Moles, by Menes the Greek; [Good] Omen, by the people of Persia; The Lines of the Palm and Examination of the Hand, by the Indians; Twitching, in three aspects, by the Persians; Augury by Birds,

¹⁹ Flügel gives the name Bunyān, but MS 1934 has what must be the common name Bilyān, or else *Bilīyān*, meaning "A Lone Person."

²⁰ Again Flügel gives the name Bunyān. In MS 1934 the word might be Bunyān, or *Shān* or *Sān*. These last two forms have many meanings, but here might signify "Preferred" and "Like."

²¹ Flügel gives *Al-Alfīyah* ("The Thousand"), suggesting stories similar to *A Thousand and One Nights*. MS 1934 has *Al-Akfiyah*, which probably means "A Capable Woman," perhaps being a book of stories about some clever mistress.

²² Burdān was a singer of al-Madinah, though this story may not be about him. See *Iṣbahānī, Aghānī*, Part 7, p. 168. Ḥubāḥib was the name of a miser.

²³ The word translated "jaded harlots" is *al-sahāqāt*, which has various meanings, all of them referring to prostitutes who have lost their charm. "Adulterers" is *al-baghā'iyyūn*.

²⁴ "Twitching" refers to involuntary movements of the face and eyes, and also to the twitching of the organs of slaughtered animals. "Shoulders" (*aktāf*) was a type of divination, usually by means of the shoulder bones of sheep. "Augury" (*zajr*) often but not always refers to augury in connection with the flight of birds.

²⁵ Flügel inserts the Arabic word for "plagiarized" before the title. Over the title MS 1934 has inserted what seems to be the same word in small letters.

²⁶ MS 1934 gives the consonants *M n s*, whereas Flügel has *Mins*, which is the Greek Menes. This man cannot be identified. This title and the one which follows evidently refer to divination by means of freckles and moles.

[Good] Omen, Divination, Observing Traces, and Soothsaying, by al-*Madā'inī*; [Good] Omen by Celestial [Observation], by al-*Kindī*; Twitching and Augury, What One Sees in His Clothing and Body, a Description of Freckles, the Medical Treatment of Women, and Knowledge of What Snakes Indicate; the great [book], Drawing of Lots, by Ibn al-*Murtaḥil*;²⁷ the small [book], Drawing of Lots, by Ibn al-*Murtaḥil*; of *Pythagoras* on the drawing of lots, by which one can decide by lot for every need; The Drawing of Lots of the Two Horned [*Alexander* the Great]; The Drawing of Lots, as composed by Christians; The Drawing of Lots, related to *Daniel*; The Drawing of Lots with Arrows, related to Alexander.

The Books Composed about Horsemanship, Bearing of Arms, the Implements of War, and the Management and Usage of These Things among All Nations

The Love of Archery,²⁸ by *Bahrām Gūr*, or, it is said, by *Bahrām Chūbīn*; The Love for Striking with Bent Sticks,²⁹ by the Persians; Mobilization for Wars, the Training of Horsemen,³⁰ and How the Kings of Persia Administered the Four Frontiers on the East, West, South, and North; The Glorious,³¹ which al-*Harthamī* al-Sha'ranī composed for al-*Ma'mūn* about wars—he formed it as two treatises, with polished composition. The first treatise had three sections. The first section had twenty headings, which included two hundred and sixty-four topics (questions). The second section had seven headings, which comprised forty topics. The third section had twenty-four headings, which included one hundred and forty-four topics. The second treatise had thirty-six divisions, with one thousand and twenty-five headings.

²⁷ As the words for “great” and “small” are in the feminine, they probably go with *qur'ah* (“drawing of lots”).

²⁸ The word translated “love” is not clearly written in MS 1934, as it lacks consonant signs. Flügel offers several suggestions as to what the word might be. One is that the letters form the name of a legendary hero, *Abūn*, but neither this nor Flügel's other possibilities make sense. The most likely word appears to be *atish*, meaning “love of” or “desire for.”

²⁹ This probably refers to the bent sticks used in the Persian game of polo.

³⁰ The word translated “Horsemen” is *al-asāwirah*. Lane, *Lexicon*, Part 4, p. 1465, believes the word refers to horsemen using bows and arrows.

³¹ The translation follows MS 1934 here, which gives *Al-Jalīl* (“The Glorious”). Flügel and MS 1135 have *Al-Ḥiyāl* (“Stratagems”). There are other unimportant variations.

Book of 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn 'Adī, written for al-Manṣūr, about the conduct of wars and the form of the troops;³² of al-Ishmīṭī, about horsemanship; The Conduct of Wars, Storming of Castles and Cities, Discovering an Ambush, Commissioning Spies, the Vanguard, the Brigades, and Frontier Garrisons—it is a translation of what was written for Ardashīr ibn Bābak; of Bājahir al-Hindī,³³ about the techniques of swords, their description, qualities,³⁴ designs, and markings; The Swords Which Were with the Arabs, and Their Types; of Shānāq al-Hindī, about the administration of war, the men whom the king must enlist, the horsemen, the food supplies, and poison; The Science of Fire, Naphtha, and Flamethrowers in Wars;³⁵ Towers for Attack,³⁶ Catapults, Stratagems, and Artifices, which I saw written in the handwriting of Ibn Khafīf.

The Books Composed about Veterinary Surgery, the Doctoring of Animals, and the Qualities and Selection of Horses

Book of Ibn Akhī Hizām about veterinary surgery, which he composed for al-Mutawakkil; written by one of the Greek physicians, about the veterinary care of all kinds of animals; Veterinary Surgery, by Simon,³⁷ one section of which is extant; Horses, and According to What Character and Description There Was a Similarity among the Most Spirited of the Horses;³⁸ The Equipping (Tethering) of Horses, unknown;³⁹ translated by Ishāq ibn 'Alī ibn Sulaymān for the Persians, about the veterinary care of the other animals, and [also] horses, mules, cows, sheep, and camels,

³² The word translated "conduct" is *adab*, which in MS 1135 has long marks over the two *a*'s. The same word is found two titles following.

³³ This name is evidently written in Arabic but taken from an Indian source. It cannot be identified and may not be written correctly.

³⁴ Unlike the other versions, MS 1135 has *saql* ("polishing") for this word.

³⁵ MS 1934 gives *al-'ilm* ("science"); Flügel and MS 1135 have *al-'aml* ("use" or "work"). Flamethrowers (*al-zaraḡāt* or *al-zaraqāt*) were instruments for ejecting naphtha against a fortification.

³⁶ *Al-dabbābāt* ("towers for attack") were covered towers on wheels which were used to attack walled fortresses.

³⁷ Although the Arabic has *s* rather than *n* as the final letter of this proper name, the two letters can be confused when transliterated from the Greek, so that this could be the name of the Athenian, Simon Hippiatricus.

³⁸ In this book title, the word translated "character" is *na't*, which might also mean "outstripping in a race." The word given as "similarity" is *shabah* in MS 1934; Flügel has *shiyah*, which can also mean "coloring," "mark," "neighing," among other things.

³⁹ "Unknown" evidently signifies that al-Nadīm himself did not know this book.

with knowledge of their cost and markings;⁴⁰ Veterinary Surgery, by al-*Ḥuṣaynī*, unknown; Veterinary Surgery, by the Greeks; Veterinary Surgery, by the Persians;

The Books Composed about Birds of Prey,⁴¹ Sport with Them, and Medical Care of Them, by the Persians, Greeks, Turks, and Arabs

Birds of Prey, by *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar al-Bāzyār (the Falconer); Falcons, by the Persians; Falcons, by the Turks; Falcons, by the Byzantines; Falcons, by the Arabs; Birds of Prey and Sport with Them, by Abū *Dulaf* al-Qāsim ibn 'Isā.⁴²

Names of the Books Composed about Sermons, Morals, and Wisdom, by the Persians, Greeks, Indians,⁴³ and Arabs—The Authors Are [Both] Known and Unknown

Book of *Zādanfarrūkh*, about the training of his children; *Mihrādhar* Jushnas, the vizier (framadhār) of *Buzurjmīhr* ibn Bakhtakān,⁴⁴ at the beginning of which there is, "No two persons ever have a difference of opinion in which one is mistaken and the other correct"; of *Bryson*, about moral training;⁴⁵ of *Bryson*, about home management; of *Ibrāhīm* ibn Ziyād, about moral training, written for al-*Mahdī*; of *Muḥammad* ibn al-Layth, preaching to al-*Rashīd*; of *Muḥammad* ibn al-Layth, [addressed] to *Yahyā* ibn Khālīd; "Refutation of the *Zanādiqah*, unknown; the charge of Chosroes [*Anūshirwān*] to his son *Hurmuz*, giving him advice as he assigned to him his rule, with the reply of *Hurmuz* to him; of one of the kings of the past to his son, about discipline; the charge of Chosroes for anyone in his household mature enough for training; of a good king

⁴⁰ MS 1934 gives *shūm* ("markings," "defects"). MS 1135 and Flügel have *sawm* ("price fixing").

⁴¹ The word translated "birds of prey" is *al-jawāriḥ*, which is sometimes used for other animals as well as birds.

⁴² MS 1934 garbles "by Abū Dulaf."

⁴³ MS 1135 omits "the Indians."

⁴⁴ The translation follows the Flügel version and MS 1135. MS 1934 suggests that the original Persian was *Mihāzargushnasp al-farmanbardār*: For the first word see Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, IX, 43, where it is used as the name of a well-known man. Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1084 l. 12, defines the second Persian word as "obeying commands" ("servitor"). This second word was very likely a title for some palace position.

⁴⁵ MS 1934 gives this name as *Brūsan*, but *Bryson* is evidently the name meant.

among the kings, in which there is a collection of the principal affairs about which the kings revolve their government;⁴⁶ the charge of *Ardashir* Bābakān to his son Sābūr.⁴⁷

Book of the high priest,⁴⁸ about wisdom, collections, and morals; the charge of Chosroes *Anūshirwān* to his son, called The Gathering⁴⁹ of Eloquence; questions soliciting the attention of Khish the wise man and the reply concerning them;⁵⁰ The King with White Hair and the Dialogue between Him and the Viziers and the People of His Kingdom; what Chosroes wrote to the Guardian of the Frontier and his reply to him;⁵¹ The Story of Despair⁵² and Hope and the Dialogue Which Took Place between Them; The King and the Woman Whom He Hung between Heaven and Earth, So that a Thousand Horsemen Found Shade beneath Her; The Question Which the King of the Greeks Sent to *Anūshirwān* by the Hand of *Hippocrates* the Greek;⁵³ The Byzantine King's Sending Philosophers to the King of Persia to Ask about Matters of Wisdom.

The Philosopher Who Paid Attention to the Handmaid (of) Qayṭar and the Story of the Philosophers Connected with Her;⁵⁴ The King, One of Whose Viziers Advised Him to Sleep and Another to Awake; The

⁴⁶ A freer translation might be, "The chief principles upon which the kings base their policies."

⁴⁷ See Grignaschi, *Journal asiatique*, CCLIV, Part 1 (1966), 1-142. Pages 46-67 gives the Arabic text of this *Testament* and pages 68-83 gives a French translation. This article also gives the texts of several other treatises supposedly written by *Ardashir*.

⁴⁸ "High priest" is in Persian *mūbadh mūbadhān*.

⁴⁹ '*Ashsh* ("gathering") is taken from MS 1934. The word might also be '*ushsh* ("nest") or '*ghishsh* ("dissimulation"). Flügel has '*ayn* ("eye," "spring").

⁵⁰ The name Khish is taken from MS 1934. It is mentioned by Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, VI, 159. There is a correction found on the margin in MS 1934 which indicates another possibility, *kanzā*, a Persian word meaning "wise man." Following the word is the Arabic *al-ʿālim* ("wise man"), possibly a translation of *kanzā*, or, if the word is a proper name, a nickname or description of the man. This name is confused by Flügel.

⁵¹ In Persian the "Guardian of the Frontier" is *al-Marzavān*. The word is not clearly given either in the Flügel edition or MS 1934.

⁵² MS 1135 has *al-ra's* ("head"), evidently an error.

⁵³ This may be a story about an envoy sent by Justinian to *Anūshirwān*, Chosroes I, or it may be connected with the anecdote about Hippocrates; see Chap. VII, sect. 3, near n. 38.

⁵⁴ Qayṭar is taken from Flügel. The name cannot be identified. The second letter is not marked in MS 1934, so that it might be Qinṭir ("Misfortune"), a nickname.

Passages Which *Ardashīr* Ordered to Be Taken from the Libraries of Books Written by Wise Men about Administration;⁵⁵ The Story of Hearing and Sight; The King with Two Wives and the Viziers; The Two Wives of the King, One of Whom Preferred Slave Boys and the Other Slave Girls, with the Remarks of the Philosophers about the Matter; The Two Men of India, the Generous and the Miserly, Their Suit and the King of India's Judgment on the Case; Yashakkur Bīrī ibn Mazdūbad to *Hurmuz* ibn Kistrā, and the Letter of Kistrā to Ḥawāsat and Her Reply.⁵⁶

Chosroes to the Great Men of the People about Thanks; [of] *Arwā*, with mention of her monastery (*dayr*)⁵⁷ and her wise sayings; Anecdotes of Maymūn ibn Maymūn,⁵⁸ about moral training; of Ḥamzah ibn 'Afīf about the biography of Dhū al-Yamīnayn;⁵⁹ The Moral Training, by *Mas'adah* the Secretary; of al-'*Arzamī*, about moral training, in the form of rare forms (anecdotes) of poetry; Ethics, of 'Āfiyah ibn Yazīd, the Judge, which he addressed to *Ishāq* ibn 'Isā ibn 'Alī al-Hāshimī; Ethics, of *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-Mahdī; Ethics, of Kulthūm ibn 'Amr al-'*Attābī*; Ethics, of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz; of *Shānāq* al-Hindī, about ethics, in five sections; The Book of Biography (*Sīrat Nāmāh*),⁶⁰ a composition of Ḥudāhūd ibn Farrukhzād, a book of traditions and stories; of 'Alī ibn Zayn al-Naṣrānī,⁶¹ about morals and proverbs, according to the Persians, the Greeks, and the Arabs; a translation of anecdotes about

⁵⁵ Perhaps "taken" should be "selected." For this title, see Grignaschi, *Journal asiatique*, CCLIV, Part 1 (1966), 4.

⁵⁶ Hurmuz ibn Kistrā (Chosroes) was the king of Persia. The other names in this title are guesses and cannot be identified.

⁵⁷ Instead of a monastery, *dayr* may be a Muslim institution.

⁵⁸ This was a nickname for al-*Faḍl* ibn al-Rabī'. Both *adab* and *ādāb* have various literary, moral, and social meanings. Here, for the sake of simplification, *adab* is translated as "moral training" and *ādāb* as "morals."

⁵⁹ This was the nickname of Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn. It means "possessed of two hands" and it was given to him because he used two hands to wield his sword when killing 'Abbās ibn al-Layth. See Mas'ūdī, VI, 423; Ziriklī, Part 3, p. 318.

⁶⁰ Flügel and MS 1934 have *Sīrat Nāmāh*. MS 1135 has *The Course of His Days*, probably a mistake. *Sīrat* is perhaps the Arabic translation of some Persian word. Perhaps Ḥudāhūd is meant to be the Persian name Khudābūd. Farrukhzād cannot be identified, but is a common Persian name. See Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, pp. 466-68; Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, VIII, 240-41, 412 ff.

⁶¹ As this man has a Muslim name, he must have been a Christian who was converted to Islām, or else the name al-Naṣrānī does not mean "Christian" as it usually does.

the nobility, anecdotes about the middle-class people and anecdotes about the lower class and the humble.

The Books Composed about the Interpretation of Dreams

Book of *Artemidorus* about the interpretation of dreams, five sections; Sleep and Awakening, by *Porphyry*; of Abū *Sulaymān* al-Manṭiqī (the Logician), about the warnings in sleep; which *Ibrāhīm* ibn Bakūs wrote about dreams; Interpretation of Dreams, by [*Muḥammad*] ibn Sīrīn; Interpretation of Dreams, by [Abū Ishāq] al-Karmānī; Interpretation of Dreams, by al-Qubrayānī, ḥadīth;⁶² Interpretation of Dreams, by Ibn *Qutaybah*; Interpretation of Dreams, according to the doctrines of the Ahl al-Bayt, for whom may there be peace;⁶³ Interpretation of Dreams, for the Ahl al-Bayt, pleasant.

The Books Composed about Perfume

Perfume, written by *Yaḥyā* ibn Khālīd; Perfume, by *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-‘Abbās; Perfume, by al-Kindī; The Alchemy of Perfume, by al-Kindī; Perfume, unknown [authorship]; another book about perfume and compounds; Perfume, by *Ḥabīb* al-‘Aṭṭār; Perfume and Its Varieties, by al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salamah; Perfume, Its Varieties and Sources, by a man of al-Jabal, named——.

The Books Composed about Cooked Food

Cooked Food, by al-*Ḥārith* ibn Bushkhīz;⁶⁴ Cooked Food, by *Ibrāhīm* al-Mahdī; Cooked Food, by Ibn *Māsawayh*; Cooked Food, by *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-‘Abbās al-Sūlī; Cooked Food, by ‘*Alī* ibn *Yaḥyā* al-Munajjim; Cooked Food, by *Makhbarah*;⁶⁵ Cooked Food, by *Aḥmad* ibn al-Ṭayyib; Cooked Food, by *Jahẓah*; also Al-Sikbāj, by him;⁶⁶ Cooked Food for the Sick, by al-Rāzī; and Cooked Food, also by him.

⁶² For the town of Qubrayān in North Africa, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 30. The word *ḥadīth*, which follows the title, may mean “new,” this was a new book. But more likely it means that the book was about dreams in the Ḥadīth of the Prophet.

⁶³ At the end of this title is a word which could be interpreted as “it was composed by,” added with hopes of later inserting the author’s name.

⁶⁴ Bushkhīz is taken from MS 1934, except that it gives an *n* instead of *ī*, probably an error. In Persian, this would be *push-khīz*, which is a kind of wood from which bows are made, and might have been a nickname. It cannot be identified.

⁶⁵ MS 1135 has a variation. This name is uncertain.

⁶⁶ *Al-sikbāj* is a broth made of meat and vinegar.

The Books Composed about Poisons and the Compounding of Drugs

Poisons, Their Compounding and Sources, about fifty leaves, by Runṭāḥ⁶⁷—it is not known whether he was recent or ancient; Poisons, by Ibn al-Baṭrīq; Poisons, by the Indians; Poisons and Protection against Their Injury, by al-Kindī; Poisons and Protection against Their Injury, by Qusṭā ibn Lūqā; The Varieties of Snakes, by Bāqil the Indian;⁶⁸ Varieties of Creeping Things, by Ibn al-Baṭrīq; Drugs, by Rāwaq al-Saydanānī; Drugs, by al-Rāzī.

The Books Composed about Amulets and Charms

The Seven Temples;⁶⁹ The Seven Seals;⁷⁰ The Seven Jars;⁷¹ The Seven Dwellings;⁷² Amulets and Charms, by Ibn Waḥshīyah; Amulets and Charms, by Aḥmad ibn Hilāl [Abū Naṣr]; The Scripture of Adam, in which there are the names of the angels and agents, according to their naming—the authorship is unknown but the Jews lay claim to it; Passions, Affections, Freeing, and Binding, the author unknown.⁷³

The Titles of Odd Books, with the Names of Their Authors

Jewels and Their Kinds—Muḥammad ibn Shadhān al-Jawharī wrote it for al-Mu'taḍid;⁷⁴ Changes of Color, by Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad al-Zajjāj; Flowing Water,⁷⁵ Pounded Paste, and Chinese Porcelain, by Ja'far ibn

⁶⁷ MS 1135 omits the name, whereas MS 1934 places it as a subheading. The form given follows Flügel, but it is too uncertain to be included in the Biog. Index.

⁶⁸ Flügel gives Nāqil.

⁶⁹ For the seven shrines of Babylon, see Chap. VII, sect. 1, n. 7.

⁷⁰ See Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 141.

⁷¹ Flügel has *al-jawāb* ("answer"), but a plural form would more likely be correct. The word could be *al-jarrāt* ("jars") or *al-harrāth* ("guardians"), among other possibilities. MS 1135 omits this and the following title.

⁷² This may refer to the shrines referred to in the first title of the list, or perhaps to important stations of the moon.

⁷³ *Al-ḥulūl* ("freeing") and *al-rabūṭ* ("binding") are given clearly in MS 1934. They also have more common meanings, though the meanings given seem to fit here.

⁷⁴ MS 1135 omits "wrote it."

⁷⁵ "Flowing water," taken from MSS 1934 and 1135, is *al-suyūl*, which also means "water in a cistern." Flügel has *al-suyūb* ("hidden treasure").

al-Husayn; Coming on Objects Unexpectedly,⁷⁶ in rhyme, the author unknown; Myrobalan (Al-Halījah), the author unknown—it is said that [Ja'far ibn Muḥammad] al-Ṣādiq, with whom may Allāh be well pleased, composed it, but this is disputed;⁷⁷ The Types of Slaves and a Statement about This, written by a man from among the people of Egypt, for Ibn Baḥḥā—It has about one hundred leaves; The Seven Treasures, the author unknown; The Concealed Veins of Precious Metals, the author unknown;⁷⁸ Minerals, Things Sought After, and Treasures, by one of the Egyptians; Blending of Mineral Elements and the Working of Steel, Metal Amalgam (al-Ṭalīqūn), Red Stone (al-Khumāhan), Yellow Stone, and Other Things, the author unknown.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ *Al-Nadā'* 'alā al-Ashyā' is translated "Coming on Objects Unexpectedly." It might be "Firing Things" (in alchemy).

⁷⁷ *Al-Halījah*, given by Flügel, is undoubtedly correct. "Myrobalan" is a dried fruit containing tannin and once used in medicine. For this and other possible meanings of the word, see Goeje, *ZDMG*, XX (1866), 495 l. 26, and Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 43.

⁷⁸ "Veins of precious metals" is *al-suyūb*. MS 1135 gives *al-suyūf* ("swords"), evidently an error.

⁷⁹ This title is omitted by MS 1135. "Mineral elements," is in Arabic *al-jawāhir al-ma'daniyah*. It can also mean "precious stones." "Working" is 'aml, which can also mean "making." *Al-ṭalīqūn* is an amalgam of gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead; see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 19. *Al-khumāhan* is a type of red stone; see Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 627.

The Ninth Part

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they compiled. The Composition of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, Ishāq known as Abū Ya‘qūb al-Warrāq.¹

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The First Section of the Ninth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the titles of the books which they composed, comprising a description of the sects of the Ḥarnānīyah al-Kaldānīyīn, known as the Šābians (al-Šābah),² and the sects of the Chaldaean Dualists.³

¹ The title is taken from MS 1934. This ungrammatical way of giving the name of Ishāq is similar to the form in the titles of Chapters II, VIII, and X. “An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His servant, Muḥammad ibn Ishāq” is written below the inscription on the left. “Chapter of the Sects and Doctrines” is written on the right-hand side.

² The Ḥarnānīyah al-Kaldānīyīn, also called the Ḥarrānian Šābians or Chaldean Šābians, were a group of pagans in the city of Ḥarrān who adopted the name “Šābian” to avoid persecution. The Ḥarnānīyah seems to be a vernacular form for the Ḥarrānīyah, just as the Manānīyah was used, (for the) Mānawīyah (“Manichaeans”). The Ḥarrānīyah was used in general for the people of Ḥarrān, whereas the form Ḥarnānīyah was probably used only for the Šābians in the city of Ḥarrān. Al-Kaldānīyīn (“Chaldaean”) distinguishes the Šābians of Ḥarrān from those of southern ‘Irāq. Cf. Chap. VII, sect. 1, n. 61, where it is said that there were Chaldaean Šābians in Asia Minor. Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 483, defines al-Kaldānī, the singular form, as Chaldaean and also as astrologer. See “Šābians” in Glossary for further background.

³ The Arabic for Chaldaean Dualists is al-Thanawīyah al-Kaldānīyūn. These people were members of sects such as the Manichaeans, Bardesanes, and other Gnostic sects of western and central Asia.

An Account from [What Is Written in] the Handwriting of *Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib* and quoted from *al-Kindī*⁴

These people [the Ḥarrānian Ṣābians] agree that the world has a prime cause [the transcendent deity] who is eternal and a unity, rather than multiple. No attribute of things created is connected with Him. He has charged discerning persons whom He has created to acknowledge His lordship. He has shown them the way, sending apostles for their guidance and for confirmation of proof, ordering them both to call [people] to be approved by Him and to warn them of His anger. They [the apostles] have promised enduring contentment for the obedient, but for the person who is disobedient they have promised torment and punishment to the extent which he deserves. Eventually, however, this [punishment] will be ended. It is related that one of their leaders said, "God punishes for nine thousand cycles, after which there will be a change to the compassion of God."

These people who summon to God and the true religion, by which they make vows, are regarded in a special way. Their famous and eminent personalities are Arānī, Aghathādhīmūn, and Harmīs.⁵ Some of them also mention Solon, the ancestor of the philosopher Plato on his mother's side.⁶

The doctrine (summons) of all of these people is the same; their statutes and laws are not contradictory. They have adopted one direction for prayer, which they have fixed towards the North Star in its course. The intelligent thus seek to inquire for wisdom.⁷ They have resisted whatever disagrees with this point of view.

They adhere to the four virtues of the spirit.⁸ They have accepted the pious virtues and shunned the evil ones.⁹ They say that Heaven moves

⁴ The text of *Al-Fihrist* proceeds with a quotation from *al-Kindī*. The passage should be compared with the freer translation of Rosenthal, *Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib as-Sarāḥsī*, pp. 41–51.

⁵ As Solon is mentioned in the next sentence, these three names are very likely those of ancient wise men. The Arabic letters might suggest *Heron*, *Agathodaemon*, and *Hermes Trismegistus*. Cf. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 58 n. 24; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 2, p. 61; Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 315 top; Mas'ūdī, III, 348.

⁶ See Diogenes Laërtius, p. 113.

⁷ MS 1934 does not give the word translated as "intelligent" accurately. The translation is taken from Flügel, and may not be correct.

⁸ These are probably wisdom, fortitude, temperance, and justice, mentioned by Plato, *Republic*, pp. 117–24.

⁹ MS 1934 has a word which appears to be *al-khizīyah* ("shameful"), here translated as "evil ones."

with a motion which is voluntary and in accordance with reason. The prayers ordained for them each day are three. The first one of these is half an hour or less before the rising of the sun, finishing at sunrise. It is composed of eight inclinations [of the body], with three prostrations during each inclination. They end the second prayer at the time of [the beginning of] the descent of the sun [noon]. It is composed of five inclinations, with three prostrations in the course of each inclination. The third is like the second, finishing at sunset. These three times [for prayer] are necessary because of the directions of the three fixed points, which are the fixed point of the east, the fixed point of the zenith, and the fixed point of the west. None of them mention that among the ordinances there is a prayer for the time of the fixed point of the earth.¹⁰

Their prayers, which are not obligatory and are of the same importance as the *witr*¹¹ of Muslim requirements, are thrice daily. The first one is at the second hour of the day, the second one at the ninth hour of the day, and the third during the third hour of the night. They do not pray except after purification.¹² They have obligations for fastings: thirty days, beginning with the eighth day following the conjunction of Ādhār (March);¹³ also nine other [days], beginning with the ninth day from (after) the conjunction of Kānūn al-Awwal (December); and seven other days, beginning with the eighth following [the conjunction of] Shubāt (February). These are the most important of them [the fasts], but there is also extra¹⁴ fasting [prescribed] for them for sixteen and twenty-seven days.

They have offerings with slaughtering which they offer to the planets. Some of them say that if the offering is made in the name of the Creator it is an indication that it is bad, because according to them this is turning to the Great Power, who leaves what is beneath [Him] to those [whom]

¹⁰ Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 778, gives *al-watid* ("fixed point") as "position" and explains that the sun's movement among the signs of the zodiac involves four positions: the sunrise, the heavens, the sunset, and the earth. The sun is in the earth position during the night. See Sprenger, p. 1452; Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 63–69.

¹¹ The *witr* is the Muslim prayer which the jurists regard as voluntary rather than obligatory; see "Witr," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1139.

¹² Compare with the Mandaeen customs in Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, II, 224 n. 9.

¹³ In astrology a conjunction was usually an apparent meeting of planets, but in passages related to the Šābian feasts a conjunction seems to refer to the simultaneous rising of the moon and setting of the sun. The Šābian lunar month began with the second day after such a conjunction. See Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 67, 315, 335, 351. As the Šābians evidently inserted extra days into their calendar so as to make the lunar months come at fixed times of year, Ādhār was similar to March.

¹⁴ "Extra" is taken from MS 1934, which differs from the Flügel edition.

He has formed for mediating in the management of things.¹⁵ The things which they sacrifice for the offerings are the males of cattle, sheep, goats, and other four-legged beasts which do not have teeth in both of the two jaws, with the exception of the camel. They [also sacrifice] birds which do not have talons, with the exception of the pigeon.¹⁶

Their method of slaughter is by cutting the jugular veins and the wind-pipe, the *tadhkīyah* being simultaneous with the slaughter, with no interval intervening. Most of their sacrificial victims are cocks. The offering is not eaten, but burned. He [who makes the sacrifice] does not enter the sanctuaries that day [when the sacrifice is made]. There are four times of offering during the month: the conjunction, the opposite position, the seventeenth, and the twenty-eighth [days].¹⁷

Their feasts are a feast called the Feast of Breaking of the Fast of Seven [Days] and the Feast of Breaking of the Fast of a Month, also called the Breaking of the Fast of Thirty. [Each feast lasts] two days. Then there is the Breaking of the Fast of Five Days, and also the Breaking of the Fast of Eighteen Days, which occurs on the twenty-sixth day of the month. Then there is the Feast of Pregnancy on the twenty-fifth of Tishrīn al-Awwal (October), the Birthday Feast on the twenty-third of Kānūn (December and January), and a feast on the twenty-ninth of Tammūz (July).

Impurity among them is also washed off with a change of garments. For anyone who touches a woman in menstruation there is [required] a change of garments. A woman in menstruation must withdraw completely after washing off the impurity. Anyone who touches a woman in menstruation must also use natron [carbonate of soda] with washing.

They do not slaughter any [creature] unless it has lungs and blood. They have forbidden the eating of the camel and whatever has not been

¹⁵ Rosenthal, *Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib as-Sarāḥsī*, p. 45 gives, "Some of them say that it is a bad omen for the sacrifice to be offered in the name of the Creator, for, in their opinion, He undertook only the major task, leaving inferior matters to the mediators appointed by Him to administer the world." The mediators are obviously the deities attached to the heavenly bodies.

¹⁶ Cf. Leviticus 11: 1-4, 13; Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, II, 299 with n. 13.

¹⁷ When the Ṣābian priests slaughtered an animal, they probably repeated the name of a deity and made sure that the blood ran out as the throat was cut. The *tadhkīyah* most likely refers to the ritual of reciting the god's name, or perhaps to the letting of the blood; see Sprenger, p. 623. Rosenthal translates the word as "sacrificial cleanliness." For "conjunction" (*al-ijtimā*) and "opposite position" (*al-istiqbāl*), see the Glossary.

slaughtered,¹⁸ as well as [the eating of] all animals with teeth in both jaws, such as the pig, the dog, and the donkey. Among the birds [they have forbidden eating] the pigeon and such as have talons, and among the plants the *bāqillī* beans and garlic. Some of them go further, [forbidding] green beans, cauliflower, cabbage, and lentils.¹⁹

They are so extreme in their abhorrence of the camel that they say that anyone who walks under the halter of a camel will not attain his desire. They avoid anybody with whiteness²⁰ and leprosy, and also with a contagious disease. They also shun circumcision, not making any change in the work of nature.

They marry with witnessing, but not those with close relationship.²¹ The share of inheritance of the male and the female is equal. There is no divorce except when there is proof exposing manifest immorality. A man does not take back a divorced woman, nor have intercourse with two women, nor have sexual relations with them except for the sake of a child. According to them, reward and punishment are attached to the spirits²² and are not postponed until some known time.

They say that a man who is an announcer of God (*al-nabī*)²³ is he who is free from evil in his soul and from imperfections of the body, who is perfect in everything praiseworthy, who does not fall short in answering every question correctly, who tells what is in the imaginings, whose prayer for rain is answered, who wards off pests from plants and animals, and whose doctrine improves the world, increasing its population.

Their assertion about matter, the elements, form, nonentity [before existence], time, place, and motion is in accord with what Aristotle

¹⁸ This evidently refers to animals which have died of disease or by accident rather than being slaughtered in a clean way with proper ritual.

¹⁹ The Arabic original of this passage seems to lack certain words and is not very clear. The passage has been translated freely and probably gives the meaning intended by the author. It should be compared with Leviticus 11: 13–19. For further information about the pigeon, see Lucian, *Syrian Goddess* (Garstang), pp. 55, 85–86; Goossens, *Hierapolis*, pp. 63, 73, which explains that the eating of pigeons was forbidden at Hierapolis.

²⁰ Whiteness of the skin was a condition often regarded as leprosy.

²¹ Although the Arabic is ambiguous, this seems to mean that they do not marry close relations. This may refer to members of the immediate family rather than to cousins.

²² MS 1934 gives *aswāj* ("couples"), which does not seem as correct as "spirits," taken from both Flügel and Rosenthal, *Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib as-Sarahṣī*, p. 48.

²³ A "man announcing God" (*al-nabī*) was usually a prophet, though here the word may refer to a soothsayer or religious leader.

presented in the *Hearing of Existences* [*Physica auscultatio*].²⁴ The declaration concerning the sky is that it has a fifth nature, not compounded from the four elements, indestructible and incorruptible, as stated in the book *Heaven* [*De coelo*]. Their assertion about the four elements and their degeneration into fertility and reproduction is that there is produced from these elements this existence of fertility and reproduction,²⁵ which existence is derived from the degeneration, according to what is said in the book *Being and Corruption* [*De generatione et corruptione*].

Their assertion about the heavenly signs and occurrences under the [celestial] body of the moon is similar to what is said in the book *The Things on High* [*Meteorologica*]. Their statement about the soul is that it is perceptive, indestructible, incorporeal essence, to which none of the attributes of the body apply, as told in the book *The Soul* [*De anima*]. Their assertion about visions (dreams), both those that are genuine and the others, and also about perception and what is perceived, is as stated in the book *Perception and the Perceived* [*De sensu et sensili*]. Their saying that God is unity, to whom no attribute applies and about whom no affirmative statement can be made, or any syllogism related, is similar to what is said in the book *Metaphysica*. Their assertion about the proofs of phenomena is according to what is stipulated in the book *Analytica Posteriora*.²⁶

Al-Kindī said that he saw a book which these people authorized. It was the *Discourses of Hermes on Unity*, which he [Hermes] wrote for his son, and which was of the greatest excellence on the subject of unity. No philosopher exerting himself can dispense with them [*Discourses of Hermes on Unity*] and agreement with them.²⁷

²⁴ Here the Arabic is *Sam' al-Kiyān* ("Hearing of Existences"). The *Physica auscultatio* of Aristotle is as a rule entitled *Al-Samā' al-Ṭabī'ī* ("Natural Hearing"). The titles mentioned in this and the following paragraphs are works by Aristotle.

²⁵ A literal translation would be, "What they say about the four elements and their degeneration into tilling and progeny, the existence of tilling and progeny being from them and their existence being from it." Rosenthal, *Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib as-Saraḥsī*, p. 50, gives, as a free translation, "The four natures, in their opinion, perish for the purpose of the propagation of plants and animals. In turn the propagation of plants and animals takes its origin from the four natures, and again in turn, the four natures take their origin from the propagation of plants and animals."

²⁶ The titles *Metaphysica* and *Analytica posteriora* are very bad transliterations from the Greek.

²⁷ Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 2, p. 4 ff, speaks of two sects among the Šābians of Ḥarrān, one of which was spiritual and the other clinging to idolatry. This passage about the influence of Aristotle probably refers to the spiritual sect, which was influenced by Hellenism. *Al-Fihrist* does not mention these sects. See "Šābians" in Glossary for further explanation.

Another Account of Them [the Ḥarrānian Šābians]

Abū Yūsuf *Īsha' al-Qaṭīy'ī*, the Christian, said in his book on an investigation of the schools of thought of the Ḥarnānīyūn, who are known in our time as the Šābians (al-Šābah), that at the end of his life (days) al-Ma'mūn journeyed through the regions of Muḍar,²⁸ heading towards the Byzantine country for a raid. The people met him and prayed for him. Among them there was a group of the Ḥarnānīyūn, whose mode of dress was the wearing of short gowns and who had long hair with side bangs (ringlets), like the long hair of Qurrah, the grandfather of *Sinān ibn Thābit*. Al-Ma'mūn found fault with their dress, saying to them, "Which of the subject peoples are you?"²⁹

They said, "We are the Ḥarnānīyah." He asked, "Are you Christians?" They replied, "No." Then he said, "Are you Jews?" "No," they said. He inquired, "Are you Magians?" They answered, "No." So he said to them, "Have you a book or a prophet?" When they stammered in replying he said to them, "Then you are unbelievers, the slaves of idols, Aṣḥāb al-Ra's,³⁰ who lived during the days of my father al-Rashīd! As far as you are concerned, it is legitimate to shed your blood, as there is no contract establishing you as subjects."

Then they said, "We will pay the poll tax." He replied to them, "The poll tax is accepted only from persons who are members of those non-Islāmic sects which Allāh, may His name be exalted and magnified, mentioned in His Book,³¹ and who have a book of their own, assuring them of good relations with the Muslims. As you do not belong to one or other of these groups, now choose one of two alternatives: Either embrace the religion of Islām, or else one of those religions which Allāh mentioned in His Book. Otherwise I will slay you to the last man. I am going to grant you a delay until I return from this journey of mine. Then, unless you have entered into Islām or one of the religions among the faiths mentioned by Allāh in His Book, I will order your slaughter and the extermination of your evil doing."

²⁸ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 231 l. 9, for this region, and Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 20, for the tribe with this name.

²⁹ For "subject peoples," see "Dhimma," *Enc. Islam*, I, 958.

³⁰ Aṣḥāb al-Ra's means "Adherents of the Head." See the passage about al-Ra's which follows.

³¹ See Glossary, "People of the Book."

Al-Ma'mūn moved on, heading for the territory of the Byzantines. Then they changed their style of dress, cut their hair, and left off wearing short gowns. Many of them became Christians and wore girdles,³² while others accepted Islām, and a small number remained in their original state. Being troubled in mind, they used stratagems until one of the people of Ḥarrān who was a shaykh appealed to them, saying, "I have found a means by which you can be delivered and saved from death." So they brought him a large sum from their treasury, which they had maintained from the days of al-Rashīd until this time, making it ready for emergencies.

I shall make clear to you, may Allāh strengthen you, the reason for that.³³

Then he [the shaykh] said to them, "When al-Ma'mūn returns from his journey, say to him, 'We are Ṣābians (Ṣāb'ūn),' for this is the name of a religion which Allāh, may His name be exalted, mentioned in the Qur'ān. Profess it and you will be saved by it."

It was foreordained that al-Ma'mūn should die on this journey of his at al-Badhandūn.³⁴ Nevertheless, from that time on they adopted this name, as [before this time] there had not been a group in Ḥarrān and its vicinity called Ṣābians. When news of the death of al-Ma'mūn reached them, many of them who had become Christians returned to the Ḥarnānīyah, letting their hair grow long as it had been before al-Ma'mūn passed by them. They were, however, [called] Ṣābians. The Muslims prevented them from wearing short robes, which were the garb of the associates of the sultan. Moreover, those among their number who had become Muslims were unable to recant, as they feared they might be killed. They continued, therefore, to be masked by Islām.

They married the women of the Ḥarrānīyah, making the male children Muslims, but the females members of the Ḥarnānīyah.³⁵

³² During numerous periods of history Muslim rulers obliged their subject peoples to wear girdles of specified colors so as to identify their religious affiliations.

³³ This seems to be a remark inserted by Abū Yūsuf Isha', which suggests that the whole passage may be a quotation from his book.

³⁴ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 530.

³⁵ Evidently "Ḥarrānīyah" referred to the people of Ḥarrān, whether they were Ṣābians or not, whereas "Ḥarnānīyah" was used for members of the pagan cult; see "Ṣābians" in Glossary.

From that time until about twenty years ago this was the way of life of all of the people of Tar' 'Ūz and Salamsīn, the two well-known and important villages near Ḥarrān.³⁶ Then two shaykhs known as Abū *Zurārah* and Abū 'Arūbah [al-*Husayn* ibn Muḥammad ibn Mawdūd], who were learned men among the shaykhs of the people of Ḥarrān in connection with the law and what is enjoined as right,³⁷ and also the other shaykhs and jurists among the people of Ḥarrān, showed disapproval and prevented them from marrying the Ḥarrānian women, I mean the Ṣābian ones. They said that it was illegal for Muslims to marry them, as they were not People of the Book.³⁸ In Ḥarrān there are still many dwellings some of the occupants of which belong to the Ḥarnāniyah, [people] who remained in the sect during the days of al-Ma'mūn. Until the present time there are some who are Muslims, and others who are Christians, who embraced Islām or Christianity at that time.³⁹ Such are people called the Banū Ablūṭ, the Banū Qayṭarān, and others well known at Ḥarrān.⁴⁰

Account of al-Ra's

This man, who has already been mentioned, was said to be [actually] the head of a man whose appearance was like that of 'Uṭārid (Mercury), in accordance with what they believed about the looks of the planetary deities.⁴¹ When he was found to have the appearance which they considered to be that of 'Uṭārid (Mercury), he was seized upon with trickery and deception, many things being done to him. One of these was that he was placed in oil and borax

³⁶ Tar' 'Ūz means "Gate of Venus"; there was a temple of Venus there. *Salamsīn* means "Idol of the Moon," See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 837; III, 122.

³⁷ For this phrase see the Qur'ān 3: 104, 114; 9: 71, 112.

³⁸ Although the pagans of Ḥarrān called themselves Ṣābians, they were actually idolaters, so that it was illegal for Muslims to marry them. See Chwolsohn, *Die Sabier*, II, 571-89.

³⁹ "That time" refers to the last year of the reign of al-Ma'mūn, A.D. 833.

⁴⁰ These were local tribal names which have not been found elsewhere.

⁴¹ The Arabic original is "the forms of the planets." *Al-ra's* means "the head." Al-Ra's has been mentioned in connection with the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd; see n. 30. The account in Goeje, *Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes*, Part II, pp. 293-94, 365, explains more fully the nature of *al-ra's*. See also Dimashqī, *Kitāb Nukhbat al-Dahr*, p. 41; Chwolsohn, *Die Sabier*, II, 130-32. For a similar account of al-Ra's, see Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), I, 221.

for a long time, until his joints relaxed. He was in such a state that if his head was pulled, it was drawn up without tearing what it was fastened to. That is why there is an old saying, when one is under severe strain, "He is in the oil."

This they did every year when Mercury was at its height. They supposed that the soul of this individual came to the head because of 'Uṭārid (Mercury). It spoke by its [the head's] tongue, relating what was happening and replying to questions. They supposed that the individual's nature fitted and resembled the nature of Mercury more than that of other living creatures, being more closely related to him than to others in connection with speech, discernment, and other things which they believed him to possess. This was [the reason for] their exaltation of this head and deception by it.

How they treated it before they took it from the body and after doing so, as well as what was done with its body after removing the head from it, has been confirmed at length in their book entitled *Al-Ḥātifi*.⁴² In it there are [ascribed] to them wonders of incantation, enchantment, knots, pictures, and pendants⁴³ [made] from the organs of various animals, such as the pig, donkey, crow, and other species, as well as things covered with smoke⁴⁴ and images of animals cut on the stones of their seals, which in their opinion are beneficial for tombs.⁴⁵ I have seen most of these [images] cut on their signet stones for this purpose during our own time. I have asked them about these things, and they suppose that they find them in the ancient tombs of their dead and that by them they are blessed.⁴⁶

⁴² For this title the translation follows MS 1934, which varies somewhat from the Flügel version. Another possibility is *Al-Ḥunafā'*; see Goeje, *Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes*, Part II, pp. 295–96. See also "Ḥanīf"; *Enc. Islam*, II, 258. It is also possible that the title was *Al-Khātami* ("Signet Maker"), as the book speaks about signet stones.

⁴³ "Pendants" (*ta'liqāt*) were amulets hung on necklaces or chains.

⁴⁴ The word translated "things covered with smoke" is *tadkhīnāt*, which suggests that the Ṣābians used amulets made from the charred remains of animals burned as offerings.

⁴⁵ Signet stones were used for magical purposes; see Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, II, 38 n. 8. *Qubūr* ("tombs") is not clear in the 1934 MS, but this appears to be the word meant. Flügel gives *funūn* ("arts").

⁴⁶ After this passage, over a page is left blank in MS 1934, indicating that the author hoped to obtain additional information and fill it in later.

A Manuscript Which I Read Written in the Handwriting of Abū Saʿīd *Wahb* ibn Ibrāhīm, the Christian, about Offerings⁴⁷

[On] Sunday, to al-Shams (the sun), whose name is Aylīyūs (Helios); [on] Monday, to al-Qamar (the moon), whose name is Sīn (Sin); [on] Tuesday, to al-Mirriḵh (Mars), whose name is Lārīs (Ares); [on] Wednesday, to ʿUṭārid (Mercury), whose name is Nābiq (Nebo); [on] Thursday, to al-Mushtarī (Jupiter), whose name is Bāl (Bel); [on] Friday, to al-Zuharah (Venus), whose name is Balthā (Belit); [on] Saturday, to Zuhāl (Saturn), whose name is Qirqīs (Cronus).

Knowledge of Their Feasts⁴⁸

The beginning of their year is Nīsān (April). On the first, as well as the second and third days of Nīsān, they pray humbly to their goddess, Balthā, who is al-Zuharah (Venus).⁴⁹ When entering the shrine of the goddess⁵⁰ on these days, group by group in a scattered

⁴⁷ A number of the following names have been confused. Lārīs must be meant to be al-Arīs, Nābiq to be Nābū, and Qirqīs to be Qrunus. MS 1934 has Baltā instead of Balthā.

⁴⁸ Compare the months on the following pages with those of Babylon, in "Calendar, History of," *Jewish Enc.*, III, 499. This account of the feasts should be supplemented by Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 70, 314–320; Goeje, *Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes*, Part II, pp. 291–93, 341 ff; Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 23 ff, 175 ff; Taqīzadeh, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, X, Part 3 (1940), 632–53.

⁴⁹ Flügel and MS 1135 mention Balthā, whereas MS 1934 mentions only the name al-Zuharah (Venus).

⁵⁰ There were 12 shrines on the sacred enclosure at Ḥarrān. An important source for knowledge of the shrines is Segal, *Anatolian Studies*, III (1953), 97–103, 107, 111–15, which gives a description with illustrations of the arrangement of the shrines at Sumatar, less than 31 miles from Ḥarrān. See also Maṣʿūdī, IV, 61, 62; Dimashqī, *Kitāb Nukhbat al-Dahr*, pp. 39–47; or Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 366 ff., 381 ff, which reproduces the Maṣʿūdī and Dimashqī accounts.

The authorities give variations, but in general there were the following shrines in a sacred enclosure of the Šābians at Ḥarrān: (1) shrine of the Primal Cause, a hemisphere; (2) of Intelligence (al-ʿAql), a circle; (3) of the Soul (al-Nafs), a circle; (4) of Form (al-Šūrah), perhaps meaning "Space," no shape cited; (5) either Sequence (Time), called al-Silsilah by al-Maṣʿūdī, or the Governing, called al-Sīyāsah by al-Maqrīzī and al-Dimashqī, circular; (6) (al-Zuhāl) (Saturn), hexagonal; (7) al-Mushtarī (Jupiter), triangular; (8) al-Mirriḵh (Mars), square; (9) al-Shams (the Sun), square; (10) al-Zuharah (Venus), elongated triangle; (11) ʿUṭārid (Mercury), square outside but hexagonal inside; (12) al-Qumar (the Moon), five-sided. Each shrine had an idol, also a special metal and color; see Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 411; Berthelot, *Alchimistes grecs*, I, 78.

way, they slaughter sacrificial victims and burn animals alive.⁵¹

On the sixth day they slay for their divinity, the Moon, a bull, which they eat at the end of the day. On the eighth day they fast and then break the fast with the meat of lamb. On this day they also hold a feast in honor of the seven deities, the devils, jinn, and spirits. They burn seven lambs for the seven deities, a sheep for the Lord of the Blind, and a sheep for the deities [which are] the devils.⁵²

At Sumatar there were a citadel and a sacred mount. The mount was evidently near the sacred enclosure, between the citadel and the semicircles of shrines. Al-Dimashqī (see Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 397) recorded, "At Ḥarrān there was a shrine of the moon which was a citadel called al-Modariq and which remained in construction until the Tatars destroyed it." Perhaps the name was originally al-Mashriq ("Rising"), referring to the appearance on the horizon of the heavenly bodies. This shrine was very likely similar to the citadel at Sumatar.

In the paragraph about Aylūl (September), which follows in *Al-Fihrist*, there is the statement, "They go forth to the mountain" (see n. 72), and Iṣṭakhri, *Masālik al-Mamālik* (de Goeje), p. 76 l. 3, says "There is a hill on which is a place of prayer which the Ṣābians exalt"; these references may indicate the citadel, or perhaps a sacred mount near the enclosure for the shrines. Although al-Iṣṭakhri connected the high place with Abraham, it was probably used for observing the rising and the setting of the heavenly bodies in pagan times. Abraham was said to have come from Ḥarrān and was especially venerated by the Muslims. It is likely that after the Muslims interfered with the old pagan worship, they changed this holy place into a shrine for the honoring of Abraham. Note 121 explains that al-Mas'ūdī spoke of a temple which was evidently used for initiations. As it lasted after the other buildings had been destroyed, just as the citadel did, and as it was also connected with Abraham, it may have been the basement of the old temple called the Citadel. Rice, *Anatolian Studies*, II (1952), 37, 42-44, gives quotations and further information about the subject.

Iṣṭakhri, *Masālik al-Mamālik* (de Goeje), p. 76, adds that there were seventeen temples at Ḥarrān. Either the number is inaccurate, or else this statement includes buildings and shrines in the vicinity of the city.

⁵¹ For burnt animal sacrifice, see Goossens, *Hiérapolis*, pp. 46-47; Lucian, *Syrian Goddess* (Garstang), p. 83.

⁵² The Lord of the Blind (*Rabb al-'Umyān*) was Mars; see Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 188. In Goeje, *Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes*, Part II, pp. 293, 346, 360, this deity is mentioned, and it is explained, "On le nomme le Dieu Aveugle, parce que dans sa colère il frappe sans regarder où." Rosenthal suggests that the Aramaic *mārā samyā* may cast light on this name; see Rosenthal in Henning, p. 224 n. 7. See also, Ingholt, *Berytus*, V, Part 2 (1938), 129; Nougayrol, *Syria*, XXXVII, Part 3 (1960), 241-46; Van den Branden, *Al-Machriq*, LIV (1960), 217-30; Ingholt, *Memoirs, Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences*, XII (July 1954), 17 ff.

On the fifteenth day they celebrate the mystery of the North⁵³ with offerings, sun worship, sacrificial slaughter, burnt offerings, eating, and drinking.

On the twentieth day they go out to Dayr Kādī,⁵⁴ which is a sanctuary near one of the gates of Ḥarrān known as Bāb Funduq al-Zayt.⁵⁵ They slaughter three *zabrukh*, a *zabrukh* being a bull. One is for the god Cronus, who is al-Zuḥal (Saturn); one is for Arīs, who is al-Mirriḵh (Mars), the Blind God; and one is for the Moon, which is Sīn. They also slay nine lambs: seven for the seven deities, one for the god of the jinn, and one for the Lord of the Hours.⁵⁶ They also burn [offerings of] many lambs and cocks.

On the twenty-eighth day, they go out to a sanctuary of theirs in a village named Sabtā, near to one of the gates of Ḥarrān called Bāb al-Sarāb.⁵⁷ They slay a large bull to Hermes, the god, and they also slaughter nine lambs for the seven deities, with one also for the god of the jinn and one for the Lord of the Hours. They eat and drink, but on this day they do not burn any animals.

Ayyār (May)

On the first day of Ayyār they make the offering of the mystery to the North, worship the Sun, smell the rose, eat, and drink.⁵⁸ On the second day they hold a feast for Ibn al-Salm⁵⁹ and make vows.

⁵³ For this god see "North" in Glossary.

⁵⁴ Dayr Kādī was a shrine on the outskirts of Ḥarrān, very likely on a canal built to bring river water to the city. The two rivers at Ḥarrān were the Dayṣān and the Jullāb, ten miles distant. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 690 top; Goeje, *Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes*, Part 2, p. 364; Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 317; Rice, *Anatolian Studies*, II (1952), 37.

⁵⁵ This means "Inn of the Oil Gate." For other gates of the city, see Rice, *Anatolian Studies*, II (1952), 39.

⁵⁶ *Al-sā'āt* means "hours" or "time." It may refer to a deity similar to Cronus or the Persian Zervan.

⁵⁷ Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 317, records that on the 28th of Nisān there was a feast at the Moon Shrine (Dayr Sīnī). Perhaps *sabtā* is meant to be *Sīnī*, as in Arabic the two forms are very much alike. Bāb al-Sarāb means "Gate of Mirage." Perhaps it should be Bāb al-Sharāb ("Gate of Drinks"). Rice, *Anatolian Studies*, II (1952), 39, does not mention this gate.

⁵⁸ Cf. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, II, 47 n. 8, for the custom of smelling the rose.

⁵⁹ See Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 193. Ibn al-Salm may be meant to be Ibn al-Salām, perhaps a title for some deity. See also Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 288, for another possibility, Ibnat Salm ("Daughter of the Sunset"). For the same day Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 317, records a feast of Salūghā, Prince of Devils.

Then, loading their tables with all kinds of rare things, fruits, and sweetmeats, they eat and drink.

Hazīrān (June)

On the twenty-seventh day they perform the worship of the mystery to the North, for the deity who makes the arrow fly.⁶⁰ On this day also they set up a table on which they place seven portions for the seven deities and the North. The priest brings a bow which he strings, and into which he fixes an arrow to which there is attached a firebrand.⁶¹ It has a flame at its head and is made of wood which grows in the region of Harrān. On it there is a piece of cloth upon which the flame is ignited, just as it lights a candle. The priest shoots twelve arrows. Then the priest walks as a dog does on his hands and feet, until he fetches the arrows. He does this fifteen times and then makes an augury,⁶² that is, he divines that if the firebrand is extinguished, the feast in his estimation is not acceptable. But if it is not put out, then the feast is accepted.

Tammūz (July)

In the middle of the month there is the Feast of al-Būqāt, that is, of the weeping women. It is the Tā-ūz, a feast celebrated for the god Tā-ūz. The women weep for him because his master slew him by grinding his bones under a millstone and winnowing them in the wind. So the women eat nothing ground by a millstone, but rather moistened wheat, chick-peas (*himmaṣ*), dates, raisins, and similar things.⁶³

⁶⁰ This deity cannot be identified with certainty; the ceremony was evidently connected with magic. For the popularity of magic, see Cumont, *Religions orientales*, p. 253 ff; Jastrow, *Religions*, pp. 328-55.

⁶¹ The word for priest is similar to the Syriac *kūmrō* and the Hebrew *komer*; see II Kings 23:5, and Zeph. 1:4. For "firebrand" (*būṣīn*), see Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 197 bottom.

⁶² The Arabic word translated "makes an augury" may be a form of the Arabic word meaning "to break," but the word more likely is a form of an old Semitic term meaning "to make an augury."

⁶³ Tā-ūz is the same as the deity Tammūz. In Arabic the word for "weeping" is spelled with a *kāf*(*k*), so that the spelling of *al-būqāt* ("weeping women") with a *qāf*(*q*) evidently goes back to some ancient Semitic form. For this festival, see Lucian, *Syrian Goddess* (Garstang), p. 46; Goossens, *Hiérapolis*, p. 39; Lagrange, *Études*, pp. 309-10; Ingholt, *Recueil des tessères*, p. 47, and Plate XVIII, Fig. 342, with design on reverse page; Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*; Ezek. 8:14; Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, IV, 676-77.

On the seventeenth [day] the men perform the mystery of the North to the jinn, the devils, and the deities. They make a great deal of *ṭurmūs* from fine flour, terebinth, raisins, hackberry, and shelled walnuts, as the shepherds do. They slaughter nine lambs to Hāmān,⁶⁴ the chief and father of the gods, and also make an offering to *N m z γ ā*.⁶⁵ On that day also, the headman takes two silver coins (s., *dirham*) from each of the men and they all eat and drink.⁶⁶

Āb (August)

During eight days they tread new wine for the gods. They call it by many varied names. On this day they sacrifice an infant boy when he is born to the gods who possess the idols.⁶⁷ They slaughter the boy and then boil him until he disintegrates.⁶⁸ Then the flesh is taken and kneaded with fine flour, saffron, spikenard, cloves, and oil, and made into cakes as small as figs, which they bake in a new clay oven. This takes place every year for those who observe the mystery of the North. No woman, slave, son of a slave girl, or lunatic eats it [the cake] or watches the slaughter of this child. When carried out, the rite is performed by only three priests. The priests burn whatever remains of the bones, the organs, the cartilages, the veins, and the jugular veins as an offering to the gods.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Hāmām is written the same way in all of the versions. It is very likely meant to be the god Hamon or Khammān, worshipped at Palmyra; see Lagrange, *Études*, pp. 86–88. Compare Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 211.

⁶⁵ Flügel gives *N m r γ ā* and MS 1934 has *N m z* with one or two letters following, which cannot be deciphered. Perhaps the deity is Nemesis, with possibly the dative form after “to.” See Lucian, *Syrian Goddess* (Garstang), p. 71; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 1152; Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes*, 1st Series, pp. 12–25; Eissfeldt, *Der Alte Orient*, XL (1941), 148–50; “Nemesis,” *Enc. Brit.*, XIX, 369. Cf. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 213 for a different interpretation.

⁶⁶ “Headman” is a translation for *al-raʿīs*, perhaps some tribal or local official, or a head priest.

⁶⁷ For “who possess” the translation follows the Flügel text, which gives literally “possessors of.” The other versions have variations which seem to be incorrect.

⁶⁸ The Arabic word means “separating the flesh from the bones.”

⁶⁹ “Jugular veins” is probably correct, though the plural given is an unusual form. For this passage, see Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 214–17.

Aylūl (September)

During three of its days they heat water in which they bathe as a mystery to the North,⁷⁰ to the chief of the jinn, who is the greatest divinity. They throw into this water some tamarisk, wax, pine, olives, cane, and caustic. Then they boil it, accomplishing this before the sun rises, and they pour it over their bodies as magicians do. At this time they slaughter eight lambs, seven to the deities and one to the god of the North. They eat in their assembly and each one drinks seven cups of wine. The headman takes two silver coins (s., *dirham*) for the treasury from each one of them.⁷¹

On the twenty-sixth day of this month, they go forth to the mountain and observe the opposite position (*al-istiqbāl*)⁷² of the sun and Saturn and Venus. They burn [as offerings] eight young chickens and grown cocks, as well as eight lambs. Whoever is bound by a vow to the Lord of Good Luck⁷³ takes either a grown rooster or young chicken. On its wing he fixes a firebrand, the top of which has been kindled with a flame, and he sends forth the chick to the Lord of Good Luck. If the whole chicken burns up, the vow is accepted but, if the firebrand is extinguished before the chicken is burned, the Lord of Good Luck does not accept from him either the vow or the offering.

On the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth days they have mysteries, offerings, slaughters, and burnt sacrifices to the North, who is the greatest god, as well as to the devils and the jinn whom he has controlled and scattered, giving them good luck.⁷⁴

Tishrīn al-Awwal (October)

In the middle of this month they make burnt offerings of food for the dying. That is, each one of them buys a bit of every kind of

⁷⁰ This may be "in which they bathe a mystery to the North." See Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 217-25. For this god, see "North" in Glossary.

⁷¹ For "headman" see n. 66.

⁷² "The mountain" may have been a sacred mount or citadel. For *istiqbāl*, see the Glossary.

⁷³ This was evidently Gad, a god of fortune and fertility. See Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du nord-ouest*, pp. 121, 122, 161; Eissfeldt, *Der Alte Orient*, XL (1941), 123-27; "Baal, Beel, Bel," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, II, 289.

⁷⁴ The word translated "scattered" is taken from MS 1934. Evidently the people gave offerings to the North, hoping that he would control and scatter the devils so that they could not cause injury. Mas'ūdī, III, 349, throws light on this passage.

edible meat and fruit to be found in the market, whether fresh or dried. Then they cook varieties of cooked food and sweetmeats, all of which are burned during the night for the dying. With this food there is also burned (cooked) a bone from the thigh of a camel, which is given to the dogs of persons in affliction so that they will not bark and terrify the dying. They also pour mixed wine over the fire for their dying to drink, in the same way that they eat the burnt food.⁷⁵

Tishrīn al-Thānī (November)

During twenty-one of its days they fast. Nine days, the last one of which is the twenty-ninth, are for the Lord of Good Luck. Every night they break soft bread with which they mix barley, straw, frankincense, and fresh myrtle, and over which they sprinkle oil. Then they mix it and distribute it among their houses, saying, "Oh diviners⁷⁶ of good luck, here is bread for your dogs, barley and straw for your beasts, oil for your lamps, and myrtle for your crowns (wreaths). Enter in peace, go forth in peace, and leave a good livelihood for our children and ourselves.

Kānūn al-Awwal (December)

On the fourth day they erect a dome which they name the Chamber of Balthā (Belit) who is al-Zuharah (Venus), the flashing goddess, whom they call al-Shahmīyah (the Glowing). They erect this dome on the marble of the inner shrine, hanging many kinds of fragrant fruits on it, with dried roses, citrons, small lemons, and such other fruits as they can obtain, whether dry or fresh.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ The Arabic does not make it clear whether the food and wine are heated to give to the sick to take before they die, or whether the food and wine are burned, with the idea that the dead will enjoy them in the life to come.

⁷⁶ For the first sentences of this paragraph, see n. 73 and Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 233–39. "Diviners" (*turrāq*) could also be "necromancers." *Ibid.*, p. 32, the word is given as *nachtwanderer*.

⁷⁷ Evidently a booth was set up in the most holy part of the shrine in which Venus was worshiped, to serve as a chamber for the symbolic marriage of the goddess. The Arabic word for "chamber" is *al-khidr*, used for a secluded woman's apartment. "Inner shrine" (*al-mihrāb*) was evidently a rear apse containing the idol, or a grotto under the Shrine of Venus; cf. Stocks, *Berytus*, III, Part 1 (1936), 31–45, with special attention to pp. 32 bottom, 33. Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 42, in speaking about a goddess interchangeable with Venus, says, "The sacred marriage . . . was celebrated in a subterranean cavern." Segal, *Anatolian Studies*, III (1953), 99 no. v, and Plate IX (3)

In front of this dome they slaughter sacrificial beasts chosen from as many kinds of animals as possible, four-footed beasts and birds, saying "They are slaughtered for our goddess Balthā (Belit), who is al-Zuharah (Venus)." They do this for seven days and during these days they also burn many offerings of animals for the gods and goddesses who are hidden, far removed, but substituted for.⁷⁸ They also [offer] plants of the water.⁷⁹

On the thirtieth day of it [the month] there is the beginning of the month of the Ra'is al-Ḥamd.⁸⁰ On this day the priest sits on [the top step of] an elevated pulpit with nine steps. He takes a tamarisk rod in his hand and then, as the procession passes by him, he strikes each one of them⁸¹ with the stick three, five, or seven times. Then

opposite p. 102, describes the Shrine of Venus at Sumatar and the grotto with its inner shrine underneath the building.

It is probable that this rite was accompanied by sacred prostitution on the part of some of the worshipers as in the ancient Semitic religions the sex act was a sacrament attached to fertility worship. For sacred marriage and prostitution, see Jastrow, *Religions*, pp. 475, 485, 660; Cumont, *Religions orientales*, p. 185; Lucian, *Syrian Goddess* (Garstang), p. 46.

Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 316, records a feast for the idol of Venus at the beginning of December and another feast on the 30th day.

⁷⁸ "Hidden, far removed, but substituted for" is taken from MS 1934. MS 1934 gives the word for "hidden" on the margin. It clearly gives the word translated "substituted for" as *na'ibah*. This word has two principal meanings: One is "returning periodically," which may be that intended here, as the gods came to Ḥarrān periodically for the feasts. The other meaning is "substituted"; in the marriage ceremony a priest and priestess probably substituted for the gods, uniting in sexual intercourse as sacred symbols. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 33, gives "hidden, distant, absent" for this phrase.

⁷⁹ Flügel, followed by Chwolsohn, used an inaccurate manuscript which had *banāt al-ma'* ("maidens of the water") instead of the words clearly given in MS 1934 as *nabāt al-ma'* ("plants of the water"). At Doura-Europus the archaeologists found a representation belonging to the family of a certain Conon, in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, in which water was being poured over plants, perhaps similar to the "plants of the water." For the spring festival, worshipers of Venus and Adonis fasten seeds to the outside of porous jars filled with water so that the seeds would sprout rapidly. These were the *jardins d'Adonis*; see Lagrange, *Études*, p. 173. Jars of this sort are still used by the people of Iran for the New Year's festival. See also Frazer, *Adonis*, p. 184, for a description of other types of *jardins d'Adonis*.

⁸⁰ This means "the Head of Praise." It may refer either to the great deity or to the headman presiding over the ceremony, who was probably a priest.

⁸¹ "Them" must refer to the worshipers in the procession.

he preaches a sermon to them, in which he calls (prays) for all of them to live, to increase the number of their offspring, and to gain power and superiority over all nations, that their sovereignty and days of rule may return to them and that the congregational mosque of Ḥarrān may be destroyed, as well as the Greek Orthodox Church and the market street known as the Women's Market.⁸² Before the Byzantine kings uprooted them when they conquered [Ḥarrān], it was in these places that their idols used to be. He also calls (prays) for the revival of the religion of 'Uzūz,⁸³ which used to be in the place of these things that we have described [the mosque, church, and market]. Then he descends from the pulpit and they eat the slaughtered victims and also drink. On this day the headman takes two silver coins (s., *dirham*) for the treasury from every man.⁸⁴

Kānūn al-Thānī (January)

On the twenty-fourth day there is the birthday of the lord who is the Moon. At this time they observe the mystery to the North, slaughtering sacrificial victims and burning eighty creatures, both four-footed beasts and birds. They eat and drink and for the gods and goddesses they burn *al-dādhī*, which are rods of pine.⁸⁵

Shubāṭ (February)

They fast for seven of its days. The first [day of the fast] is the ninth day.⁸⁶ This fast is for the Sun, the great lord, the Lord of Well-Being.⁸⁷ During these days they eat no meat and drink no

⁸² The old pagan city was greatly changed by the Christian and Muslim invaders. With regards to the mosque, it is stated that "Nūr ad-Dīn rebuilt the Friday-mosque and enlarged it. It used to be a temple of the Šābians," in Rice, *Anatolian Studies*, II (1952), 38.

⁸³ 'Uzūz is probably some local name or else a badly written name for Venus, who was worshiped by the Arabs as 'Uzzā. One of her twin forms was 'Azīzos, the morning star. See Qur'ān 53:19; Lagrange, *Études*, pp. 134-35; Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 229; Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 246-48; Segal, *Anatolian Studies*, III (1953), 107, 109, which says that the desert Arabs performed human sacrifice to 'Ūzī near Ḥarrān. MS 1135 omits this name.

⁸⁴ See n. 66 for "headman."

⁸⁵ This is probably the Greek *δαδίον* ("pine splinter"). See Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 249.

⁸⁶ See Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 316.

⁸⁷ *Al-ḵhayr* ("well-being") is the most likely word, though it may be *al-jabr* ("compulsion," "predestination").

wine. During this month, moreover, they pray only to the North, the jinn, and the devils.

Ādhār (March)

They hold a fast to the Moon from the eighth day, for thirty days. On the twentieth day the presiding headman⁸⁸ breaks barley bread for their assembly to (in honor of) Ares, the god who is al-Mirriḵh (Mars). The thirtieth day is the beginning of the month of al-Tamr, I mean of the dried dates, and [during] this [month] is the marriage of the gods and goddesses.⁸⁹ They divide in it⁹⁰ the dates, putting kohl [antimony powder] on their eyes. Then during the night they place beneath the pillows under their heads seven dried dates, in the name of the seven deities, and also a morsel of bread and some salt for the deity who touches the abdomens.⁹¹ The presiding headman (*al-ra'īs*), moreover, takes two silver coins (s., *dirham*) from each one of them for the treasury.

Every twenty-seventh day of the month, I refer to the lunar month, they go out to their sanctuary, which is known as Dayr Kādī.⁹² They slaughter and burn offerings to the god Sīn, who is the Moon. They also eat and drink. Then on the twenty-eighth day they go forth to the Cupola of al-Ujurr,⁹³ where they slaughter and burn sheep, cocks, and many small chickens to (in honor of) Ares,⁹⁴ who is al-Mirriḵh (Mars).

If they wish to slay a large victim like a *zabrukh*, which is a bull or a sheep, they pour wine over it while it is still alive. If it quivers they say, "This offering is received," but if it does not quiver they say, "The god is angry and will not receive this offering." Their way

⁸⁸ In Arabic the word is *al-ra'īs*, in this case probably a priest rather than a layman.

⁸⁹ This festival does not seem to coincide with what is given by Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 317 top. MS 1135 has variations which seem to be errors.

⁹⁰ Flügel gives "They divide in it the dates." MS 1934 has "They divide the dates becoming dry" (*qabbat al-qasb*).

⁹¹ This evidently refers to women who wish to become pregnant.

⁹² See n. 54.

⁹³ This may be the Akkadian deity of agriculture, *Ugr*. See Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 258; Gaster, *Thespis*, pp. 127 bottom, 128 top.

⁹⁴ MSS 1934 and 1135 have Hermes, but Flügel is evidently correct in giving Ares.

of slaughtering every kind of animal is to cut off its head with one blow. Then they carefully observe its two eyes with their movements, as well as its mouth, its convulsions, and how it quivers. They draw an augury from it, employ magic, and seek an omen about what will happen and take place.⁹⁵

If they wish to burn a large animal, such as one of the cows, sheep, or cocks, while it is alive, they hang it up with clamps and chains.⁹⁶ Then a group of them exposes all sides of it to the fire until it burns. This is their great offering, which is for all of the gods and goddesses together. They state that the seven heavenly bodies, that is, the deities, are males and females who marry and have passions for one another, and also have bad and good luck.

This is the end of what we have written from the [passage in the] handwriting of Abū Saʿīd *Wahb* [ibn Ibrāhīm].

From [What Is Written] about Them [the Ḥarrānian Ṣābians] in Another Person's Handwriting

Among the deities of the Ḥarnānīyūn:⁹⁷ the Lord of the Gods;⁹⁸ the Blind Lord, al-Mirrīkh (Mars), a malevolent spirit;⁹⁹ Bayl, the Shaykh of Majesty;¹⁰⁰ Phosphor, the Good, the Perfect; Castor, the Chosen Shaykh;¹⁰¹ Possessor of the Wing of the Wind;¹⁰²

⁹⁵ Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 266, gives some interesting information about this subject.

⁹⁶ For burnt animal sacrifice, see Goossens, *Hiérapolis*, pp. 46–47; Lucian, *Syrian Goddess* (Garstang), p. 83.

⁹⁷ See “Ṣābians” in Glossary for explanation of the people called the Ḥarnānīyah.

⁹⁸ MS 1934 has the feminine for “lord,” which may be a mistake. Flügel gives the masculine, *rabb*. For this term see Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 2, p. 5; Lewy in Henning, pp. 140–41; Segal, *Anatolian Studies*, III (1953), 116.

⁹⁹ See n. 52. The words “a malevolent spirit” are separated from al-Mirrīkh and may indicate some other deity.

¹⁰⁰ This was Bel (Jupiter).

¹⁰¹ The most reasonable suggestion here is given by Lewy in Henning, p. 142, who says that these were Phosphor and Castor, representing Mercury as the evening and morning star, similar to the Akkadian Bilgi and Nusku. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 278, gives another explanation. See also Segal, *Anatolian Studies*, III (1953), p. 108 top; Seyrig, *Syria*, XXVI, Part 3 (1949), 236 ff.

¹⁰² Flügel gives this name as Dhāt Janāḥ al-Rīḥ (“Possessor of the Wing of the Wind”). This wind deity was very likely the sun. Instead of *janāḥ* (“wing”), MSS

Šārah, the Daughter of al-Faqr, from whose womb these have come forth;¹⁰³ Ḥitān al-Fārisīyah,¹⁰⁴ their mother, who had six evil spirits with which she went to the seacoast;¹⁰⁵ Abū Rim;¹⁰⁶ Rabbat al-Thill, who received Tammūz;¹⁰⁷ Arū, the Lord;¹⁰⁸ Balthā (Belit) the Goddess.¹⁰⁹

1934 and 1135 give words which might be *ḥayā* ("rain") or *ḥimāyah* ("protection"). Lewy in Henning, p. 145, explains that Enlil was called "Lord Wind." Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 279, and Lucian, *Syrian Goddess* (Garstang), p. 5, give other suggestions. See also Stocks, *Berytus*, IV, Part 1 (1937), 36-40.

¹⁰³ This was probably Ishtar or Aphrodite. *Šārah* means "being clear" and Ishtar is called "the Brilliant Goddess" as well as "the Mother of the Gods." See Jastrow, *Religions*, p. 83, and *Aspects of Religious Belief*, p. 115. The name Daughter of al-Faqr ("Poverty") may be a mistake, meant to be Daughter of the Moon (*Ibnat al-Qamar*), as Ishtar was called by that title. See Lagrange, *Études*, pp. 138 top, 139; Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 281. These may be different names for the fertility goddess.

¹⁰⁴ This name is taken from MSS 1934 and 1135, although it is not clearly written. Ḥitān is probably incorrect. Lewy in Henning, p. 141 n. 4, suggests forms of the name Ḥarrānīt, defining her as the consort of Sīn (the Moon). For the second name, given as al-Fārisīyah in MSS 1934 and 1135, see Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 316 top, 317 l. 29, where the name Jarūshīyā is mentioned as associated with the moon. Another possibility for the name is al-Fārisah ("Horsewoman"); Leclant, *Syria*, XXXVII, Part 1 (1960), 1-67; Goossens, *Hiérapolis*, p. 136.

¹⁰⁵ This evidently refers to the Pleiades, six of which are easily seen and which disappear from the spring to the early summer, going down in the west towards the sea. See n. 111

¹⁰⁶ Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 287, suggests several possibilities for this name. Tallquist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, p. 445, says that Rīm was an epithet of the moon. Perhaps the word is meant to be Abram, for whose cult see Jastrow, *Religions*, p. 562; Lagrange, *Études*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁷ Rabbat al-Thill (Mistress of the Herd) probably refers to a fertility goddess. *Al-Thill* is more often spelled *al-Thillah* or *al-Thallah*; see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 162. The passage which follows makes it clear that the herd is a head of goats. Rainey, *Biblical Archaeologist*, XXVIII, No. 4 (December 1965), 109, has a photograph of a plaque from Ugarit showing that there the fertility goddess was also associated with goats. "Received" (*qabalat*), given in MS 1934, might be instead *qatalat* ("killed"); see Dhorme, *Religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*, p. 115. Tammūz is given as Tammūzā in the Arabic; see Ingholt, *Recueil des tessères*, p. 186 no. 342, for this form.

¹⁰⁸ Perhaps Arū is meant to be Azar, called the father of Abraham and perhaps connected with his ancient cult. See Qur'ān 6:74; Mas'ūdī, IV, 63; Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 288. See also Chap. I, sect. 2, n. 2, of this translation.

¹⁰⁹ Balthā was al-Zuharah (Venus). Compare these deities with those mentioned by Gadd, *Anatolian Studies*, VIII (1958), 41-42, 59, 72.

Now it was Rabbat al-Thill who arranged to guard the sacred goats which none of them are permitted to sell, but which [instead] they offer as sacrificial victims. No pregnant woman can approach them or come near to them.¹¹⁰

Among their deities there is the Idol of the Water (*Ṣanam al-Mā'*), which fell among the gods during the days of the Tyrannic Star, going forth as they suppose, fleeing and seeking the land of India. They set out in quest of it, asking and imploring it to return without delay. But it said to them, "I shall not again enter the city of Ḥarrān. I will, however, come to here (*hāhunā*)," the meaning of *hāhunā* being in Syriac *kādhā* (to here), near to Ḥarrān, to the east. "I will renew my acquaintance with your city and your leading men."¹¹¹ Thus it refused them, and until our own time they go out every twentieth day of the month of Nīsān (April), men and women together, expecting the arrival of the Idol of the Water and its coming to them. So the place is called Kādhā.¹¹²

Some of Their Customs

They preserve the left wing of the chickens which are used for the mystery of the shrine of the gods. The men pare off the flesh with great care and hang it [the wing bone] on the necks of the boys and the collars of the women, as well as at the waists of pregnant women, believing this to be a great safeguard and protection.

¹¹⁰ See Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, pp. 297–99. Cf. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes*, 3rd Series, pp. 133, 137, for sacred goats. Here the goddess is probably Ishtar and the goats have some connection with fertility.

¹¹¹ Lewy in Henning, pp. 143–45, explains this passage. The Tyrannic Star is in Greek Ἀστὴρ Τυραννικός which is transliterated into Arabic as *Aṣṭah Waṭīranīqūs*. This refers to the Pleiades, which disappear between the 15th and 20th of March, shortly after their conjunction with the moon, which also goes out of sight at that time. The "days of the Tyrannic Star" refer to the time between the conjunction of the Pleiades with the moon and their passing out of sight. The feast was on the 20th of April, when the people begged the moon to return. Although the disappearance is in the west, the return is from the east.

This feast was evidently similar to other festivals in which an idol was brought to some temple on a barge. The Babylonian feast of this sort was called Akītu, which name was probably the true origin of Kādī (Kādhā), the explanation given in *Al-Fihrist* being a popular rationalization. For the Akītu Festival, see Jastrow, *Religions*, p. 679; Gaster, *Thespis*, pp. 35, 37; Goossens, *Hiérapolis*, pp. 41, 69; Lucian, *Syrian Goddess* (Garstang), pp. 50–52; Stocks, *Berytus*, IV, Part 1 (1937), 23–28.

¹¹² For Dayr Kādī, see n. 54.

A reliable authority has said:

In ancient times they used to have creeds and heresies, but I do not know whether or not they still exist. Among them was a sect called the Rūfusiyyūn,¹¹³ the women of which never wore gold or adorned themselves with it under any circumstances. They did not wear red boots either. Every year they observed a day on which they sacrificed pigs, offering them to their gods. On that day they used to eat such of the pigs' meat as came into their hands. The people of another sect of their cult remained in their houses and shaved their heads with razors or *nūrah*.¹¹⁴ There were women among them who shaved their heads in the same way when they married husbands.

History of the Headmen of the Ḥarrānian Šābians¹¹⁵ Who Have Occupied the Presiding Seat during the Islāmic Regime from the Time of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, Which Was the Year One Thousand and Four of Alexander¹¹⁶

Thābit ibn Aḥūsā was the first of them, the headman for twenty-four years.

Thābit ibn Ṭīyūn, the headman for sixteen years.

Thābit ibn Qurthāyā, the headman for seventeen years.

Thābit ibn Iliyā, the headman for twenty years.

Qurrah ibn Thābit ibn Iliyā, the headman for twenty-one years.

Jābir ibn Qurrah ibn Thābit, the headman for ten years.

Sinān ibn Jābir ibn Qurrah ibn Thābit ibn Iliyā, the headman for nine years.

'*Amrūs* ibn Ṭaybā, the headman for seventeen years.

Mikhā'il ibn Ihir ibn Biqrāris, the headman for thirteen years.

Tuqayn ibn Qaşrūnā, the headman for five years.

Mughallas ibn Ṭaybā, the headman for five years.

'*Uthmān* ibn Mālī, the headman for twenty-four years.

¹¹³ This is the nominative case of the form in the Flügel edition. Chwolsohn, *Die Sabier*, II, 42, 305, has Rūfusein. MSS 1934 and 1135 do not give the name clearly. It has not been identified.

¹¹⁴ A depilatory of arsenic and lime.

¹¹⁵ The Ḥarrānian Šābians are explained in the Glossary.

¹¹⁶ As 'Abd al-Malik was caliph A.D. 685-705, this calculation in lunar years seems to be a correct one. In Arabic the word for "headman" is *ra's*. This position seems to have been that of a chief, in certain instances passed on from father to son. The chief may have been a priest, but not necessarily so.

Qurrah ibn al-Ishtar, the headman for nine years.

Al-Qāsim ibn al-Qūqālī, the headman for nine years—this man¹¹⁷ went on a journey, but returned to be headman for four years.

Niṣṭās ibn Yaḥyā ibn Zūnaq, the headman for forty-two years.¹¹⁸

After these there were, among the men who did not [officially] occupy the seat, but somehow or other were obeyed as headmen:

Sa'dūn ibn Khayrūn of the Banū Heracles [Tribe].

Ḥakīm ibn Yaḥyā of the Banū Heracles.

Another Account of Them

There came into my possession a passage which one of the translators transcribed from their [the Ḥarrānian Ṣābian] books and which includes five of their mysteries, except that a page fell out from the description of the first part of the fifth mystery. Its closing words are these sentences, rendered in the diction of the translator:¹¹⁹

As the lambs in the flock and the calf in the herd,¹²⁰ so are the young men endeavoring, racing ahead, drawing near, sent to the Bayt al-Bughadhārīyīn.¹²¹ The Lord is the victor, to whom we give delight.

¹¹⁷ Flügel and MS 1135 insert "I mean al-Qāsim" here.

¹¹⁸ This man must have died shortly before the author of *Al-Fihrist* was born. The two men whose names follow may have been alive during the author's childhood.

¹¹⁹ For this passage about the mysteries, see Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 310-19. It is possible that originally there were seven mysteries, in honor of the seven deified heavenly bodies; see n. 124.

¹²⁰ Compare this phrase with that following the heading "Also the End of the Second Mystery," below. In the next phrase, *al-ma'zamīn* ("endeavoring") might be instead *al-mughramīn* ("desirous"). The words following have unusual plurals but imply the meaning given in the translation.

¹²¹ Bayt al-Bughadhārīyīn evidently refers to the hall of initiation, *Bayt* literally means "house" or "tent," but is also used for "shrine." The first and fifth times the proper name is mentioned it is given as al-Bughadhārīyīn; the vowel marks are missing so that the spelling is not certain. Elsewhere, a *wāw*(*w*) is inserted after the first letter, probably by mistake. And in one spot, the name is spelled as al-Baghḏādīyīn.

Maṣ'ūdī, IV, 62-63, speaks about what seem to be initiation halls of the kind mentioned in *Al-Fihrist* as follows: "De tous les édifices religieux élevés par eux, il ne reste . . . que le temple nommé Maglitya." Maṣ'ūdī then states that this temple had four underground chambers where the Ṣābians brought their children to see and hear many idols; the priests spoke through tubes to make the idols talk.

The Beginning of the Second Mystery

It is the mystery of devils and idols, taken from their [the Šābians'] words. The priest says to one of the lads, "Have I not given that which thou gavest me and surrendered what thou surrendered to me?" Then he [the youth] answers saying, "To the dogs, the ravens, and the ants!" He [the priest] replies to him saying, "What is our obligation to the dogs, the ravens, and the ants?" He [the youth] answers, saying, "Oh, priest, they are brothers and the Lord is the victor, to whom we give delight."¹²²

Also the End of the Second Mystery

As the lambs among the sheep and the calves among the cows, so are the young men; frightened, fleeing, and entering the Bayt al-Bughadhārīyīn, the house of the victor, to whom we give delight.

The Beginning of the Third Mystery

It is also said, "Ye are the sons of al-Bughadhārīyīn. What is the word and the vision?" Then those who agree with him say after him, "We are listening."

There are many possible interpretations of the word. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, I, 409, and Stocks, *Berytus*, IV, Part 1 (1937), 39, suggest that this name might come from the Greek *μεγαλοθεϊον*, alluding to the great gods. It might also refer to the "chambers" or "pits" of the gods as *μεγάρα θεϊον* (δῶν), or to the great goddess, using a name known in Roman times, *μεγάλα θεά* (δία). Perhaps the name is meant to be *al-'adhārīyīn* ("helpers"), referring to deities called "acolytes of the sun" and given various names, such as 'Azīz and 'Azīzū, Asar and Sa'd, 'Azizus and Monimus. See Rostovtsev, *Caravan Cities*, p. 138; Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 229; Lagrange, *Études*, p. 135.

Still another possibility is that it may come from a Semitic word derived from a base like *'adhar* in the Arabic. Forms of this word can refer to "striving" or "virginity." It is possible that this hall of initiation was for those striving to learn the mysteries of manhood, or for boys who had not yet reached the age of puberty, coming to be initiated into a knowledge of adolescence. It is impossible to be sure what the original of this name really was. It might even have been the very simple form *al-mughramīn* ("desirous") following *bayt* ("shrine"), or a similar form from the stem *gharim*.

¹²² The Šābian mysteries and system of initiation may have had certain rites not very different from those of the Mythra cult. Mythra was spoken of as "the victor" and "invincible." "Dog" and "Raven" were the names of two stages in the initiation of the Mythra cult. It is evident that these names, and also the "ants," had some symbolic connection with the Šābian initiation, too. The dogs were sacred to Nergal and the ravens to Nebo. The seven degrees of Mythra initiation represented the seven heavenly bodies to which souls must rise after death; see Cumont, *Religions orientales*, pp. 229, 248.

The End of the Third Mystery

They have appeared as the lambs of sheep, the calves of a herd of cows, and like the young men, who frequent the Bayt al-Bughadhārīyīn. Our Lord is the victor, to whom we give delight.

The Beginning of the Fourth Mystery

Then, after the priest says, "Oh, sons of al-Bughadhārīyīn, listen!", those who are behind him and in accord reply, saying, "We are listening." He calls out, "Be at attention!" They reply, saying, "We hear."

The End of the Fourth Mystery

Frequenters of the Bayt al-Bughadhārīyīn,¹²³ our Lord is the victor, to whom we give delight.

The Beginning of the Fifth Mystery

The priest says, "Oh, sons of al-Bughadhārīyīn, listen!" They reply, saying, "We are willing." Then he says, "Listen!" Again they answer, saying, "We hear." Then he begins saying, "Aye, for I speak of what I know and do not fall short in so doing."

The End of the Fifth Mystery

Those who turn to the Bayt al-Bughadhārīyīn; our Lord is the victor, to whom we give delight.¹²⁴

The author of the book¹²⁵ said:

The number of allegories related to the priests in this shrine (*bayt*) during these seven days is twenty-two. They are narrated to them [the boys] as tales, sung and chanted. The youths enrolled for entrance to this shrine remain in it for seven days. They eat and drink, but during these seven

¹²³ MS 1934 gives the name in this paragraph as *al-Baghḍādīyīn*, but it must be an error, as the Šābians had nothing to do with Baghdād at the time when their cult and rituals were being formed.

¹²⁴ Here the description of the mysteries ends, but as the initiation lasted for seven days and there were seven heavenly bodies, it is likely that there were actually seven stages of initiation, information concerning the last two being lost out of the old manuscript.

¹²⁵ This evidently refers to the same book of the Šābians from which the words of the mysteries were copied.

days no woman sees them. From seven cups set in a row they take the draught, which is called *yusūr*.¹²⁶ They anoint their eyes with this drink, and before they speak or pronounce anything, they [the priests] feed them bread and salt from these cups and [also] the loaves and chickens.¹²⁷ On the seventh day they eat the last of it. There was also in this shrine a sacrament of wine placed in a corner, called *fā'ā*.¹²⁸ They say to their leader, "Oh, thou great man of ours, let some originator read!" He answers saying, "That the vessel may be filled with new wine."¹²⁹ Termination of the prayer: Such is the mystery of the Seven, the invincible.¹³⁰

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: The translator of these five mysteries was awkward, lacking good Arabic diction. Or, perhaps by translating in this corrupt and wretched style, he wished to show the truth about them [the Šābians] and aimed to give their own phrases, which he left unchanged in spite of lack of cohesion¹³¹ and omission of words.

When Hārūn ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥammād ibn Ishāq, the Judge, was administering justice at Ḥarrān and in its neighborhood, there came into his possession a Syriac book which contained an account of their [the Šābian] doctrines and prayers. So he summoned a man skilled in Syriac and Arabic to translate it for him under his auspices, without any additions or omissions. The book is to be found widespread in the hands of the people. I believe that Hārūn ibn Ibrāhīm took it to Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Isā. As their [the Šābian] system is

¹²⁶ *Yusūr* is similar to an Aramaic word which means "right" or "healthy." It is also used to mean "free-will offering."

¹²⁷ This sentence is written in an awkward way. It evidently means that in the course of the seven-day initiation, the priests gave the boys drink from the cups, and loaves of bread and chicken to eat. The word translated "loaves" really means "discs," the shape of loaves in many parts of the Middle East.

¹²⁸ *Fā'ā*, evidently a local word, cannot be identified.

¹²⁹ The word translated "vessel" is *ijjānah*. The word given as "new wine" is *mistayr*, probably colloquial for *mistār*, the usual form meaning "new wine."

¹³⁰ "Termination" (*inqitā*) is given in the Arabic text as *intiqitā*, but this is probably an error. "The Seven" must refer to the sun, moon, and five known planets. The long quotation must end here, as the author of *Al-Fihrist* adds a few personal remarks of his own in the next paragraph. The original Arabic uses no devices to identify quoted passages.

¹³¹ Bu'd al-i'tilāf, literally "distance of accord."

explained in this book, anybody who reads it carefully can forego the numerous other books written about them.

The Doctrines of the Manichaeans¹³²

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-*Nadīm*]: *Mānī* ibn Futtuq Babak ibn Abū Barzām was one of the Ḥashkānīyah.¹³³ His mother's name was Mays, also said to be Utākhīm and Marmaryam, one of the descendants of the Ashghānīyah.¹³⁴ It is said that *Mānī* was *usquf* of Qunnā and the environs and that he was one of the people of Ḥūhī and the domains of Bādarāyā and Bākusāyā.¹³⁵ He, moreover, had a deformed foot.

It is said that his father's origin was at Hamadhān, and that he moved to Babylon and lived at al-Madā'in, in the place known as Ctesiphon, where there was a temple of idols which *Futtuq* used to frequent as the other people did.¹³⁶ One day someone cried to him in the temple of idols with a shout, "Oh, *Futtuq*, do not eat meat!

¹³² The Arabic here is al-Manānīyah, a vernacular form for al-Mānawīyah ("Manichaeans"). Many books about *Mānī* and the Manichaeans are to be found in the Bibliography. The description in *Al-Fihrist* is one of the most important accounts given by the medieval historians. For this passage, see Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 116-17; Puech, pp. 35-36, 117-18.

¹³³ Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 285, gives the name *Mānī* ibn Fātik. Babak is taken from the Flügel edition; MS 1934 does not have consonant marks here, so another possibility is Patek. The next name, Abū Barzām, is probably a transliteration for the Persian Apursān. Perhaps the Ḥashkānīyah is meant to be the Ashghānīyah, meaning members of the Ashkānian dynasty.

¹³⁴ *Mays* is the hackberry tree and Utākhīm cannot be identified. Perhaps Marmaryam is meant to be Mār Maryam; see Puech, p. 36. The Ashghānīyah were evidently members of the Ashkānian dynasty. *Mānī*'s mother traced her lineage back to this dynasty.

¹³⁵ *Usquf* is as a rule used for a bishop, but here it probably refers to some local office. For Qunnā, Bādarāyā, and Bākusāyā, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 178; I, 459, 477. Ḥūhī is written differently in MS 1135 and is probably meant to be Jukhā, a river southeast of Baghdād, or else Kharjā, a watered place near al-Baṣrah. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 143, 418. For further light on this passage, see Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 119-26; Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, p. 208 l. 7, where it is said that *Mānī* was born in a village of Mardīnū near the River Kūthā (for which, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 317).

¹³⁶ Al-Madā'in was a double city which consisted of the Seleucid city of Seleucia on the west bank of the Tigris and the Persian winter capital of Ctesiphon on the east bank. See "al-Madā'in," *Enc. Islam*, III, 75; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 445.

Do not drink wine! Do not marry a human being!" This was repeated for him a number of times during three days. Then, after Futtuq had perceived this, he became connected with a group of people in the environs of Dastumīsān known as the Mughtasilah.¹³⁷ There is still a remnant of them in those regions and watered districts, even in this our own time. They belonged to the cult which Futtuq was ordered to join when his wife was pregnant with Mānī.

When she gave birth to him, they asserted that she had seen lovely dreams about him and that, upon awakening, she had beheld a vision, as though someone¹³⁸ had taken hold of him and mounted with him to the sky. He brought him back, but perhaps he was on high for a day or two before he returned.

Then his father sent and brought him to the place where he was, so that he was reared with him, in accordance with his cult. Even when young, Mānī spoke with words of wisdom and then, when he was twelve years old, there came to him a revelation. According to his statement it was from the King of the Gardens of Light¹³⁹ and, from what he said, it was God Exalted. The angel bringing the revelation was called the Tawm, which is a Nabataean word meaning "Companion."¹⁴⁰ He said to him, "Leave this cult, for thou art not one of its adherents. Upon thee are laid purity and refraining from bodily lusts, but it is not yet time for thee to appear openly, because of thy tender years."

When he had completed his twenty-fourth year, the Tawm came to him saying, "The time is fulfilled for thee to come forth and to give the summons to thy cause."¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Dastumīsān was a place between Wāsiṭ and al-Baṣrah; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 574. For the Mughtasilah, also called Šābat al-Baṭā'ih (Šābians of the Marshlands), see "Šābians" in Glossary.

¹³⁸ MS 1135 has a variation, probably an error.

¹³⁹ MS 1135 clearly gives *jinān* ("gardens"), a word used for the Gardens of Paradise, so evidently "Gardens of Light" refers to Heaven. Instead of "king" (*malik*), the Arabic word might be *malak* ("angel"). Flügel, *Mani*, p. 139, favors the interpretation "king," referring to God.

¹⁴⁰ Perhaps *tawm* is meant to be *taw'am* ("twin"). *Al-Qarīn* ("Companion") here evidently refers to a supernatural spirit which collaborates with a prophet; see Puech, p. 43 bottom; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 140.

¹⁴¹ See Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, p. 208 l. 7, for comparison with this paragraph.

The Statement Addressed to Him by the Tawm

"Peace for thee, oh, Mānī, from myself and from the Lord who sent me to thee. He hath chosen thee for his mission,¹⁴² and commanded thee to summon in thine own right, to preach the gospel of truth as from his presence, and to carry on in this [mission] with all of thy perseverance."

The Manichaeans have said, "He came forth [publicly] on the day of the sovereignty of *Shāpūr* [I] ibn Ardashīr, when the crown was placed on his head. It was Sunday, the first day of Nisān (April), when the sun was in Aries.¹⁴³ Two men who had followed him in accord with his doctrine were with him; one was Sham'un and the other Dhakwā.¹⁴⁴ His father was also with him, watching what was happening to his cause.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-*Nadīm*]: Mānī appeared during the second year of the reign of *Gallus* the Roman. *Marcion* appeared nearly a hundred years earlier, during the reign of Titus

¹⁴² MS 1934 adds several words at this point which are omitted in MS 1135. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 144, suggests that these words are *wa-wazarak bi-ijtibā* ("and he gives you authority by choice"), but these words do not fit the unclear letters in the manuscript.

¹⁴³ Authorities disagree about the dates of the Persian kings, but in order to give an idea of the events in the life of Mānī, the following dates may be helpful, even if not entirely accurate.

<i>King</i>	<i>Mānī</i>
Artabanus (Ardawān) V, last king of the Parthian dynasty, A.D. 213 to 226.	Mānī was born in the fourth year of Artabanus, A.D. 216.
Ardashīr I, founder of the Sāsānian dynasty, A.D. 226/27 to 241.	Mānī had his first revelation when he was 13, A.D. 228/29. His second revelation was A.D. 241/42.
Shāpūr I, A.D. 241/42 to 272.	Mānī made his public appearance at the time of the coronation, A.D. 242/43. He journeyed in the East.
Hurmuz I, who reigned only a few months, A.D. 272/73.	Mānī obtained recognition of the new king.
Bahrām I, A.D. 273 to 276/77.	Mānī was executed at Jundī-Shāpūr, probably A.D. 277.

See *Enc. Brit.* (1960), XVII, 563, 566; Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, p. 118; Puech, Part 1; Burkitt, *Manichees*, p. 3; Taqizadeh, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XI, Part 1 (1943), 6.

¹⁴⁴ These names are probably meant to be *Simeon* and *Zakō*.

Antoninus, in the first year of his reign. Ibn *Dayṣān* appeared about thirty years after Marcion. He was called Ibn *Dayṣān* because he was born by a river named *Dayṣān*.¹⁴⁵

Mānī asserted that he was the paraclete¹⁴⁶ about whom Jesus, for whom may there be peace, preached. Mānī derived his doctrine from the Magians and Christians. In a similar way, the script with which he wrote books about religious subjects was derived from Syriac and Persian.¹⁴⁷

Before he met with Shāpūr, Mānī traveled in the land for about forty years. Then he called upon *Firūz*, the brother of *Shāpūr* ibn *Ardashīr*, and *Firūz* brought him into the presence of his brother, *Shāpūr*.¹⁴⁸

The Manichaeans say that when he [Mānī] came into his presence there were on his two shoulders what resembled two lamps of light. When he [Shāpūr] beheld him, he exalted him and he was magnified in his eyes. He had originally expected to assault and kill him, but when he encountered him he felt in awe of him and was well disposed towards him. Then he asked him why he had come and promised that he should return to [an audience with] him. So Mānī asked for a number of requirements, among which there were that he [Shāpūr] should show favor to his [Mānī's] companions in the provinces and the rest of the kingdom, and that they should have the right to travel wherever they might desire throughout the land. Shāpūr granted him all that he requested, so that Mānī carried his propaganda to India, China, and the peoples of *Khurāsān*, appointing a disciple of his for each region.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ For the *Dayṣān* River, see *Yāqūt*, *Geog.*, III, 860 bottom; Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 150 ff.

¹⁴⁶ See *Bīrūnī*, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, p. 207 l. 19; Burkitt, *Manichees*, p. 94; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 163.

¹⁴⁷ For the script, see Chap. I, sect. 1, near n. 72; Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 166–70. Cf. Burkitt, *Manichees*, pp. 73–91.

¹⁴⁸ Puech, pp. 44–46, suggests that when Mānī first proclaimed his mission Shāpūr was unsympathetic, so he traveled until Shāpūr finally gave his patronage. The period could not have been forty years. It is reasonable to believe that the King's brother persuaded Shāpūr to favor Mānī.

¹⁴⁹ For the missionary activities, see Puech, p. 48. It is possible that Mānī reached India, or at least sent a disciple there, but "China" probably refers to the Oxus River region of central Asia.

Mention of What Mānī Taught, His Statement about the Nature of the Ancient One, Blessed and Exalted, about the Formation of the World, and about the Wars Which Occurred between the Light and the Darkness

Mānī said, "The origin of the world was [composed of] two elements, one of which was light and the other darkness. Each of them was separated from the other. Light is the great [element] and the first, but not in quantity. It is the deity the King of the Gardens of Light.¹⁵⁰ It has five worlds: forbearance, knowledge, intelligence, the unperceivable,¹⁵¹ and discernment.¹⁵² It has also five other spiritual qualities, which are love, faith, fidelity, benevolence,¹⁵³ and wisdom."

He [Mānī] stated, "Together with his attributes he [Light] is eternal. With him are two eternals, one of which is the sky (atmosphere) and the other the earth." Mānī also said, "The worlds of the sky are five: forbearance, knowledge, intelligence, the unperceivable, and discernment.¹⁵⁴ The worlds of the earth are the ether (zephyr), wind, light, water, and fire. The other existence, which is Darkness, has five worlds: clouds, flame, pestilential wind, poison, and obscurity."¹⁵⁵

Mānī said, "The light shining existence was contiguous with the dark existence, with no barrier between them. The Light contacted

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 286. See also Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 175-78; the Flügel edition, p. 329 nn. 1-5; Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 178; Colpe, pp. 60, 62, 125.

¹⁵¹ MS 1135 has *ghayth* ("rain," "giving vegetation"). The translation is from MS 1934, which gives *ghayb* ("unperceivable"), here signifying what God alone knows until he reveals it to a prophet.

¹⁵² Puech, p. 75, gives these five as "intelligence, raison, pensée, réflexion, volonté." Burkitt, *Manichees*, p. 19, suggests, "sense, reason, thought, imagination, intention." Compare Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 183-85; Colpe, p. 101.

¹⁵³ MS 1934 gives *mawaddah* ("benevolence"), whereas MS 1135 and Flügel have *murru'ah* ("virility"). See "Manichaeism," *Enc. Brit.*, XVII, 573, for light on this passage.

¹⁵⁴ This list is a repetition of the one already given. Colpe, pp. 17-18, points out that the author of *Al-Fihrist* probably used more than one source.

¹⁵⁵ Burkitt, *Manichees*, p. 24 bottom, explains that *al-nasīm* ("zephyr") is here used to mean "ether." See also his appendix, p. 107. Instead of "poison" Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 287 top, has "smoke." See also Puech, p. 77; Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 186, 205; Colpe, pp. 23, 26.

the Darkness on its surface.¹⁵⁶ The Light is limitless in height, as well as to the right and the left, while the Darkness is limitless in depth, and also to the right and left."

Mānī said, "From this land of Darkness there was Satan (al-Shayṭān), who is not eternal in his own person, but the elements of his ingredients are eternal. These elements of his ingredients became compounded and brought Satan into existence. His head is the head of a lion and his body like the body of a dragon (great serpent). His wing is like the wing of a bird, his tail like the tail of a great fish, and his four feet like the feet of a beast of burden.¹⁵⁷ After this Satan, who is called the Ancient Devil (Iblīs al-Qadīm), had been formed from the Darkness and had swallowed, gulped down, and corrupted, passing from right to left and descending below, while all the time corrupting and slaying anyone who opposed him, he coveted the upper regions, seeing the flashings of the Light and contesting them. Then beholding them raised on high, he trembled and they intermingled with him,¹⁵⁸ coming into contact with his ingredients. Thus as he coveted the upper regions, the Light World discerned Satan's state of mind¹⁵⁹ and what he desired of slaying and corruption. So after it had come to know about him, it [the Light World] made him known to the world of discernment, then to the world of knowledge, then to the world of the unperceivable, then to the world of intelligence, and then to the world of forbearance."¹⁶⁰

He [Mānī] said, "Then it [the Light World] informed the King of the Gardens of Light¹⁶¹ about him and plotted for his subjection."¹⁶² He said, "These warriors of his were able to defeat him,

¹⁵⁶ "Surface" evidently signifies the frontier between the realms of Light and Darkness; see Puech, p. 75 bottom. There are variations in MS 1135 which are evidently errors.

¹⁵⁷ See Flügel, *Mani*, p. 195; Colpe, p. 28; Widengren, *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, No. 3 (1946), p. 31. Widengren, *ibid.*, pp. 32 ff. throws much light on other subjects connected with Mani.

¹⁵⁸ The Arabic phrase means "one with the other." This evidently refers to the particles of light mingling with those of evil.

¹⁵⁹ The Arabic word translated as "state of mind" is *amr*, which literally means a "matter" or "affair."

¹⁶⁰ This is a difficult passage which merits further study and perhaps a different interpretation.

¹⁶¹ What has already been said indicates that this is the supreme deity.

¹⁶² See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 288; Puech, p. 76.

but he wished to gain the mastery in this affair by himself. So by the spirit of his felicity,¹⁶³ by his five worlds and his twelve ingredients, he generated an offspring, who was the Primal Man,¹⁶⁴ appointing him to combat with the Darkness."

He said, "The Primal Man clad himself with five principles,¹⁶⁵ which are the five deities: the ether (zephyr), wind, light, water, and fire. He took them as armament. The first thing that he put on was the ether, then he harnessed over the vast ether (zephyr) the courageous¹⁶⁶ light, girding over the light the water-possessing dust, and covering [it] with the blowing wind. Then, taking the fire in his hand as a shield and spear, he descended rapidly¹⁶⁷ until he stopped at the brink, close to the belligerents."

"Thereupon the Ancient Devil (Iblis al-Qadīm) repaired to his five principles, which are the smoke, flame, obscurity, pestilential wind, and clouds,¹⁶⁸ arming himself with them and making them a protection for him. Upon his coming into contact with the Primal Man, they joined in battle for a long time. The Ancient Devil mastered Primal Man and took a swallow from his light, which he surrounded with his principles and ingredients."¹⁶⁹

"Then the King of the Gardens of Light sent after him another deity, who delivered him, overcoming the Darkness. This one whom he sent after him was called the Man Beloved of the Lights.¹⁷⁰ He descended and rescued the Primal Man from the lower regions,

¹⁶³ See Jackson, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XLIV (1924), 65.

¹⁶⁴ MS 1135 has variations, apparently errors. For the Primal Man, and variations between *Al-Fihrist*, Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 288, and other authors, see Colpe, pp. 37-39.

¹⁶⁵ 'Principles' is *qinās*. For these five deities, see Colpe, p. 20.

¹⁶⁶ The word translated as "courageous" is *al-mushayya* in MS 1934. Flügel and MS 1135 give instead what seems to be *al-musbiḥ*, which usually means "clad in a coat of mail," but might also have the meaning of "giving benefits."

¹⁶⁷ Flügel and MS 1135 both insert "from the gardens" at this point.

¹⁶⁸ In this list "smoke" replaces "poison" in the list already given. Colpe, p. 40, believes that this is not as close to the original source as the first list.

¹⁶⁹ See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 288; Puech, p. 77; Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 205 ff.

¹⁷⁰ "Beloved of the Lights" is *al-Insān Ḥabīb al-Anwār*. This person is mentioned only once and it is not clear who he is intended to be. Cf. Colpe, p. 43.

together with what he took and made prisoner from among the spirits of Darkness."¹⁷¹

He said, "Then al-Bahjah¹⁷² and the Spirit of Life¹⁷³ journeyed to the briuk, where they looked into the depths of that nether hall and saw Primal Man and the angels, whom the Devil (Iblis) and the exceedingly evil satanic creatures and iniquitous life had surrounded."¹⁷⁴ He said, "The Spirit of Life called to Primal Man with a raised voice, which was like lightning in its swiftness and which became another deity."¹⁷⁵

Mānī said, "When the Ancient Devil was entangled with Primal Man in battle, the five ingredients of Light were mixed with the five ingredients of Darkness. The smoke mingled with the ether (zephyr) from which there was this mixed ether.¹⁷⁶ What there was in it of delight and quieting for¹⁷⁷ souls and the life of animals was from the ether, whereas what there was in it of perdition and disease was from the smoke. The flame mixed with the fire¹⁷⁸ and what there was in them of burnings, perdition, and corruption was from the flame, while what was in them of light and illumination was from the fire. The light mixed with the darkness and what there

¹⁷¹ Cf. Puech, p. 78.

¹⁷² Flügel has al-Bahjah, whereas MS 1934 gives al-Bahijah. See Jackson, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XLIV (1924), 61-64; Puech, p. 78. Al-Bahijah means "joyfulness," and is also spoken of as Mother of Life or Mother of the Living and related to the Spirit of Life. Colpe, pp. 31-33, explains how sources other than *Al-Fihrist* tell that she was the mother of Primal Man, who sent him off to fight. She also helped to create the finite world by binding the hands and feet of the archons. Moreover, she dispatched the supernatural agent Jesus to give the gnosis. She plays another part by serving as an intermediary for the faithful when they die and return to the Light World. The translation follows MS 1934 in separating her name and that of the Spirit of Life with a conjunction, so they seem to have been different gods.

¹⁷³ Puech, pp. 78-79, calls the Spirit of Life l'Esprit Vivant, and says it was subsequently called Mihryazd and Demiurge.

¹⁷⁴ "Satanic creatures" (*al-rajaziyūn*), is probably correct, though Flügel has *al-zajariyūn* ("crying out reproach"). For this passage see Burkitt, *Manichees*, pp. 24-28; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 208. Cf. Boyce in Henning, pp. 44-54; Puech, p. 78.

¹⁷⁵ This voice was called Xrōshtag; see Puech, p. 78. Colpe, pp. 59-60, gives notes about the subordinate deities and angels.

¹⁷⁶ "Smoke" is confused with "poison" and *al-nasīm* ("zephyr") refers to "ether."

¹⁷⁷ The word translated "for" is *an*, the meaning of which is not clear. Cf. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 213.

¹⁷⁸ Flügel inserts "and from them was fire," but MSS 1934 and 1135 omit these words.

was in them¹⁷⁹ of such dense bodies as gold, silver, and their like, and also what there was in them of purity, beauty, cleanliness, and usefulness, was from the light. What there was in them of filth, grime, grossness, and harshness was from the darkness. The pestilential wind mixed with the [good] wind, and what there was in them of usefulness and delight was from the [good] wind, whereas what there was in them of grief, blinding,¹⁸⁰ and injury was from the pestilential wind. The clouds mixed with the water, from which there was this water. Whatever was in it of purity, sweetness, and delicacy for the soul was from the water, while what was in it of suffocating, strangling, perdition, and corruption was from the clouds."¹⁸¹

Mānī said, "After the five principles of Darkness had mixed with the¹⁸² principles of Light, Primal Man descended to the depth of the abysmal [pit] and cut the roots of the principles of Darkness, so that they should not increase. Then he turned away, ascending to his post in the field of war." He said, "Then he commanded some of the angels to draw out this inixture to [a place] aside from the Land of Darkness, near to the Land of Light. So they hung them [the mixed ingredients] on high. Then he caused another angel to arise and to him he handed over these mixed ingredients."

Mānī said, "The King of the World of Light commanded one of his angels to create this world and to build it from those mixed particles, so as to rescue the particles of Light from those of Darkness. So they built ten heavens and eight earths.¹⁸³ He made one angel responsible for bearing the heavens and another for raising up the earths. For each heaven he made twelve gates and vestibules, large and broad. Each one of the gates was similar to its companion and facing it, with two doors for each one of the vestibules. For each one of the doors of these vestibules he made six thresholds, with

¹⁷⁹ In many of the passages "Light" and "Darkness" seem to signify divinities not very different from the Zoroastrian Ormuzd and Ahriman. Here the words are not capitalized, as they apparently refer to ingredients. The translation of this passage follows MS 1934; Flügel and MS 1135 have variations.

¹⁸⁰ MS 1135 has *sharar*, perhaps meant to be *sharīr* ("evil"); Flügel has *ta'wir* ("blinding," "destroying"), and MS 1934 has, badly written, what looks like *tathwīr* ("exciting revolt").

¹⁸¹ See Colpe, pp. 41-42, 130, 134, for comparison with other sources.

¹⁸² Flügel inserts "five" here. In this paragraph "principles" is *ajnās*.

¹⁸³ See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, pp. 288-89.

thirty lanes (ways) for each threshold and twelve rows for each lane. He made, moreover, the thresholds, lanes, and rows at maximum height, like the height of the heavens."¹⁸⁴

He said, "He caused the sky on the lowest of the earths to reach the heavens, and he made a trench around this world into which to throw the Darkness which was sifted out from the Light. Behind that trench he formed a wall, so that none of the Darkness separated from the Light could get out."

Mānī said, "Then he created the sun and the moon for sifting out whatever there was of Light in the world. The sun sifted out the Light which was mixed with the devils of heat, while the moon sifted out the Light which was mixed with the devils of cold. This [Light] rises up on a Column of Praise,¹⁸⁵ together with what there are of magnificats, sanctifyings, good words, and deeds of righteousness."

He said, "This is thrust into the sun, then the sun thrusts it to the Light above it, in the world of praise, in which world it proceeds to the highest unsullied Light. This action continues until what remains of the Light which is bound [to the particles of Darkness] is only what the sun and moon have been unable to extract.¹⁸⁶ At this point the angel who is bearing up the earths rises up, while the other angel relaxes his hold on the heavens, so that the highest mixes with the lowest and a fire flares up, which blazes among these things [mixed particles], continuing to burn until what is left among them of the Light is set free."¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ Perhaps a reasonable interpretation of this passage is to explain it as an allegorical reference to the solar year, observed in many parts of Persia. The twelve gates might be the twelve months, the two doors, day and night, the six thresholds the measures of the sun (*al-mahzūr al-shamsī*), the thirty lanes the thirty days of the solar month in ancient times, and the twelve rows the twelve hours for day, leading out of one door, and twelve for the night, leading out of the other door. These doors were evidently the two parts of a gateway, one swinging to one side and the other to the opposite side. See Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, pp. 46, 187; Burkitt, *Manichees*, p. 108; Colpe, p. 66.

¹⁸⁵ This is almost certainly the Milky Way. See Flügel, *Mani*, p. 233; Colpe, pp. 53-56; Burkitt, *Manichees*, pp. 43, 44. In this passage "Light" and "Darkness" seem to refer to the two original divine elements; see Burkitt, *Manichees*, p. 95; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, pp. 289-90; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 224.

¹⁸⁶ See Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 233-34.

¹⁸⁷ See Burkitt, *Manichees*, p. 28; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, pp. 289-90.

Mānī said, "This conflagration will last for a period of one thousand, four hundred and sixty-eight years."¹⁸⁸ He said, "If this state of affairs comes to an end and the bold chieftainess, the Spirit of Darkness, sees the rescue of the Light and the exaltation of the angels while the warriors and guards [of Darkness] are surrendering, and if she sees the battle and the warriors about her accusing her, she will retreat to a tomb prepared for her and this tomb will be blocked with a rock the size of the world, which will barricade her in it [the tomb], so that the Light will be set free from anxiety due to the Darkness and its injury."

The Māsīyah among the Manichaeans assert that something of the Light will still remain in the Darkness.¹⁸⁹

The Beginning of Generation, According to the Doctrine of Mānī¹⁹⁰

He [Mānī] said, "Then one of those archons¹⁹¹ and the stars and urging, craving, passion, and guilt had sexual intercourse and from their intercourse there appeared the first man, who was *Adam*. What brought this to pass was [the intercourse of] the two archons, male and female. Then intercourse took place again, from which there appeared the beautiful woman who was *Eve* (Ḥawwā')." ¹⁹²

He said, "When the five angels beheld the light of God and his goodness, which passion had despoiled and made captive in those two who had been born, they asked al-Bashīr, the Mother of Life, Primal Man, and the Spirit of Life to send to this ancient offspring someone to free and save him, to teach him knowledge and righteousness and to rescue him from the devils."¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ See Burkitt, *Manichees*, p. 89; Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 237-39.

¹⁸⁹ See Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 240, 242; Colpe, p. 36.

¹⁹⁰ For suggestions about the sources of the following passage, see Colpe, pp. 140-43.

¹⁹¹ This word is evidently like the Greek "archon," but instead of signifying a chief magistrate, it is used for a lesser deity.

¹⁹² For further light on this passage, see Burkitt, *Manichees*, p. 29; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 234; Colpe, pp. 78-80; Puech, pp. 80-81.

¹⁹³ Al-Bashīr was the "Teller of Glad Tidings." He was very likely the same as the Third Messenger and was probably the Izdaddā who emanated from the Living Spirit, to rescue the Light from the Darkness. He is mentioned again in notes 231 and 260 which follow. For the Mother of Life, see n. 172, and for the Spirit of Life, see n. 173.

He said, "So they sent 'Isā (Jesus), and with him a deity who sought out the two archons [male and female], imprisoned them, and delivered the two who had been born."¹⁹⁴ He said, "'Isā proceeded to speak to the man who had been born, that is, Adam, enlightening him about the Gardens [of Paradise], the deities, Hell, the devils, the earth and Heaven, sun and moon. He caused him to fear Eve, explaining to him that she was forbidden, restraining him from [going to] her and making him afraid to approach her, so that he obeyed."¹⁹⁵

Then the [male] archon reverted to his daughter, who was Eve, and because of the lust that was in him, had intercourse with her. From her he begot a son who was disfigured and of a ruddy complexion. His name was *Cain*, the Ruddy Man. Then that son had intercourse with his mother, by whom he begot a son who was white and whose name was *Abel*, the White Man.¹⁹⁶ Cain returned, again had intercourse with his mother. He begot by her two girls, one of whom was named the Wise of the Ages and the other the Daughter of Corruption. Then Cain took the Daughter of Corruption as a wife and gave the Wise of the Ages to Abel, who received her as a wife for himself."¹⁹⁷

He said, "In the Wise of the Ages there was virtue from the light of God and His wisdom, but there was none of this in the Daughter of Corruption. Then one of the angels went to the Wise of the Ages and said to her, 'Guard thyself, for to thee will be born two maidens, fulfilling the pleasure of God.' Then he fell upon her and because of him she bore two girls, one of whom she named *Faryād* (Lamentation) and the other *Pur-Faryād* (Laden with Lamentation).¹⁹⁸ When Abel heard of this, he was filled with anger and encompassed by grief. So he said to her, 'Because of whom have you given birth to these two children? I suppose they belong to Cain

¹⁹⁴ This Jesus was not the Christ, founder of Christianity; see Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 254-58; Colpe, p. 72; Burkitt, *Manichees*, pp. 29-32; 38-43, III.

¹⁹⁵ The last words of the paragraph are literally, "he did."

¹⁹⁶ The word in Arabic is "white" rather than "blond," so that the color evidently has allegorical significance as "good."

¹⁹⁷ See Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 259 ff.

¹⁹⁸ These names are probably Persian words. They occur again in the last paragraph of this passage.

and that it was he who had intercourse with you!' Although she explained to him how the angel had appeared, he left her, going to his mother, Eve, and complaining to her about what Cain had done. He said to her, 'Has [news of] what he did to my sister and wife reached you?' When Cain heard of this, he went to Abel and brained him with a rock, killing him. Then he took the Wise of the Ages for a wife.¹⁹⁹

Mānī said, "Then those two archons and this Šindid²⁰⁰ and Eve were distressed because of what they learned about Cain. Al-Šindid thereupon taught Eve the language of magic,²⁰¹ so that she could enchant Adam. This she proceeded to do, enticing him with a wreath of blossoms from a tree. When Adam saw her, he fell upon her in sensual passion, so that she gave birth to a male child who was beautiful and of a comely countenance. When al-Šindid learned about this, it upset him, so that he became ill and said to Eve, 'This [child] who has been born is not one of us, but a stranger.' She therefore desired his death, but, taking hold of him, Adam said to Eve, 'I am going to nourish him with cow's milk and the fruit of trees!' Thus taking him he departed. Al-Šindid, however, caused the archons to carry off the trees and cows, going far removed from Adam. When Adam saw this, he took the offspring and made three circles around him. Over the first [circle] he mentioned the name of the King of the Gardens, over the second the name of Primal Man, and over the third the name of the Spirit of Life. Then he communed with God, may His name be glorified, and beseeching Him he said, 'Even if I have committed a crime against Thee, this [child] who has been born has not sinned.' Then one of the three²⁰² hastened with a wreath (crown) of splendor, which he brought in his hand to Adam. When al-Šindid and the archons beheld this, they went their way."

¹⁹⁹ In order to make this passage and the one which follows readable, the translation is a free one. For an interesting comparison with Gnostic ideas, see Gold, *Biblical Archaeologist*, XV, No. 3 (September 1952), 74-78.

²⁰⁰ *Al-šindid* means "gallant commander" or "violent wind." The name probably refers to the angel who raped Wise of the Ages.

²⁰¹ "Language of magic" is *raṣānah* in Flügel, *riṭān* in MS 1934. Both refer to the language of magical incantations.

²⁰² This was probably one of the three supernatural persons whose names were pronounced over the circles.

He said, "Then there appeared to Adam a tree called the lotus, from which came forth milk with which he nourished the boy. He [at first] called him by its name, but later he called him Shātīl.²⁰³ Thereupon al-Ṣindīd declared hostilities against Adam and those who had been born, saying to Eve, 'Show yourself to Adam, that perchance you may bring him back to us.' So she dashed off and aroused the passion of Adam, who had lustful intercourse with her. When Shātīl saw him, he admonished him [Adam] and reproached him, saying, 'Come, thou shalt go forth to the East, to the light and wisdom of God!' So he departed with him and dwelt there until he died and went to the Gardens [of Paradise]. Then Shātīl with Faryād (Lamentation) and Pur-Faryād (Laden with Lamentation) and their mother, Wise of the Ages, accomplished good works, with one idea of right and one way of life,²⁰⁴ until the time of their deaths, but Eve, Cain, and the Daughter of Corruption went to Hell."²⁰⁵

Description of the Earth of Light and the Sky of Light, Which Two Things Together with the God of Light Are Eternal

Mānī said, "The Realm (Earth) of Light has five members: ether (zephyr), wind, light, water, and fire. The Sky of Light also has five members: forbearance, knowledge, intelligence, the imperceivable, and discernment."²⁰⁶ He said, "The incomparably great are these ten members, all of which belong to the Sky and the Earth." He said, "This Light Shining Earth has a body which is brilliant and joyfully beautiful, with flashing and illumination. Over it there shines the clearness of its purity and the beauty of its substance:

²⁰³ This is almost certainly Seth (*Shīth*); see "Shīth," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 385. For the passage as a whole, cf. Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 263-70.

²⁰⁴ *Al-ṣadiqūt* is translated as "good works." The word translated as "idea of right" is a word similar to *bi-ḥaqq* in MSS 1934 and 1135. Flügel gives *naḥw*, which is probably incorrect. "Way of life" is *sabil*.

²⁰⁵ This description is an allegory based on Gnostic ideas. Mānī felt that man must free himself from sexual passion in order to be saved. Abel, the Wise of the Ages, and her daughters evidently represent righteousness, which must be freed from worldly lust even if it entails sorrow. Cain, the Daughter of Corruption, al-Ṣindīd, and Eve represent carnal passion. Adam impersonates man with his weaknesses, while Shātīl reveals man's ability to overcome weakness and be saved.

²⁰⁶ See n. 152.

form for form, beauty for beauty, brightness (whiteness) for brightness, clearness for clearness, joyful beauty for joyful beauty, light for light, brilliancy for brilliancy, appearance for appearance, good for good, comeliness for comeliness, gates for gates, towers for towers, habitations for habitations, dwellings for dwellings, gardens for gardens, trees for trees, branches for branches, with twigs and fruits for beautiful appearance and glorious light and with different colors, some of them better and more shining than the others; also clouds for clouds and shade for shade. Moreover, that light shining deity in this Earth is an eternal god."²⁰⁷ He said, "With the deity of this Earth there are twelve great beings called the First Born. Their form is like his form, all of them wise and intelligent." He said, "[There are also] great beings called the Strong, Intelligent Supports." He said, "The ether (zephyr) is the life of the world."²⁰⁸

Description of the Earth of Darkness and Its Heat

Mānī said, "Its realm (earth) has depths, caverns, regions, hide-aways, barriers, thickets, and jungles. It is a realm which is dispersed, divided, and filled with forests and also with fountains, from which smoke [goes] from land to land²⁰⁹ and barrier to barrier. Fire gushes forth from them, from land to land, and darkness also gushes forth, from land to land. Some of this is higher than the rest and some lower. The smoke which gushes forth from it is the scorching (venom) of death. It gushes forth from a fountain. The bottom of its foundations being violence,²¹⁰ with soil and with the ingredients of fire, the ingredients of the strong, darkened wind, and the ingredients of sluggish water. The Darkness is contiguous to that

²⁰⁷ See Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 271 ff. In the Arabic, the word "for" is not inserted between the repetitions of the qualifications. Perhaps the meaning is that in the realm of light there are models which have counterparts among the phenomena of the material world.

²⁰⁸ *Al-Abkār* ("the First Born") can also mean "Virgins." "Strong, Intelligent Supports," taken from MS 1934, is, in Arabic, *al-ʾImād al-ʾĀlimūn al-Aqwīyāʾ*. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 275, cites a different set of words, giving as the translation "die Hausgeister . . . die Thätigen die Kräftigen."

²⁰⁹ The word translated "land" is *bilād*, often translated "towns."

²¹⁰ The word translated as "violence" is *al-zaqqeh*, which can also mean "clamor." It is taken from MS 1135 and is almost certainly inaccurate. The words of this clause in the Flügel edition and MS 1934 seem to be errors, so that no reliable translation can be given. See Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 63 n. 5, 277.

Light Shining Earth which is above, the other being below. For the first there is no limit in height, nor is there [limit] for the Darkness in depth."

How a Man Must Enter into the Cult

He [Mānī] said, "He who would enter the cult²¹¹ must examine his soul. If he finds that he can subdue lust and covetousness, refrain from eating meats, drinking wine, as well as from marriage, and if he can also avoid [causing] injury to water, fire, trees, and living things,²¹² then let him enter the cult. But if he is unable to do all of these things, he shall not enter the cult. If, however, he loves the cult, but is unable to subdue lust and craving, let him seize upon guarding the cult and the Elect,²¹³ that there may be an offsetting of his unworthy actions, and times in which he devotes himself to work and righteousness, nighttime prayer, intercession, and pious humility (supplication).²¹⁴ That will defend him during his transitory life and at his appointed time, so that his status will be the second status in the life to come."²¹⁵ In what follows, we shall mention this, if Allāh so wills.

²¹¹ The word translated as "cult" is *al-dīn*, which is the common word for 'religion.'

²¹² Flügel, *Mani*, p. 63, gives various possibilities for these words. MS 1934 has what appears to be *al-shajar wa-al-dābbāt* ("trees and living things"). This wording seems to be reasonable, as Mānī forbade his followers to injure trees and animals; see Puech, p. 90.

²¹³ "The Elect" is *al-Ṣiddīqūn*, called also *Zaddīkē* or *Zaddīqā* in other vernaculars. They were the members of the higher order of the cult who observed all of the rites. They depended upon the services of the lay members or Hearers to provide for their daily needs. See Burkitt, *Manichees*, pp. 46, 105-6; Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 283-89; Puech, pp. 86-87.

²¹⁴ These five obligations for the Hearers parallel the five for the Elect. See Colpe, p. 106.

²¹⁵ "That will defend him" is taken from MS 1934, which has a form of *dafa'* ("defended"), probably with the idea of protecting from evil. Flügel and MS 1135 have a form which seems to come from *gama'* ("caused to be content"). Mānī divided his followers into two main groups, the Elect who resembled monks, and the Hearers, who lived secular lives. Members of the first group went directly to heaven, but members of the second group had to pass through an intermediary experience before being fit to enter paradise! see Puech, p. 89, Colpe, p. 94.

The Sacred Law Which Mānī Brought and the Ordinances Which He Ordained

Mānī prescribed ten ordinances for the Hearers,²¹⁶ which he followed up with three seals²¹⁷ and a fast of seven days without fail during every month. The ordinances represent²¹⁸ faith in the four great beings: God, His Light, His Power, and His Wisdom.²¹⁹ God, may His name be magnified, is the King of the Gardeus of Light. His Light is the sun and the moon, His Power the five angels: ether (zephyr), wind, light, water, and fire. His Wisdom is the holy religion with its five significations: teachers, the sons of forbearance; deacons, the sons of knowledge; priests, the sons of intelligence; the Elect, the sons of the unperceivable, and the Hearers, the sons of discernment.²²⁰

The Ten Ordinances²²¹

Renouncing the worship of idols; renouncing the telling of lies; renouncing avarice; renouncing killing; renouncing adultery; renouncing: stealing; the teaching of defects; magic; the upholding of two opinions, which is about the faith; neglect and lassitude in action.²²²

²¹⁶ See Puech, p. 89; Burkitt, *Manichees*, pp. 51-57, 61.

²¹⁷ "Seals" is *khawāṣṣim*. Further on in this chapter "the seal of the mouth" is mentioned (see n. 286). This suggests that the seals represented "see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil." See Burkitt, *Manichees*, p. 55; Baur, *Das Manichäische Religions System*; Colpe, pp. 110, 121-22; Flügel, *Mānī*, p. 290; Jackson, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XLIV (1924), 68.

²¹⁸ Instead of the word "represent" there is a pronoun in the Arabic.

²¹⁹ Colpe, pp. 111, 127, explains that this faith in the great objects of worship compliments the first ordinance, which is renouncing idols.

²²⁰ The Flügel edition spells the word for "teachers" inaccurately, and the MS 1934 contains the last clauses of the passage on the margin. In the Arabic the word for "deacons" is taken from the Syriac *nshammshānā* but is badly transliterated; see Burkitt, *Manichees*, pp. 50, 105-6; Colpe, pp. 107-8; Flügel, *Mānī*, pp. 291-94.

²²¹ The translation follows MS 1934 in making this a separate heading.

²²² See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 290; Puech, p. 89; Flügel, *Mānī*, pp. 299-303. These authorities give the list of ordinances in different forms, some of them including prayer as an ordinance. Burkitt, *Manichees*, p. 61, translates what is given as "teaching of defects" as "teaching of incantations." In Arabic the form is *ta'lim al-'ilal*.

The Ordinance of Prayer: Four or Seven²²³

It is that a man shall arise and wash himself with water, which is either running or not. Then he shall face the supreme brightness while standing, and then bow down, saying while in prostration, "Blessed be our guide the Paraclete, the Apostle of Light, blessed be his guardian angels and praised be his shining hosts." This he says as he prostrates himself. Then shall he arise, for he must not tarry in his prostration, but stand erect. After that, he shall say during a second prostration, "Praise be to thee, oh, thou shining one, Mānī our guide, source of light and branch of the living, the great tree all of which gives healing."

Then during the third prostration he shall say, "I bow down and render praise with a pure heart and truthful tongue to the great deity, father of the lights and their substance; praised and blessed art thou, and thy greatness in its entirety, as well as to those blessed ones who know thee and whom thou hast called upon. Let the praised among thy hosts glorify thee, thy justice, thy word, thy greatness, and thy favor,²²⁴ for verily thou art a deity who is altogether truth, goodness, and righteousness."²²⁵

Then he shall say during the fourth [prostration], "I render praise and bow down to all of the deities and to all of the light shining angels and to all of the lights and all of the hosts²²⁶ which have sprung from the great deity."

Then he shall say during the fifth, "I bow down and give praise to the great hosts and to the shining deities, who by their wisdom have pierced and driven out the Darkness, subduing it."

Then he shall say during the sixth, "I bow down and offer praise to the father of greatness, the mighty and shining, who has come from those who have knowledge,"²²⁷ and in this [same] manner

²²³ Seven prayers are for the Elect and four for the Hearers; see Colpe, pp. 113-14; Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 303-10.

²²⁴ Flügel, *Mani*, p. 96, gives *gerechten* for the word translated as "justice" and *wohlgefallen* for the word translated as "favor."

²²⁵ The word translated as "verily" is literally "because that you." The word translated as "goodness" is *khayrah*, taken from MS 1934. It is *hayāh* ("life") in the Flügel edition and *hunū* ("affection") in MS 1135.

²²⁶ MS 1934 omits "hosts" but the other versions include it. In the clause which follows, "have sprung" is literally "were."

²²⁷ See Colpe, p. 114; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 309 sect. 240.

until the twelfth prostration. If he completes ten prayers, he starts another prayer in which there is praise; it is unnecessary for us to record it.²²⁸

The first prayer is at the time of the descent,²²⁹ the second prayer is between the descent and sunset. Then there is the sunset prayer after the setting of the sun. Three hours after sunset there is the 'atamah prayer.²³⁰ For each prayer and prostration one does as he did during the first prayer, which is the prayer of al-Bashīr.²³¹

As for fasting, when the sun is stationed²³² in Sagittarius and the moon is full, there is a fast of two days without a breaking of fast between them. When the new moon appears, there is also a fast of two days, without any breaking of fast between them. Then in addition to these there is a fast when a heavenly body (light) is for two days in Capricornus. Then when the new moon appears and the sun is stationed in Aquarius, eight days of the month having gone by, there is a fast of thirty days, with a breaking of fast each day at sunset.²³³

The common people among the Manichaeans make Sunday important, whereas members of their elevated ranks make Monday important. Thus did Mānī prescribe for them.²³⁴

Disagreement of the Manichaeans about the Succession after Mānī The Manichaeans have said:

As Mānī was ascending to the Gardens of Light, but before [he completed]

²²⁸ The various versions agree in giving "ten prayers." Either the word "ten" is meant to be "seven," as there were seven prescribed prayers, or else the word "ten" may refer to prostrations, in which case "twelve" must be the word meant. The sentence preceding speaks of the "twelfth prostration."

²²⁹ "Descent" (*al-zawāl*) is the point at which the sun starts to go down, after reaching the highest point at noon.

²³⁰ 'Atamah is the first third of the night, starting at twilight.

²³¹ See n. 193.

²³² *Nazalat al-shams*, translated "stationed," is the same expression as the one used for Aquarius in what follows.

²³³ Cf. Colpe, p. 115.

²³⁴ The "common people" were evidently the Hearers, while the "elevated ranks" were the Elect. See Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 314-15; Colpe, pp. 115-17, 121.

his ascension, he established as the imam after him Sīs,²³⁵ who upheld the faith of God and its purity until he died. Then the imams received the faith one from another. There was no disagreement among them until there appeared a schismatic sect among them known as the Dīnāwwarīyah,²³⁶ who challenged their imam, refusing to obey him. Although the authority of the imamate was not fulfilled unless it was in Bābil,²³⁷ it not being permissible for the imam to be elsewhere, this sect spoke in opposition to that tenet and continued to contradict it as well as other things not worthy of mention, until the leadership as a whole fell to Mihr. This was during the reign of al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik and continued until the governorship of Khālīd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī in al-'Irāq. Then a man known as Zād Hurmuz joined them, but he left them after staying with them for a while. He was a man of great possessions. He gave them up and joined the Elect.²³⁸ Then, asserting that he found things with which he disagreed, he felt a desire to join the Dīnāwwarīyah, who were on the other side of the River of Balkh.²³⁹ He came, however, to al-Madā'in,²⁴⁰ where there was a secretary of al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf who possessed great wealth. As there was a friendship between the two of them, he told him about his state of mind and the reason inducing him to go to Khurāsān to become attached to the Dīnāwwarīyah. Then the secretary said to him, "I am your Khurāsān! I will build places of worship for you and provide you with what you need."²⁴¹

²³⁵ Here the word imam evidently refers to a Manichaean prelate who, like a Christian patriarch, was responsible for the religious, legal, and political affairs of the sect. See Puech, p. 86 bottom.

²³⁶ The name probably comes from the Persian city of Dīnāwwar (Dīnawar); see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 714; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 318; "Dīnawar," *Enc. Islam*, I, 976.

²³⁷ This probably refers to the region rather than the city of Babylon, as Ctesiphon had become the principal center; see "Bābil," *Enc. Islam*, I, 549.

²³⁸ In all of the versions the word translated "Elect" is *al-ṣādīqūt*, which seems to be a misspelled word meant to be *al-Ṣiddīqūn* (*Zaddīqā*), the word used for the Elect, but see n. 204.

²³⁹ The River of Balkh was the Āmū Daryā; see "Balkh," *Enc. Islam*, I, 622; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 322.

²⁴⁰ See n. 136.

²⁴¹ Al-Hajjāj, who became governor of al-'Irāq A.D. 694, extended to Manichaeans the treatment accorded to Christians and Jews, but he kept control of the sect by retaining the head of the sect in his own district. Evidently his secretary was still a man of wealth and influence during the subsequent governorship of Khālīd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, so that when Mihr died, he was able to have Zād Hurmuz appointed as the next chief of the Manichaeans. Later, Miqlāṣ followed as still another chief of the sect.

So he became established with him and he [the secretary] built places of worship for him. Zād Hurmuz then wrote to the Dīnāwariyah, calling upon them [to appoint] a chief whom he might place in authority. They wrote to him that it was not permitted to have the headship anywhere other than the center of the dominion in Bābil. When, therefore, he asked who would be suitable in this [circumstance] and there was no other than himself, he gave consideration to the matter. But when he wasted away, the meaning of which is that death attended him, they asked him to appoint a chief for them. Then he said, "Behold, it is *Miqlāš* whose situation thou hast known. I am well pleased with him and have confidence in his administration over thee." Thus, when Zād Hurmuz passed away, they united in accepting *Miqlāš*.

The Manichaeans Become Two Branches, al-Mihrīyah and al-Miqlāšīyah

Miqlāš differed with the community about matters of religion, among which were the social relationships,²⁴² until Abū Hilāl al-Dayḥūrī²⁴³ came from Africa and the leadership of the Manichaeans fell to him. That was during the days of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr. He [Abū Hilāl] called upon the followers of *Miqlāš* to give up what *Miqlāš* had ordered for them in connection with social relationships and they agreed to this.

At that time there appeared among the followers of *Miqlāš* a man known as *Buzurmihr*, who gathered together a group from among them and started some other innovations. Thus their situation continued until the leadership fell to Abū Sa'id Raḥā, who turned them back to the opinion of the followers of *Mihr* regarding social relationships. Their status then continued like this until, during the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, there appeared a man among them who I believe was Yazdānbakht.²⁴⁴ He was opposed to certain things, and as he cajoled them, a company among them turned to him.

²⁴² The word translated "social relationships" is *al-wiṣālāt* (*al-waṣālāt*) translated by Colpe, p. 121, as "periods of continual fasting" and by Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 99, 327, as *gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen*.

²⁴³ See Flügel, *Mani*, p. 327.

²⁴⁴ MS 1135 has a variation, probably a mistake. See nn. 311, 338, for a repetition of this name.

Why the Followers of *Miqlāṣ* Were Hostile to the Followers of *Mihr*

They asserted that *Khālid* al-Qasrī brought *Mihr* on a she-mule and provided him with a silver seal, bestowing embroidered garments upon him.

During the days of al-*Ma'mūn* and al-*Mu'taṣim*, the chief of the followers of *Miqlāṣ* was Abū 'Alī *Sa'id*. Then afterwards there succeeded him his secretary, *Naṣr* ibn *Hurmuzd* al-Samarqandī. They authorized for the members of the sect and those who entered it things forbidden by the religion. They mingled with the rulers (*salāṭin*), entrusting things to them. Abū al-*Ḥasan* al-Dimashqī was one of their chiefs.

The Death of *Mānī*²⁴⁵

Mānī was killed during the reign of *Bahrām* ibn *Shāpūr*²⁴⁶ who, after executing him, gibbeted two halves of his body, one at a certain gateway and the other at a different gate of the city of *Jundī-Shāpūr*. The two places are called the Upper Saint and the Lower Saint.²⁴⁷ It is said that he was in *Shāpūr*'s prison, but when *Shāpūr* died *Bahrām* released him. It is also said that he died in prison, but there is no doubt about the gibbeting.

Some people say that he had two deformed feet and others that it was only his right foot. In his books *Mānī* belittled the other prophets, finding fault with them and accusing them of falsehood, asserting²⁴⁸ that the devils had gained mastery over them and spoken by means of their tongues. In some places in his books he said that they were devils and he stated that Jesus, who is famous among us and among the Christians, was Satan.

²⁴⁵ This heading is not included in MSS 1934 and 1135. The paragraph which follows seems to be misplaced and was probably meant to be a part of the biographical material at the beginning of this account of *Mānī*.

²⁴⁶ *Shahrastānī* (*Haarbrücker*), Part 1, p. 285, says he was executed by *Bahrām* I, who was king of Persia from A.D. 271 to A.D. 275, 276, or 277, the dates not being fixed with certainty. For the death of *Mānī*, see *Puech*, pp. 51-54.

²⁴⁷ "The Upper Saint and the Lower Saint" are given by both *Flügel* and MS 1934 as *al-Mār al-A'lā wa-al-Mār al-Asfal*. MS 1135 gives *mār* instead of *mār*, which seems to be an error, as *mār* can be translated as "saint" and seems to be correct. *Birūnī*, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, p. 208 l. 18, gives simply *Bāb Mānī* ("Gate of *Mānī*"). Cf. *Ya'qūbī*, *Ta'rikh*, Part 1, p. 161. *Jundī-Shāpūr* was the city in southern Persia of great importance during this period. See *Yāqūt*, *Geog.*, II, 130; "Djundai-Sābūr," *Enc. Islam*, I, 1064.

²⁴⁸ The word translated "asserting" is omitted in MS 1934.

The Manichaean Doctrine of Future Life

Mānī said:

When death comes to one of the Elect (*Zaddiqā*), Primal Man sends him a light shining deity in the form of the Wise Guide. With him are three deities,²⁴⁹ with whom there are the drinking vessel, clothing, headcloth, crown, and diadem of light.²⁵⁰ There accompanies them a virgin who resembles the soul of that member of the Elect.

Then there appear to him the Devil of Craving and Lust and the [other] devils. When the member of the Elect sees them, he seeks the aid of the deity who is in the form of the Wise,²⁵¹ and the three deities who come close to him. When the devils see them, they turn back fleeing. Then they take the member of the Elect and garb him with the crown, the diadem, and the garments. They place the drinking vessel in his hand and mount up with him in the Column of Praise²⁵² to the sphere of the moon, to Primal Man and al-Bahijah, Mother of the Living,²⁵³ to where he at first was in the Gardens of Light. As for the body [of the member of the Elect] which is abandoned and cast down, the sun, the moon and the light shining deities abstract from it the forces which are the water, fire, and ether (zephyr), and which ascend to the sun, becoming divine. But the rest of the body, all of which is Darkness, is flung to the lower regions.²⁵⁴

When death comes to a man who is a combatant, who accepts the cult and righteousness, caring for these things as well as for the Elect, those deities whom I have already mentioned are present.²⁵⁵ As the devils also

²⁴⁹ Colpe, p. 88, suggests that the three deities are the Coptic angels, with the Wise Guide appearing as a figure of light.

²⁵⁰ Colpe, p. 87, gives "the price of victory" instead of the "drinking vessel." The "crown and diadem" might be translated "the fillet and wreath." See also Colpe, pp. 83 n. 3, 86.

²⁵¹ This may refer to the Wise Guide. Colpe, pp. 87-88, points out that Mānī has either neglected to mention a judge or else is not concerned with one.

²⁵² This is evidently the Milky Way; see n. 185.

²⁵³ Flügel, depending upon a faulty manuscript, gives al-Nahnahah, while MS 1135 has al-Bahiyah. Although the name in MS 1934 is badly written, it is certainly meant to be al-Bahijah, which must be correct; see n. 172.

²⁵⁴ MS 1135 gives "ascend" in the singular. Perhaps the translation should be, "and he ascends to the sun, becoming divine." For further light on this passage, see Flügel, *Mānī*, pp. 339-47.

²⁵⁵ Having described how a member of the Elect goes straight to Heaven, the account next tells how a Hearer or member of the lay order must go through a transitional stage before entering paradise.

are present, he asks for help, making known what he has accomplished in the form of righteous behavior and caring for the cult and the Elect. Then they deliver him from the devils and he remains in the world like a man who sees horrible things in his dream, plunging into mud and clay. Thus does he remain until his light and spirit are rescued, so that he becomes attached, adhering to the Elect, donning their garments after the long period of his [transitional] uncertainty.²⁵⁶

When death comes to an evil man who is enslaved by craving and lust, the devils attend him, taking hold of him, chastising him and showing him horrible things. As those [good] deities are also present with the same garments, the evil man supposes that they have come to save him. But, instead, they have come to reproach him, to remind him of his evil deeds, and to substantiate proof of his having neglected to aid the Elect. Then he continues to vacillate in the world and in torment, until the time for punishment, when he is cast down to the underworld.²⁵⁷

Mānī said, "These are the three roadways upon which the souls of men are divided. One of them leads to the Gardens [of Paradise] and is for the Elect. The second one, leading to the world and things horrible, is for those who guard the cult and help the Elect. The third leads to the underworld and is for the man who is a sinner."²⁵⁸

What the State of Future Life Will Be after the Disappearance of the World, with a Description of Heaven and Hell²⁵⁹

He [Mānī] said, "The Primal Man will come from the realm of Capricornus, al-Bashīr²⁶⁰ from the east, the Great Builder²⁶¹ from

²⁵⁶ Cf. Colpe, p. 103. See also Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 92, where it says that when a Hearer died he was transferred to the body of an animal until he was purged of the spots caused by unrighteousness.

²⁵⁷ The translation is free, to make the passage readable. The form "cast down" is singular in the Flügel version and MS 1135, which seems to be correct, although there is a variation in MS 1934.

²⁵⁸ As the Arabic is condensed, it is impossible to translate this passage in a literal way, so that words "lead," "leading" and "is for" have been added. For this paragraph, see Colpe, p. 85.

²⁵⁹ This description is probably older than the one given previously. See Colpe, p. 100; Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 351-54.

²⁶⁰ See n. 193.

²⁶¹ The Great Builder was the Great Bān, who planned the walls which confined the Darkness in the underworld. See Burkitt, *Manichees*, pp. 26, 64, 89; Puech, p. 78; Colpe, p. 46. This person is not mentioned by the other Arab authors.

the south, and the Spirit of Life²⁶² from the realm of the west. They will stop on the great structure, which is the new Garden [of Paradise] and going around that Hell, they will gaze into it. Then the Elect will come from the Gardens [of Paradise] to that light, in which they will be seated. They will hasten to the gathering deities and stand around that Hell. Then they will gaze down upon the evildoers as they turn, vacillate, and are portrayed in that Hell.²⁶³ That Hell does not have the power to harm the Elect, so that if those evildoers behold the Elect, they will invoke them, supplicating them. But they will not answer them except by reproaches, which do not benefit them. Thus shall the wicked have an increase of regret, grief, and affliction, which will be their lot forever and ever.²⁶⁴

The Titles of Mānī's Books

Mānī wrote seven books, one of them in Persian and six in Syriac, the language of Syria.²⁶⁵ These were:

Safar al-Asrār, which included:²⁶⁶ section, Mention of the Dayṣāniyūn;²⁶⁷ section, Testimony of Bistāsf about the Beloved;²⁶⁸ section, Testimony

²⁶² See n. 173.

²⁶³ The word translated "portrayed" is given in MS 1934 in a form which appears to be *paṭaṣawwarūn*. Flügel and MS 1135 have variations. It is impossible to be sure what is meant.

²⁶⁴ Originally Light and Darkness did not have a fortified frontier between them, but after Darkness invaded Light, the Great Builder was summoned to make a wall to separate the two antagonistic elements. This passage pictures the deities and the Elect walking about on the wall, looking down into Hell. Cf. Colpe, pp. 48, 97-98.

²⁶⁵ The book written in Persian was undoubtedly the *Shābuqān* (*Shāhburqān*). This account should be compared with Kessler, *Mani*, p. 172. For these books see "Manichaeism," *Enc. Brit.*, XVII, 572; Puech, pp. 67, 149 n. 262; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 154; Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 354-69.

²⁶⁶ *Safar al-Asrār* is spelled as it is given in MS 1934 at the end of the list of sections. *Safar* might mean "writing." MS 1135 and Flügel have *sifr* ("book," "scripture") instead of *safar*. *Al-asrār* means "secrets" or perhaps "mysteries." This paragraph is just about the contents of *Safar al-Asrār*. The next paragraph lists Mānī's other books.

²⁶⁷ These were the Bardesanes. An account of them follows this account of Mānī. The word translated as "section" is *bāb*.

²⁶⁸ Bistāsf may be instead Hystaspes. See Flügel, *Mani*, p. 357; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 281; Sykes, *History of Persia*, I, 108-9; Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, V, 33, where he is called Gustasp. He was also called Vistasp, the king converted by Zoroaster, who may be the person called "the Beloved" in this title.

about His Spirit (Himself) to Ya'qūb;²⁶⁹ section, The Son of the Widow, who according to Mānī was the crucified Messiah whom the Jews crucified; section, Jesus' Testimony about His Spirit (Himself) in Yahūdihā;²⁷⁰ section, The Beginning of the Testimony of al-Yamīn after His Conquest;²⁷¹ section, The Seven Spirits;²⁷² section, Account of the Four Spirits, al-Ziwāl;²⁷³ section, Laughter;²⁷⁴ section, The Testimony of Adam about Jesus; section, The Falling from the Faith (Indifferent about Religion); section, The Doctrines of the Daysāniyūn about the Spirit and the Body; section, Refutation of the Daysāniyūn about the Spirit of Life;²⁷⁵ section, The Three Trenches; section, Preserving the World; section, The Three Days; section, The Prophets; section, The Resurrection. This is what Safar al-Asrār contains.

The Book of Giants, which includes———; Ordinances of the Hearers; Ordinances of the Elect;²⁷⁶ Al-Shābuqān, which includes: section Dissolution of the Hearers, section Dissolution of the Elect, section Dissolution of the Transgressors;²⁷⁷ Book of the Living, which includes———;²⁷⁸ Pragmateia, which includes———.

²⁶⁹ In MS 1934 there is a blank space after "testimony," perhaps to be filled in with some man's name. It has not been possible to identify Ya'qūb.

²⁷⁰ Yahūdihā is very likely Judea; see Flügel, *Mani*, p. 359, for other possibilities.

²⁷¹ MS 1135 gives this title clearly. *Al-yamīn* means "the right."

²⁷² This may refer to the sun, moon, and five known planets, but it more likely refers to the Great Builder, the Living Spirit, and its five sons, sent to save Primal Man; see Puech, p. 78.

²⁷³ It is possible that the four spirits were the Wise Guide and the three accompanying deities who took charge of a good man when he died. *Al-ziwāl* means "the taking charge." It may be instead *al-diwāl* ("the changing of fortune"), or *al-zawāl* ("the departing").

²⁷⁴ "Laughter" (*dahkah*) may refer to frivolity, which Mānī discouraged.

²⁷⁵ See n. 173.

²⁷⁶ MSS 1934 and 1135 arrange these book titles in different ways. It is probable that the two books about the ordinances formed the one volume, known to St. Augustine as the *Epistola fundamenti*. In that case, Mānī's seventh book may have been the *Sermons*, which are mentioned in MS 1135, or else a collection of epistles. The word translated as "the Elect" is given differently in the various versions. Flügel has *al-mujtabīn* ("the chosen") whereas MS 1934 has what might be *al-muhsinin* or *al-muhsassinin*, forms meaning "the righteous." See Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 362-65.

²⁷⁷ *Al-Shābuqān* (*Al-Shāhburqān*, *Al-Shāhpūrakān*) was written in Persian and addressed to Shāpūr; see Burkitt, *Manichees*, pp. 37, 74. "Dissolution" is *al-inhāl*, which evidently signifies the end of life.

²⁷⁸ *Book of the Living* may be the book known to St. Augustine as *Thesaurus vitae*. The title following was probably the work often called the *παραπρετα* and known to St. Augustine as *The Great Epistle to Paticius*. For these books see Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 362-65; Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, p. 118 l. 13; Burkitt, *Manichees*, pp. 32, 66, 74.

The Titles of the Epistles of Mānī and of the Imams after Him²⁷⁹
 The Two Sources; The Great Ones; of India, a long one;²⁸⁰ The Well-Being of Righteousness;²⁸¹ The Jurisdiction of Justice;²⁸² of Kaskar; of *Futtuq*, a long one; of Armenia; to Amūliyā the unbeliever;²⁸³ of Ctesiphon, The Note; The Ten Words;²⁸⁴ of the teacher, Social Relationships;²⁸⁵ of Wahman, The Seal of the Month;²⁸⁶ of Khabarhāt, Consolation;²⁸⁷ of Khabarhāt,——; of Umm Hushaym²⁸⁸ of Ctesiphon; of Yaḥyā, Breaking the Fast;²⁸⁹ of Khabarhāt,——; of Ctesiphon to the Hearers; of Fāfi;²⁹⁰ Guidance, a short epistle; the double epistle of Sīs;²⁹¹ of Bābil, a long epistle; of Sīs and *Futtuq*, Forms; Garden [of Paradise]; of Sīs, Time; of Sa'yūs, The Tiḥe;²⁹² of Sīs, Pledges; The Administration; of Abā the pupil; of Mānī to al-Rūhā;²⁹³ of Abā, Love; of Maysān, The Day;²⁹⁴ of Abā,——; of Baḥrānā, The

²⁷⁹ For "imam," see n. 235. In the Arabic text the word "epistle" is placed before each title or person addressed. This word is omitted in the translation, as well as the word "about" (*fī*) preceding some epistle titles. Only a few of the names can be identified and listed in the Biog. Index. For these epistles, see Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 370-85.

²⁸⁰ MS 1934 has al-Hind, evidently meaning India.

²⁸¹ MS 1934 and Flügel give different forms, but they both seem to imply "well-being."

²⁸² This very likely refers to divine judgment.

²⁸³ As Amūliyā was an unbeliever, the epistle must have been addressed to him, rather than written by him; the Arabic preposition could be either "to" or "by." Perhaps the name is meant to be Aemilius (Aemilianus), who was proclaimed emperor A.D. 253 but died before he began his reign; see Smith, *GRBM*, I, 30.

²⁸⁴ This may refer to the ten ordinances; see n. 222.

²⁸⁵ See n. 242.

²⁸⁶ "The seal of the mouth" suggests "speak no evil"; see n. 217. In this list the word "about" has been omitted between the author and the subject of his epistle.

²⁸⁷ This name is not clear, it may be *Khabarhāt* or *Khayrḥāt*.

²⁸⁸ Flügel gives Amhasam. The name in MS 1934 is not clear; Umm Hushaym is a possibility.

²⁸⁹ Flügel gives the word for "perfume," but MS 1934 and MS 1135 have *al-fitr* ("breaking the fast").

²⁹⁰ Perhaps Fāfi is meant to be Papias or Papus, or some other non-Arabic name.

²⁹¹ Although the name is omitted in MS 1135 and badly written in MS 1934, it is evidently meant to be Sīs.

²⁹² Flügel gives Sa'yūs. MS 1934 seems to have a different name, but it is not clear enough to be deciphered.

²⁹³ MS 1135 has Mānī. MS 1934 gives a name which cannot be deciphered. Al-Rūhā is the ancient Edessa and modern Urfa; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 876 and "Orfa," *Enc. Islam*, III, 993.

²⁹⁴ See Flügel, *Mani*, p. 375, sect. 347, for *The Day*. The name Maysān may refer to a locality (see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 714) or to some individual.

Terrors;²⁹⁵ of Abā, Mention of the Good;²⁹⁶ of 'Abd Yasū' (Slave of Jesus), The Seven Heavens;²⁹⁷ of Bahrānā, Social Relationships;²⁹⁸ of Shāthil and Salnā;²⁹⁹ of Abā, Alms;³⁰⁰ of Ḥadānā, The Pigeon; of Afqūriyā, Time; of Zakū, Time; of Suhrāb, The Tithe; of Karkh and Ghurāb;³⁰¹ of Suhrāb, Persia; to Abū Aḥyā;³⁰² of 'Abū Yasām the geometrician;³⁰³ to Abū Aḥyā the unbeliever; Baptism; of Yaḥyā, Money; of Aqfid, The Four Tithes.³⁰⁴

In Addition to These³⁰⁵

Of Aqfid, The First People;³⁰⁶ of Yanū about mention of the messages;³⁰⁷ of Yuhannā about the administration of charity funds; of the Hearers about fasting and decreeing;³⁰⁸ of the Hearers about the greatest fire;³⁰⁹

²⁹⁵ Flügel suggests Bahrānā and *Al-Hawl* ("The Terrors"), but these are guesses and may not be correct.

²⁹⁶ Instead of *Al-Ṭayyib* ("The Good"), this title may be *Al-Ṭīb* ("Perfume," "Lawful").

²⁹⁷ The translation is from MS 1934, which has something like *al-ḥaṭṭ bunyān* ("the seven heavens"); MS 1135 has *al-'aṣbiyāt* ("prejudices"), and Flügel gives *al-'aṣabāt* ("relations"), or it might be *al-'uṣbāt* ("groups of men").

²⁹⁸ See n. 242.

²⁹⁹ These names are taken from MS 1934, where they are given with consonant and vowel signs.

³⁰⁰ As the word given as Abā is written like *abī*, the second part of a name may be missing.

³⁰¹ These are place names; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 255; III, 779. If they are meant to be the names of persons, they should probably be spelled differently.

³⁰² Abū Aḥyā is a guess for what is in MS 1934. Flügel gives a name like *Abrāhiyā* and MS 1135 has something else again. As this man was an unbeliever (see second title following), the epistle must have been addressed to him, not written by him.

³⁰³ The spelling of this name is uncertain.

³⁰⁴ The name Aqfid is what seems to be meant in MS 1934; Flügel gives Af'and.

³⁰⁵ In the Arabic text the word "epistle" precedes each title or person addressed. This word is omitted in the translation, as well as the word "about" (*fi*) preceding some epistle titles.

³⁰⁶ For Aqfid see preceding note. MSS 1934 and 1135 have a word like *al-sha'b* ("people"), whereas Flügel gives *al-sa'd* ("felicity").

³⁰⁷ Yanū may be correct, or perhaps Innaeus is the name meant. "Messages" (*al-rasā'il*) is taken from MS 1135. Flügel gives a form which seems to be an error and MS 1934 is not clear.

³⁰⁸ "Decreeing" (*al-taqdīr*) is from MS 1934. MS 1135 and Flügel have *al-nadhr* ("the vow").

³⁰⁹ MS 1135 has a variation, evidently an error.

of al-Ahwāz about mention of the kingdom;³¹⁰ of the Hearers about the interpretation of *Yazdānbakht*;³¹¹ the first epistle of Maynaq, Al-Fāri-sīyah;³¹² the second epistle of Maynaq; The Tithe and Alms; *Ardashīr* and Maynaq;³¹³ of Salam and 'Anšīrā; of Ḥaṭṭā;³¹⁴ Khabarhāt, The Kingdom;³¹⁵ to Abū Aḥyā;³¹⁶ The Healthy and the Sick; of Ardād, Beasts; of Ajā, Sandals;³¹⁷ The Two Light Shining Cargoes;³¹⁸ of Mānā, The Crucifixion;³¹⁹ of Mihr, the Hearer; of Firūz and Rāsīn; of 'Abd Yāl about "Safar al-Asrār";³²⁰ of Simeon and Zamīn (Ramayn); of 'Abd Yāl Clothing.

The Portion of an Account of the Manichaeans, with Their Move-ments through the Countries and an Account of Their Leaders³²¹

The first of the sects in addition to the Samanīyah to enter the Land beyond the River (Transoxiana) was the Manichaeans.³²² The

³¹⁰ Instead of *al-mulk*, meaning "the kingdom" or "properties," this may be *al-malak* ("angel"). Flügel, *Mani*, p. 104, interprets it as *eigenthum*.

³¹¹ For a previous mention of this name, see n. 244.

³¹² This very likely refers to a prosperous village not far from where Baghdād was built; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 838. Maynaq may be more correctly written as Mīnaq.

³¹³ As *Ardashīr* was the king A.D. 226-40, Maynaq must have been associated with Mānī during the early part of his life.

³¹⁴ Ḥaṭṭā may be a man's name. Or perhaps the word is meant to be a place name like Khuṭā, west of al-Kūfah, or Jaṭṭā near al-Baṣrah; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 84, 453. Another possibility is Khaṭā in central Asia; see Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 617.

³¹⁵ For "kingdom" see n. 310.

³¹⁶ See n. 302.

³¹⁷ "Sandals" (*al-khiṣf*) is taken from Flügel. MS 1934 has *al-hiṣf*, a consonant sign evidently being omitted. MS 1135 has *al-jafāf* ("dried"), often used with washed and dried garments.

³¹⁸ This probably refers to the sun and moon, which store up the light particles as burdens or cargoes.

³¹⁹ MS 1135 gives Mānī as the author, but this must be a mistake, as the subject of the book seems to be the gibbeting of Mānī.

³²⁰ For 'Abd Yāl ("Servant of Yāl") see Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1703. Yāl means "vault of Heaven." It may be Thāl or some other name instead. *Safar al-Asrār* was the great book of Mānī.

³²¹ The usual Arabic form for "Manichaeans" is al-Mānawīyah. In this heading, a vernacular form, al-Manānīyah, is used; see Flügel, *Mani*, p. 112. For this passage see Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 385-400, and compare the free translation in Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 163-64.

³²² For the Samanīyah, see the Glossary, and for Transoxiana, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 400. This was the Arab name for the part of Siberia east of the Oxus River, called *Mā Warā' al-Nahr* ("What Was behind the River").

reason for this was that, after Chosroes [Bahrām I] had executed and gibbeted *Mānī* and forbidden the people of his kingdom to dispute about the religion, he began to slay the followers of *Mānī* wherever he found them. So they did not stop fleeing from him until they had crossed the River of Balkh³²³ and entered the realm of the Khān, with whom they remained. In their tongue, "Khān" is the title by which they designate the king of the Turks.³²⁴

The Manichaeans remained in the Land beyond the River (Transoxiana) until the Persian rule fell apart and the Arab regime grew strong. Then they returned to this country, especially at the time of the Persian revolt, during the days of the Umayyad kings. *Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī* cared for them, but the leadership was not authorized in these districts except in Bābil.³²⁵

But [subsequently] the leader sought out any place where he could be safe. The last time they appeared was during the days of *al-Muqtadir*, for [after that] they feared for their lives and clung to Khurāsān. Any one of them who remained kept his identity secret as he moved about in this region. About five hundred of their men assembled at Samarqand, but when their movement became known, the ruler of Khurāsān wished to kill them.³²⁶ Then the king of China, who I suppose was the lord of the Tughuzghuz,³²⁷ sent to him, saying, "There are more Muslims in my country than there are people of my faith in your land." He also swore to him that if he [the ruler of Khurāsān] should kill one of them [the Manichaeans], he [the king of China] would slaughter the whole community [of Muslims] who were with him, and would also

³²³ The River of Balkh, was the Āmū Daryā; see "Balkh," *Enc. Islam*, I, 622; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 322.

³²⁴ For the influence of *Mānī* among the Turkish tribes of Asia, see Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, pp. 38-46.

³²⁵ See n. 237 for Babylon and n. 241 for treatment of the Manichaeans. The Persian revolt very likely refers to the Azraqī Rebellion, A.D. 698-99; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 208.

³²⁶ When they first invaded Persia the Muslims gave the Zoroastrians and Manichaeans the same generous treatment that they gave to the Christians and Jews, but later the Manichaeans became so restless under Arab rule that the 'Abbāsīd caliphs suppressed them, calling them *zanādīqah* and causing them to migrate to central Asia.

³²⁷ For the Tughuzghuz, see the Glossary.

destroy the mosques and appoint spies³²⁸ among the Muslims in the country as a whole, so as to slay them. So the ruler of Khurāsān left them alone except for exacting tribute from them. Although they have become few in the Islāmic regions, I used to know about three hundred of them in the City of Peace [Baghdād] during the days of Mu'izz al-Dawlah.³²⁹ But at this our time there are not five of them in our midst. This people [the Manichaeans], who are called Ajārā,³³⁰ are at Rustāq, Samarqand, Şughd (Sughd), and especially Tūnkath.³³¹

Names and Record of the Leaders of the Manichaeans during the Regime of the Banū al-'Abbās and Earlier³³²

There was al-Ja'd ibn Dirham, for whom Marwān ibn Muḥammad, known as Marwān al-Ja'dī, was named. He was a tutor for Marwān and his son, introducing him to al-Zandaqah. During his caliphate, Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik killed al-Ja'd, after he had been imprisoned for a long time in the hands of Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī. It is said that the family of al-Ja'd presented a case to Hishām, complaining of their wretchedness and the long duration of the imprisonment of al-Ja'd. But Hishām said, "Is he still alive?" Then he wrote to Khālid about his execution. Khālid, accordingly, executed him on the Day of the Sacrifices,³³³ making him a substitute for the sacrificial victims, after having spoken about this from the

³²⁸ "Appoint" is from MS 1934; Flügel has "leave." The word translated "spies" is *arṣād*, which might also mean "ambushes."

³²⁹ Mu'izz al-Dawlah ruled at Baghdād, A.D. 946-67. This chapter must have been written a quarter of a century later.

³³⁰ It is possible that the name Ajārā is meant to be al-Bukhārī. Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 900, indicates that some of the people referred to in the region of Khurāsān were from Bukhārā. For the cities in this sentence, see Iṣṭakhri, *Al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik* (Hīnī and Ghurbāl), pp. 176, 177, 180, 183, 185 nn. 1, 6; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 746, 900; II, 778; III, 133, 394. For central Asia, see also Hawqal, *Oriental Geography*, pp. 245-80, and for the Manichaeans in China, see Reischauer, *History of East Asian Civilization*, I, 176-77.

³³¹ This place is probably Tūnkath (Tūnkāt) in the Shāsh region, or else modern Tashqand, called Binkath.

³³² MS 1934 has "earlier" (*qabl*), whereas MS 1135 has "other" (*ghayr*). For this passage, see Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 400-4.

³³³ This is 'Id al-Aḏḥā or Qurbān Bayrām, when sheep are slaughtered at the end of the pilgrimage to Makkah; see "Id al-Aḏḥā," *Enc. Islām*, II, 444.

pulpit according to the order of Hishām. He, I mean Khālīd, was accused of *al-zandaqah*, as his mother was a Christian. Marwān al-Ja'dī was also a *zandīq*.³³⁴

Among the Theologians Who Were Their Leaders but Who Appeared to Be Muslims, Keeping Secret *al-Zandaqah*

Ibn Ṭālūt, Abū Shākīr, Ibn Akhī Abī Shākīr, Ibn al-A'mā al-Ḥarīzī,³³⁵ Nu'mān, Ibn Abī al-'Aujā', Sālīḥ ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs. These men compiled books in support of the Dualists and the doctrines of their adherents, but they have destroyed many of the books which the theologians composed about those things.

Among the Poets

Bashshār ibn Burd, Ishāq ibn Khalaf, Ibn Shabābah, Salm [ibn 'Amr] al-Khāsir, 'Alī ibn al-Khalīl, 'Alī ibn Thābit.

Among Those Who Have Become Known Recently

Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq, Abū al-'Abbās al-Nāshī, al-Jayhānī³³⁶ Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad.

Mention of the Kings and Leaders Who Were Accused of *al-Zandaqah*

It is said that all of the members of the Barmak family were *zanādiqah* except for Muḥammad ibn Khālīd ibn Barmak. It is also said that al-Faḍl and his brother al-Ḥasan were, too.³³⁷ Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, the secretary of al-Madhī, was also a *zandīq*, and when he confessed al-Madhī had him executed. I have read, written in the handwriting of one of the members of the [Manichaean] sect, that al-Ma'mūn was one of them but he lied about this. It is also said that Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt was a *zandīq*.

³³⁴ Al-Ja'd served as tutor to the prince, who became Marwān II, reigning as caliph A.D. 744-50. He brought Manichaean influences to bear on his pupil. Accordingly, Hishām, who was the caliph when Marwān was in the tutor's care, ordered the governor in al-'Irāq to execute al-Ja'd. But as the governor, Khālīd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, sympathized with the Manichaeans, al-Ja'd was not executed until the caliph sent a final order for execution.

³³⁵ Both MSS 1934 and 1135 give the name in this form, but Flügel has Ibn al-A'dā, probably a mistake. Perhaps the following two names should be combined into one.

³³⁶ All of the texts have al-Jayhānī, but it is obvious that this is meant to be Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Naṣr ibn Jurjān al-Jayhānī.

³³⁷ These were probably al-Faḍl ibn Sahl and al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl.

Among the Leaders of the Sect during the 'Abbāsīd Regime

Abū Yaḥyā al-Ra'īs. Abū 'Alī Sa'id. Abū 'Alī Rajā' ibn Yazdānbakht,³³⁸ he it was whom al-Ma'mūn summoned from al-Rayy, after he had given assurance for his safety. But, as the theologians repudiated him, al-Ma'mūn said to him, "Become a Muslim, oh, Ibn Yazdānbakht! For if I had not given you a pledge of safety, there would have been a case between you and ourselves."

Then Yazdānbakht said to him, "Your counsel, oh, Commander of the Faithful, is hearkened to and your word accepted, but you are not one of those who force people to abandon their faiths." So al-Ma'mūn exclaimed, "It is true!" Then he settled him in the Mukharrim Quarter³³⁹ and set guards to care for him, fearing lest there might be disturbances against him. He was [a man] eloquent in speech.

Among Their Leaders during This Our Time

The leadership was moved to Samarqand, where they came to establish it. Then, after their leader was [permitted to be] only in Bābil, ——— then in this our time ———.³⁴⁰

The Dayṣānīyah (Bardesanes)

Their master was called *Dayṣān* after the name of the river beside which he was born, before the time of *Mānī*.³⁴¹ The two sects are similar, but there is a disagreement between them regarding the fusing of light and darkness. The Dayṣānīyah became divided into two parties in connection with this question. One party asserted

³³⁸ MS 1934, unlike the other versions, inserts *ibn*, which is very likely incorrect.

³³⁹ This was the part of Baghdād on the East Bank across from the Round City; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 441; Levy, *Baghdad Chronicle*, p. 40; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 169-76, 217-30, 305.

³⁴⁰ MS 1934 makes it clear that this sentence was not written accurately or completed. Space is left for the additional material required. The word "book" is written at the bottom of this second space, followed by a one-word title which could be *Al-Jil*, *Al-Jabal*, *Al-Ḥayl*, *Al-Ḥil*, or *Al-Khayl*, followed by the phrase "which was called." The Flügel edition does not make the sentence any clearer.

³⁴¹ This passage about the Dayṣānīyah and most of the one which follows about the Marcionites are lacking in MS 1934; the translation is taken from the Flügel edition. For Ibn *Dayṣān* and his sect, see the Glossary, "Dayṣānīyūn." For the River *Dayṣān*, the Greek *Skirtos* and modern Kara Kuyum at Urfa, see "Bardaiṣān," *Enc. Brit.*, III, 395, and "Edessa," VIII, 932.

that light became mixed with darkness voluntarily, so as to make it good. After having mingled with it, however, it longed to become disassociated from it, but was unable to do so. The other party asserted that light desired to clear away darkness from itself when it perceived its coarseness and putridness, but it became interwoven with it against its will. It was like a man who desired to remove something with sharp³⁴² splinters sticking into him. The more he tries to remove them, the further into him they go.

Ibn Dayṣān asserted that light is one genus, whereas darkness is another genus. Some of the Dayṣānīyah claimed that darkness was the origin of light and [others] stated that light is living, endowed with senses and having knowledge, whereas darkness is the opposite to that, blind, without sense perception and ignorant, so that they are repugnant to one another.³⁴³

In former times, the adherents of Ibn Dayṣān were in the regions of al-Baṭā'ih.³⁴⁴ In China and Khirāsān there are scattered communities of them, without any known congregation or oath of fealty,³⁴⁵ whereas the Manichaeans are very numerous.

Ibn Dayṣān had [among his books]:

The Light and the Darkness; The Sanctity (Spirituality) of the Truth; The Moving and the Static.

There were many [other] books of his and also books of the leaders of the sect, but they have not come down to us.

The Marcionites³⁴⁶

They were the followers of *Marcion*, antedating the adherents of Ibn Dayṣān. As a sect of the Christians, they were more closely related [to them] than the followers of *Mānī* and Ibn Dayṣān were.

The Marcionites asserted that the two primary elements are light and darkness, but that there is also a third, which blends and mixes

³⁴² Instead of "sharp," the word may be "iron." Cf. Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 293, for this passage.

³⁴³ The translation follows Flügel; MS 1135 has a variation.

³⁴⁴ The marshlands between Wāsiṭ and al-Baṣrah were called al-Baṭā'ih; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 668.

³⁴⁵ This evidently means that they had no one pontiff.

³⁴⁶ See the Glossary.

them. They said that God, exalted and magnified, is unblemished by iniquities and that although the creation of everything in its entirety is not free from evil, He is exalted above it. They disagreed about what the third existence was. One of their sects said that it was the Life, which is Jesus. Another sect asserted that Jesus was the apostle of that third existence and that by His dictate and power He was the creator of phenomena. They agreed that the world was originated, its creation being obvious; they have no doubt about that matter.

They asserted that he who abstains from fats and intoxicants, who prays to God throughout his life, continually fasting, escapes from the snares of the devils. The accounts about this are conflicting and very confused.

The Marcionites had a book to which they attached special significance and in which they wrote about their doctrines. There was a book of Marcion's which he called *The Unraveling*,³⁴⁷ and there were also a number of books of his followers. They are not to be found, unless Allāh knows where [they are], for they are concealed among the Christians. There are many [Marcionites] in Khurāsān, their cause being openly known, as the cause of the Manichaeans is known publicly.³⁴⁸

The Māhāniyah³⁴⁹

They were a sect of the Marcionites who differed with them about some things but agreed about other things. They agreed with the Marcionites in connection with all matters except marriage and sacrifices. They asserted, moreover, that the intermediary between light and darkness was the Messiah.³⁵⁰ Nothing more than this is known about them.

³⁴⁷ MS 1135 has *Al-Hall* ("The Unraveling"); Flügel gives *Injil* ("Gospel"). MS 1934 begins again with the next sentence, after some omission; see n. 341.

³⁴⁸ This probably means that the Marcionites who remained in al-'Irāq were in danger and hid their books, while those in Khurāsān had more freedom.

³⁴⁹ Someone named Māhān was probably founder of this sect. Or perhaps the sect was named after Māhān, a city of Persia; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 405; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 257, 302, 307, 321. For mention of the sect, see Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 293; Part 2, p. 423.

³⁵⁰ See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 295, for a doctrine evidently shared with the Marcionites.

The Janjayūn³⁵¹

They were the followers of *Janjī al-Jūkhānī*.³⁵² This man worshipped idols and beat the *zan-khalanj*³⁵³ in a temple of idols. But, leaving that cult, he turned to a sect which he himself originated. He asserted that there existed here something anterior to light and darkness and that there were two forms in that darkness, male and female. He said, "It [the male] was with its mate in the darkness." He also said, "When light appeared to the female, the world of the living stole a little of that light. Then she became active, like a worm, rising up. The light thereupon received her and clothed her with some of its light. After that she became different from it and, stealing light from it, she returned to her [own] status. From the light, which she stole from what the light had clothed her with, she created heaven, the mountains, the earth, and the other phenomena."³⁵⁴

They assert that fire is the queen of the world, and other things for which we would ask Allāh's forgiveness if we mentioned them.³⁵⁵ No book of theirs is known.

Statement about *Khusraw al-Az-Rūmaqān*³⁵⁶

He was also from Jūkhā, from a village on the Nahrawān.³⁵⁷ His followers gloried in clothing and dress, which he prescribed for

³⁵¹ The name of this sect is taken from MS 1934, except that this manuscript spells it with *b*, not *y*. *Y* seems correct, as the name comes from *Janjī*. The names of the sects are translated in the nominative form, though in the Arabic many of them are given with the *īn* instead of the *ūn* ending, because *maqālah* ("treatise") precedes or is understood to precede the proper name. This word is not given in the translation.

³⁵² This name is probably derived from Jūkhā, a locality southeast of modern Baghdād mentioned in the next passage. Another possible source is Jawkhān, which is located further east; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 143, 144.

³⁵³ *Zan* is a Persian word which can mean "striking." *Khalanj* is an Oriental tree used for making bowls. This combination word seems to have denoted a sort of drum.

³⁵⁴ These quotations were probably taken from some old manuscript which gave only a superficial idea of what the doctrines of the sect were like.

³⁵⁵ This is similar to the English expression "God forbid."

³⁵⁶ *Khusraw* is often written in English as Chosroes. The form *al-Az* probably means "the one from." *Rūmaqān* was a district south of where Baghdād is today; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 87 l. 17; II, 861. Jūkhā is a locality southeast of modern Baghdād.

³⁵⁷ This was the great canal on the east side of the Tigris; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 174; Levy, *Baghdad Chronicle*, p. 32.

them. He asserted that light was continuously alive, but that while it was asleep the darkness overwhelmed it and, after taking [some] light from it, returned to its own place. Then [the light] sent to it [the darkness] a deity whom it had created and called Son of the Living (Ibn al-Ahyā). [To him] it said, "Go and bring me the light which the darkness has taken from me!"

When the Son of the Living came to the darkness and struck it, it was so wrought upon, that by force of the light existing in it there came from it two entities, male and female. He [the Son of the Living] passed on, returning to the light and to the source³⁵⁸ of life and spirits, some of which he took, and he clothed those two [newly] born.

He [Khusraw] also [said] that from the water, which was what remained³⁵⁹ from this reaction, there were created the heavens and the earths,³⁶⁰ as well as the stars, the waters, and the mountains in them [the earths].

He cursed and belittled Jesus. His [own] sect he kept secret, not divulging it, so that there is no book of his. [The following] is what is remembered from his words and the words of his followers: "It is we who have dug the channel³⁶¹ in the world and have stolen from the world the great treasure. We have been included and gone to the stream. We have gone with them black and come with them white, we have returned them shining and bright."³⁶² This passage they sing, chanting in rhythm. In this respect their sect resembles the sect of the Khurramiyah.³⁶³

³⁵⁸ The word translated "source" is *al-ma'din*, which is commonly used for "mine."

³⁵⁹ "What remained" is *al-ṣubāḥah*. Another possible interpretation of the Arabic is *al-ṣabāḥah* ("excessive attachment"), which might signify that creation was caused by the passion of male for female. The word might also be *al-qabāḥah* ("mist").

³⁶⁰ The Arabic for "earths" is *al-ardīn*, which might also mean "regions."

³⁶¹ *Al-sarab* ("channel") probably refers to an underground irrigation channel, the 'treasure' being water. Or it may refer to the tunnel of a mine, leading to precious metal. "Treasure" is *al-māl*, which also means "wealth."

³⁶² In the Arabic "them" is feminine. It is not certain what is meant. It might refer to "souls" or to "garments" used in an allegorical way. They are washed clean by the power of the cult. A metaphorical illustration of this sort is in keeping with Gnostic thought.

³⁶³ See Glossary.

The Dashtūn³⁶⁴

They assert that [originally] there was nothing other than the darkness, in the hollow of which there was the water. In the hollow of the water there was the wind and in the wind the womb, in which womb was the placenta. In the placenta there was the egg and in the egg the living water, the great Son of the Living, who ascended on high and created the living creatures, the material phenomena, the heavens, the earth, and the divinities. They said, "His father, the darkness, did not know [about this]. Then he returned."

The Muhājirūn³⁶⁵

These profess baptism, offerings, and gifts. They have feasts, and in their sanctuaries cows, sheep, and pigs are permitted.³⁶⁶ They do not withhold their women from their chiefs, and incline towards adultery.³⁶⁷

The Kashṭiyūn³⁶⁸

They avow sacrificial slaughters, lust, cupidity, and vainglory. They say that previous to all things there was the Great Living Being, which created from his own soul a son whom he named the Star of Splendor. They also call him the Second Living Being and make profession of offerings, gifts, and good things.

³⁶⁴ MS 1934 has "the Dashtūn," perhaps a popular abbreviation or an error, meant to be *al-Dashtiyūn*. Cf. n. 385 which follows. MS 1135 contains some unimportant errors and does not throw light on this passage. In the Flügel text the name is given incorrectly, but then corrected, pp. 340 n. 6, 341 n. 5.

³⁶⁵ *Al-muhājirūn* means "emigrants" or "fugitives."

³⁶⁶ The translation is taken from MS 1934. Flügel and MS 1135 have "they slaughter cows, sheep, and pigs in their sanctuaries."

³⁶⁷ Flügel gives a word which suggests "they abhor adultery," but has a note expressing doubt as to the accuracy of this form. MS 1934 has a word which lacks consonant and vowel signs, but which suggests "inclined towards." This meaning seems to fit the context better than Flügel's word.

³⁶⁸ The name *al-Kashṭiyūn* cannot be identified as coming from any locality, tribe, or person. It probably cannot come from the Kashtan Tribe of the Caucasus, but is very likely a name from central Asia.

The Mughtasilah³⁶⁹

These people are very numerous in the regions of al-Baṭā'ilī;³⁷⁰ they are [called] the Šābat al-Baṭā'ilī. They observe ablution as a rite and wash everything which they eat. Their head is known as al-Ḥasilī and it is he who instituted their sect.³⁷¹ They assert that the two existences are male and female and that the herbs are from the likeness of the male, whereas the parasite plants³⁷² are from the likeness of the female, the trees being veins (roots).³⁷³

They have seven³⁷⁴ sayings, taking the form of fables. His [al-Ḥasilī's] disciple was named *Sham'un*. They agreed with the Manichaeans about the two elemental [principles], but later their sect became separate. Until this our own day, some of them venerate the stars.

Another Account of Šābat al-Baṭā'ilī (Šābians of the Marshlands)

These people are in accord with the ancient Nabataeans. They exalt the stars and have images and idols. They belong to the community of the Šābians known as al-Ḥarnānīyūn, although it is said that they are different from them, both in general and particular [beliefs].

Statement about Abī Wa'amlakmā³⁷⁵

These people assert that the four existences did not resemble one another. They call the first Ḥuṣṭaf the Great.³⁷⁶ They call the second

³⁶⁹ For the Mughtasilah, also called Šābat al-Baṭā'ilī (Šābians of the Marshlands), see "Šābians" in the Glossary.

³⁷⁰ For al-Baṭā'ilī, see n. 344.

³⁷¹ For al-Ḥasilī, see Chwolsohn, *Die Sabier*, I, 112-19; "Elkesaites," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, V, 268; Pedersen, in Arnold, pp. 383, 385, 386.

³⁷² The word translated "parasite plants" is *al-ukūṣūth*. "Likeness" (*shir*) is from Flügel. It seems to make more sense than the word given in MS 1934, which might be "hair" (*sha'r*) or "sense perception" (*shi'r*).

³⁷³ "Veins" is *urūqah*. For a more technical understanding of this form, see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 119-20. It is impossible to be sure of the exact meaning of this passage.

³⁷⁴ MS 1934 has "seven"; Flügel and MS 1135 have "shameful." In the following sentence, "his disciple" probably refers to the disciple of al-Ḥasilī.

³⁷⁵ Abī (a form for "father of") is a guess. Another possible interpretation of the Arabic is a corruption of *ayah* ("saint"). Probably, however, it is some form from a vernacular of central Asia. MS 1934 gives the vowel signs for the second part of the name clearly; MS 1135 is inaccurate.

³⁷⁶ Perhaps this is meant to be *Khūsh-ṭaff* ("Good Happening"), but it more likely comes from some rare dialect.

Rūyamān.³⁷⁷ They name the third Warzarūd,³⁷⁸ the living female.³⁷⁹ They call the fourth al-Asmālahīn.³⁸⁰ They assert that these existences were in the world before anything else, in the earth, heavens, or elsewhere. These [last] three existences called upon Hūstaf [asking] that they might make him their chief. Afterwards they disagreed and from their disagreement there resulted iniquities and sins.

Statement about the Shīlīyūn

Shīlī³⁸¹ was one of the Muḡhtasilah, but he disagreed with them. He wore *khashn*³⁸² and ate good food, but inclined towards the sect of the Jews, from which he derived ideas.

Statement about the Khawlānīyūn

These were the followers of Malīḥ al-Khawlānī,³⁸³ who was a disciple of Bābak ibn Bahrām. Bābak was a disciple of Shīlī, but held back from the Jews.

The Mārīyūn and Dashtīyūn

Their master was Mārī, the *usquf*,³⁸⁴ and they drew upon the doctrines of the dualists, not forbidding sacrificial slaughters. *Dashtī*³⁸⁵ was one of the followers of Mārī, but after a time he differed with him.

³⁷⁷ Dhū-yamān ("Possessor of Splendor") might be the word meant here.

³⁷⁸ This name cannot be identified. Warzarūd was an old name for the Oxus River; both names may come from the same source.

³⁷⁹ The word translated as "the living female" seems to be either the feminine for "living" or else the word for "serpent." MS 1135 has a variation.

³⁸⁰ This word probably comes from central Asia and may not be written correctly.

³⁸¹ This name may be derived from Shīlā, a river near al-Kūfah even though the *al-* which usually precedes a name taken from a locality is lacking. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 358.

³⁸² This is a kind of grass from which rough garments are made. In the clause which follows, "good" very likely signifies "lawful."

³⁸³ This name may come from that of a pagan village near Damascus; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 499 l. 17.

³⁸⁴ Mārī is a common name among Syriac speaking people. *Usquf* was ordinarily used for a Christian bishop, but here may refer to a pagan prelate of some sort.

³⁸⁵ *Dashtī* was probably named for al-Dasht, either the village near Iṣbahān or the town near Tabriz. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 575. The Arabic incorrectly omits the *al-* before the name.

People of the Fear of Heaven³⁸⁶

Their master was Arīdī.³⁸⁷ He lived at Ctesiphon and Bahurāsīr³⁸⁸ and was a rich man. He deceived a Jew, who transcribed for him the books of the prophets and the wise men. He invented a sect of his own, summoning the people to join it. In the regions of Ctesiphon there are [still] people of his sect.

The Ashūriyūn

Their master and chief is named Ibn Siqīrī ibn Ashūri. They collect revenues and profits. In some things they agree with the Jews and about other things they disagree with them. They appear to be a sect of Jesus.³⁸⁹

Statement about the Awradiyūn³⁹⁰

This people venerated the sea,³⁹¹ saying that it was the ancient [existence], antedating all else. When it became agitated there appeared a fresh breeze, and when the breeze saw it [the sea], it made of it a dwelling, and inhabiting this it laid seven eggs. He said,³⁹² "From these seven eggs there came seven deities. They call one of these deities the Arrow (*al-Nushshābah*), for they asserted that it plunged into the sea and then came out with the speed with which an arrow springs forth." He said, "It created al-Kawthar, known as *al-thall*.³⁹³ In that *thall* there flows a river known as the Great Euphrates, and beside this *thall* there was planted a *sīdrah*."³⁹⁴ They

³⁸⁶ Flügel gives *khīfah* ("fear"); in MS 1934 there are no diacritical marks, so that the word may be meant for something else.

³⁸⁷ The name may instead be Arbadi.

³⁸⁸ This was a district near Ctesiphon; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 768.

³⁸⁹ The people still remaining in the Nestorian Church are called Assyrians, but it is not at all certain that they belong to the same sect as the one described here.

³⁹⁰ The name is clearly written in MS 1934, but it has not been possible to identify it. This account seems to be about some old sect in the region of al-Baḡrah. It deserves further research, as it may cast some light on the old peoples in that region.

³⁹¹ Here *al-nahr* probably refers to the sea, as a few lines below the river is called *al-nahr*.

³⁹² "He" probably refers to the person who wrote the account of this sect, quoted by al-Nadīm.

³⁹³ *Al-kawthar* means "abundance," but it was often used for a river of Paradise; see Qur'ān 118: 1; "Kawthar," *Enc. Islam*, II, 834. *Al-thall* means "overflowing" or "outpouring."

³⁹⁴ *Al-sīdrah* was the tree of heaven or the lotus tree.

said that from one of the seven eggs there was the Arrow and from another the spreading waters which are apparent;³⁹⁵ from the third was *asīraq*,³⁹⁶ from the fourth *al-thāj*,³⁹⁷ from the fifth the Lady of the World, from the sixth the youth, and from the seventh, day and night. He said, "*Al-thāj* descended upon the spreading waters, covering them."³⁹⁸ Then it produced the whole world and the things in it."

These people exalt the sea, saying that it is the great god. It is said that there are many communities of them in the seacoast towns (regions), but we have never seen any of them. They have sayings handed down, coming as fables, which we have omitted lest because of them the book should become too long.

The Names of the Divisions Which Existed between Jesus, for Whom May There Be Peace, and Muḥammad the Prophet, for Whom May There Be Peace³⁹⁹

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: In refutation of the Christians, al-Qaḥṭabī mentioned these divisions—the Melchites, the Nestorians, the Jacobites, the Damians,⁴⁰⁰ the Katathanīyah,⁴⁰¹ the Bahānīyah, the Allabanīyah,⁴⁰² the Maronites,⁴⁰³ the Sāliyah, the

³⁹⁵ The translation is from MS 1934, which has two words which might be deciphered as *al-muriyāfīn al-bayyinīn* ("the spreading waters which are apparent"). Flügel gives a variation.

³⁹⁶ *Asīraq* represents a word which is given differently in the various texts and cannot be identified.

³⁹⁷ Flügel gives *al-tāj* ("crown"); *al-thāj* is taken from MS 1934. This is the name of a spring and town in Baḥrayn, which suggests that the word may be an ancient name connected with the traditions of the sea in that region; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 913.

³⁹⁸ MS 1934 gives *aḥlas*, literally, "covered with rain." Flügel has *aḥlas* ("caused to sit down").

³⁹⁹ This title is taken from MS 1934. The Flügel edition and MS 1135 have variations which have the same meaning. The names which lack footnotes, except for the first three which are well-known sects, cannot be identified. The suggestions in the footnotes represent guesses, not certain identifications. For lists of ancient sects, see the index volume of *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, pp. 532-34; Carrington, *Early Christian Church*; Mausel, *Gnostic Heresies*; Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sekten-geschichte des Mittelalters*.

⁴⁰⁰ Probably the followers of Damian (A.D. 578-605), the Monophysite patriarch of Constantinople. They were called Tetradites; see "Trithemism," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, XII, 463. Instead of al-Ḍāmīyah, given in MS 1934, Flügel has al-Ṣāmīyah.

⁴⁰¹ This may come from *Karāḏēos*.

⁴⁰² This may refer to the Ebionites; see Grant, *Gnosticism*, p. 42; Carrington, *Early Christian Church*, I, 413.

⁴⁰³ This is the well-known sect of northern Lebanon.

Ariyūsiyah,⁴⁰⁴ the Manichaeans,⁴⁰⁵ the Dayṣāniyah (Bardesanes), the Marcionites, the Ahr'aniyah,⁴⁰⁶ the Miqdāmūsiyah, the Macedonians,⁴⁰⁷ the Homoiousians,⁴⁰⁸ the Ghūliyah,⁴⁰⁹ the Būliyah,⁴¹⁰ the Arnā'mūsiyah, the Waṭāhariyah,⁴¹¹ the Haylāniyah, the Nākūliyah,⁴¹² the Būlfāniyah, the Mihrāniyah, the Sūrfāniyah, the Sāwramīyah, the Walānashīyah,⁴¹³ the Afkharīyah, the Yūnāniyah,⁴¹⁴ the Hāwaḥsiyah, the Abīyah,⁴¹⁵ the Kawārkiyah.

The Na'āliyah,⁴¹⁶ the Raddawīyah,⁴¹⁷ the 'Awliyah,⁴¹⁸ the Aṭmarbuyūtiyah, the Lu'āniyah, the Qayrāṭasiyah, the Samf-sanīyah,⁴¹⁹ the Atharnīyah,⁴²⁰ the Artamisiyah,⁴²¹ the Sābānasiyah,

⁴⁰⁴ This may be the sect of Arius, the famous fourth-century heretic.

⁴⁰⁶ The name is given as al-Manāniyah, as it is given in the title for the passage on the Manichaeans in *Al-Fihrist* (see n. 132). For the two sects which follow, see the Glossary.

⁴⁰⁸ Flügel gives al-Ajra'āniyah; the word in the translation is taken from MS 1934.

⁴⁰⁷ See "Macedonianism," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, VIII, 225-30.

⁴⁰⁸ This name is a guess. Homoiousians were often associated with the Macedonians. In the Arabic there is a yā'(y) instead of a hā'(h).

⁴⁰⁹ This probably refers to some ancient sect, rather than to the medieval Ghulāt.

⁴¹⁰ Although Flügel gives nūn(n) as the initial letter, in MS 1934 it might be bā'(b), so that this may refer to the party of Paul of Samosata, who A.D. 260 became bishop of Antioch, and preached the Adoptionist heresy; see "Samosatenism," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, XI, 170.

⁴¹¹ This rendering of the name follows MS 1934.

⁴¹² This may be the sect of Nicolas, although that group is named later in the list; see n. 430. Most of the names which follow differ in the various versions.

⁴¹³ Perhaps this is meant to be the Valentinians, as the points of the shīn(sh) might originally have represented other letters; see "Valentinianism," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, XII, 572.

⁴¹⁴ This probably refers to the Greek Orthodox Church.

⁴¹⁵ This name may be derived from Āb ("Father"), the first person of the Trinity, or it is perhaps meant to be al-Ūfiyah, signifying the Ophites. See Mansel, *Gnostic Heresies*, p. 95, "Ophitism," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, IX, 499.

⁴¹⁶ This spelling is from MS 1934; it might also be interpreted as al-Naghāliyah. Flügel gives al-Naqāliyah.

⁴¹⁷ The initial letter may be zā'(z) instead of rā'(r).

⁴¹⁸ The initial letter may be ghayn(gh) instead of 'ayn(').

⁴¹⁹ Probably the Sampsaeans; see "Elkesaites," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, V, 267.

⁴²⁰ The different ways of giving this name are so uncertain that the spelling is surely incorrect.

⁴²¹ This may be connected with Bishop Artemas (see Carrington, *Early Christian Church*, II, 419) or with the friend of the apostle Paul (see Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, I, 159).

the Nawbaṭīniyah,⁴²² the Ishāqīyah,⁴²³ the Thamāniyah,⁴²⁴ the Maronites,⁴²⁵ the Mūliyāniyah,⁴²⁶ the Afūlinariṣṭīyah,⁴²⁷ the Awṭāk-hīyah,⁴²⁸ the Bawālṇaṭariyah,⁴²⁹ the Niqālūsiyah,⁴³⁰ the Marmasiyah,⁴³¹ the Malūdīyah,⁴³² the Bāqūriyah,⁴³³ the Adamīyah,⁴³⁴ the Nafaṣṭūniyah, the 'Anzūniyah, the Nafsāniyah,⁴³⁵ the Ḥabashīyah,⁴³⁶ the Dīqṭāniyah.⁴³⁷

⁴²² Possibly the adherents of the third-century theologian Novatian. See "Novatianists," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, IX, 399; Carrington, *Early Christian Church*, II, 468.

⁴²³ This may be a repetition of the Jacobites, or a sect named for some founder named Ishāq.

⁴²⁴ Perhaps this is meant to be al-Yamāniyah, referring to the Christians of Najrān or other places in southern Arabia.

⁴²⁵ This seems to be a repetition of the name of the Lebanese sect.

⁴²⁶ Perhaps al-Mawāliyiāniyah is the name meant.

⁴²⁷ This may refer to the sect of Apollinaris the Younger of Laodicea, who died A.D. 390; see "Apollinarism," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, I, 606, and "Monophysitism," VIII, 811. Cf. Carrington, *Early Christian Church*, II, 178, 224, for Apollinaris called Claudius.

⁴²⁸ Very likely the heresy of Eutyches, condemned at Constantinople A.D. 448. See "Monophysitism," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, VIII, 812.

⁴²⁹ Possibly the letter ṣā'(ṣ) is meant to be ṣā'(ṣ).

⁴³⁰ This almost certainly refers to the sect of Nicolas. See "Nicolaitans," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, IX, 363; Mansel, *Gnostic Heresies*, p. 72; Carrington, *Early Christian Church*, I, 299; Grant, *Gnosticism*, p. 43.

⁴³¹ In MS 1934 perhaps the second mīm(m) is meant to be qāf(q), so that this may refer to the heresy of Marcus, who lived in the middle of the second century A.D. See Mansel, *Gnostic Heresies*, pp. 41, 198, 242; Carrington, *Early Christian Church*, II, 231; "Sects," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, XI, 316 top.

⁴³² This sect may be named after Malūd in Turkeṣtān; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 638. The spelling is from MS 1934; Flügel gives al-Malūriyah.

⁴³³ As the consonant sign is lacking, the initial letter may be nūn(n) or some other letter.

⁴³⁴ This name may be connected with one of the controversies over Adam's fall, or is perhaps meant to be al-Aramīyah, or those using Aramaic for the litany.

⁴³⁵ The name signifies "sensualists" and may refer to a sect which believed that salvation was by divine grace, so that sensual living was no hindrance.

⁴³⁶ This probably refers to the Ethiopian Copts; see "Abyssinia," *Enc. Islam*, I, 119. In MS 1934 the dot under the bā'(b) is misplaced.

⁴³⁷ Perhaps this is meant to be the Docetics; see "Docetism," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, IV, 832; Carrington, *Early Christian Church*, I, 308; Mansel, *Gnostic Heresies*, p. 127.

The Sects of the Khurramīyah and the Mazdakīyah⁴³⁸

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: There were two groups of the Khurramīyah. The original Khurramīyah were called the Muḥammirah.⁴³⁹ They were dispersed among the mountain regions of Ādharbayjān,⁴⁴⁰ Armenia, the Daylam country, Hamadān, and Dinawar, as well as between Iṣbahān and the region of al-Ahwāz. By origin these were Magians, but later their [own] sect became established. They were among the people known as Luqatah.⁴⁴¹ The master, the former *Mazdak*, ordered them to partake of pleasures and to pursue carnal desires, food and drinks, social intercourse and mixing together, as well as to refrain from arbitrariness with one another. For they shared their women and families, as no one of them was excluded from the women of another, nor did he himself withhold [his own women]. But along with this they exemplified deeds of kindness, refraining from killing and from causing people sorrow.⁴⁴² They had a system of hospitality which no other people had. For if they received a man as a guest, they did not exclude him from anything he desired, whatever it might be.⁴⁴³ Belonging to this cult was the latest *Mazdak*, who appeared during the days of Qubād ibn Firūz. Anūshirwān executed him and killed his adherents.⁴⁴⁴ His record is famous. As al-Balkhī⁴⁴⁵ has dealt thoroughly with information about the Khurramīyah, their doctrines and their

⁴³⁸ For these two sects, see the Glossary. Hügel gives the first name as the Ḥaramīyah, but modern authorities give the Khurramīyah.

⁴³⁹ *Al-muḥammirah* is a form of the word meaning "red." Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyaṣat Namah*, p. 291, speaks of red flags. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, p. 312, says that it refers to wearing red as a badge.

⁴⁴⁰ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 822.

⁴⁴¹ The spelling may be *luqatah* or *laqatah*. This is the word used in Muslim law for something picked up, often applied to a foundling. The name was also used as an expression of contempt for low types of people.

⁴⁴² Literally "the causing of pains for spirits."

⁴⁴³ It is interesting to compare this passage with Polo, *Travels of Marco Polo*, XXXVIII, 106, and Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, 154.

⁴⁴⁴ This is probably the same Mazdak who has already been mentioned, even though he was called "the latest." Mazdak was executed about A.D. 531, which was approximately the time when Qubād was succeeded by Anūshirwān as king of Persia.

⁴⁴⁵ This man must have been al-Balkhī Abū Zayd Aḥmad ibn Sahl, who was probably the author of the book which follows, even though Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 142, does not include this title with a list of his books and it is also omitted in the passage about him in *Al-Fihrist*.

actions connected with drinking, pleasures, and worship, in the book *Sources of Questions and Answers* (*Uyūn al-Masā'il wa-al-Jawābāt*), it is unnecessary for us to mention what someone ahead of us has dealt with.

Account of the Khurramīyah al-Bābakīyah

The chief of the Khurramīyah al-Bābakīyah⁴⁴⁶ was *Bābak* al-Khurramī. He used to say to whomever he seduced that he was God. He instituted among the doctrines of the Khurramīyah killing, violence, wars, and mutilation, not previously known by the Khurramīyah.

The Reason for the Beginning of His Movement, His Appearance, His Wars, and His Execution⁴⁴⁷

Wāqid ibn 'Amr al-Tamīmī said, when dealing with the traditions of Bābak:

His father was a man from among the people of al-Madā'in, an oil dealer who moved to the frontier of Ādharbayjān, where he dwelt in a village called Bitāl-Ābād in the district of Mīmādh.⁴⁴⁸ He carried his oil in a container on his back and went about among the villages of the district. He conceived a passion for a one-eyed woman, the mother of Bābak, with whom he committed fornication for a long time. When he and she were withdrawn from the village, alone in a thicket, having with them some drink in which they were indulging, at that very time women came out from the village to draw water from a spring in the thicket. When they heard a voice singing something Nabataean they sought it and pounced upon the two of them. Although 'Abd Allāh [the oil peddler] fled, they took the mother of Bābak by the hair and brought her to the town, exposing her.

⁴⁴⁶ Here again Flügel has the Haramīyah instead of the Khurramīyah (see n. 438).

⁴⁴⁷ Compare this passage with the free translation in Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 324, and Flügel, *ZDMG*, XXIII (1869), 531. See also Wright, *Muslim World*, XXXVIII, No. 1 (January 1948), 43-59, and No. 2 (April 1948), 124-31; "Bābek," *Enc. Islam*, I, 547; Mas'ūdī, VII, 123-32; Tabarī, *Annales*, Part 3, pp. 1171, 1186, 1301, with following passages. In order to avoid monotony in this passage, the word "said" is translated in various ways. Otherwise there is an attempt to make the translation more literal than that of Browne.

⁴⁴⁸ The village of Bitāl-Ābād is often called al-Badhāh; see Wright, *Muslim World*, XXXVIII, No. 1 (January 1948), 46 n. 9, and Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 529. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 717, for Mīmādh, often written as Maymādh.

Wāqid said:

Then this oil dealer made a request to her father, who married him to her. He caused her to give birth to Bābak. Later he went forth on one of his trips to the mountain of Sabalān,⁴⁴⁹ where someone attacked him from the rear, wounding and killing him, so that after a moment he died. Bābak's mother then started to serve the people for wages as a wet nurse, until Bābak was ten years old. It is related that one day, when she set out to look for Bābak while he was tending some people's cows, she found him asleep under a tree. He was naked, and she observed blood under every hair on his body⁴⁵⁰ and head. But when he awoke from his sleep and stood erect, the blood which she had seen disappeared, so that she could not find it. She said, therefore, "I knew that my son would have a brilliant mission."

Wāqid said:

Bābak was in the district of Sarāh⁴⁵¹ with al-Shibl ibn al-Munaqqā al-Azdī, the care of whose animals he attended to and from whose young men he learned how to beat the tanbur. Then he went to Tabrīz, in the administrative district of Ādharbayjān, where he was employed for about two years by Muḥammad ibn al-Rawwād al-Azdī. When he was eighteen years old he returned to his mother and lived with her.

Wāqid ibn 'Amr said:

In the region of the mountains of al-Badhdh⁴⁵² and the mountains adjoining it, there were two men with power and wealth who were barbarians won over by the Khurramīyah.⁴⁵³ They were disputing about the mastery of the Khurramīyah in the mountains of al-Badhdh, that one of them alone might have the chiefship. One of them was called Jāwīdān ibn Suhrak, while the other, being chiefly identified by a surname, was known as Abū 'Imrān. During the summer there was war between them, but during winter the snows separated them because they blocked the mountain passes. Now Jāwīdān, who was Bābak's master, went forth

⁴⁴⁹ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 173 l. 12; III, 34 bottom.

⁴⁵⁰ MS 1934 has "body"; MS 1135 and Flügel give "breast."

⁴⁵¹ Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 325 n. 2, explains that this was in Ādharbayjān. Wright, *Muslim World*, XXXVIII, No. 1 (January 1948), 46 n. 10, identifies it as ancient Sarāw and the modern Sarāb. See also Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 64.

⁴⁵² See n. 448.

⁴⁵³ The word translated "barbarians" is *al-'ulūj*, which signifies that they were neither Muslims nor Arabs.

from his city with two thousand sheep, heading with them for the city of Zanjān, which was one of the cities on the frontiers of Qazwīn.⁴⁵⁴ After reaching it and selling his sheep, he turned back to the mountain of al-Badhdh, where in the neighborhood of Mīnadh, snow and nighttime overtook him. So he turned aside to the village of Bilāl, Ābād⁴⁵⁵ and asked the host there to lodge him.⁴⁵⁶ Because he felt that Jāwīdān was unimportant, he [the host] proceeded to lodge him with the mother of Bābak, in spite of her lack of good food due to destitution and poverty. She got up to kindle a fire, being unable to do anything else. But Bābak attended to the servants (young men) and animals, caring for them and bringing them water. Jāwīdān, moreover, sent him to buy food for him, as well as drink and fodder. After he had brought these things, he conversed and talked with him. He found that in spite of the wretchedness of his circumstances and [the fact that] his language was indistinct, a crude vernacular, he [Bābak] was intelligent. So, as he saw that he was crafty and clever, he said to his mother, "Oh, woman, I am a man from the mountain of al-Badhdh, with brilliancy of position and wealth. As I am in need of this son of yours, hand him over to me to take with me and make him the guardian of my lands⁴⁵⁷ and possessions. Every month I will send you his wages of fifty silver coins (s., *dirham*)" She replied to him, "Surely you are the very likeness of kindness, with signs of wealth showing all over you, so my heart has trust in you. Take him with you when you leave."

Then Abū 'Imrān went forth from his mountain against Jāwīdān, engaging him in fighting, and he was defeated. After Jāwīdān had killed Abū 'Imrān, he returned to his mountain, but as he had a wound about which he was concerned, he remained in his house for three days. Then he died.

Now the wife of Jāwīdān had become passionately in love with Bābak, who had been committing adultery with her. When, therefore, Jāwīdān died, she said to him, "You are hardy and clever; he has died! I won't raise my voice about this to any of his companions. Get ready for tomorrow! I'll have a gathering of them for you and tell them that Jāwīdān said, 'I wish to die during this night, so that my spirit will go

⁴⁵⁴ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 948, and IV, 88, for Zanjān and Qazwīn.

⁴⁵⁵ See n. 448.

⁴⁵⁶ "Host" (*al-jazīr*) was, in al-'Irāq, the person in a village who was responsible for entertaining strangers; see Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, I, 248 l. 13.

⁴⁵⁷ MS 1934 has *ṣunā'i* ("my laborers"), but MS 1135 and Flügel give *ḍayā'i* ("my lands"), which is probably correct.

forth from my body and enter the body of Bābak, associating itself with his spirit. He will accomplish for himself and for you something which no one else has ever accomplished and no one will accomplish after him. For he will rule the earth, slay the oppressors, and restore the Mazdakīyah. By him shall your abject [people] become mighty and by him shall your lost be uplifted.' " Bābak was moved with ambition because of what she said to him, rejoicing in it and preparing himself for it.

When morning came, she assembled in her presence the warriors of Jāwīdān, who said, "How is it he did not summon us and give us a charge." She replied, "Nothing prevented him from doing this except that you were scattered among your villages. If he had sent to assemble you, news about him would have spread and he did not trust the Arabs's hostility for you. So he charged me with what I am going to tell you, that you may accept it and act in accordance with it." Then they said to her, "Tell what he charged you with, for we have never had a disagreement with his command during the days of his life, nor are we going to have a disagreement with him after his death." So she answered, "He said to me, 'I am going to die during this night! My spirit will go out from my body and enter the body of this youth, my servant! I have decided to place him in authority over my companions. If I die tell them this! Anyone who disagrees with me about this, and chooses for himself what is contradictory to my desire, has no religion!'" Then they exclaimed, "We have accepted his charge to you about this youth!"

So she called for a cow and ordered that it be killed and flayed with its skin spread out. Then she placed on the skin a vessel full of wine, beside which she broke bread, placing it by the bowl.⁴⁵⁸ Then she called upon one man after another, saying, "Step on the skin with your foot, take a piece of bread, dip it in the wine, eat it, and say, 'I have placed my faith in thee, oh, spirit of Bābak, as I had faith in the spirit of Jāwīdān.' Then take the hand of Bābak, do obeisance to it and kiss it.' "

This they did until the time when food was made ready for her. Then, offering them food and drink, she sat him [Bābak] on her bedding⁴⁵⁹ and sat with him, openly before them. After each one of them had drunk three times, she took a sprig of basil and gave it to Bābak, who received it from her hand. That was their marriage [ceremony]. Then they [the

⁴⁵⁸ "Bowl" (*ḡast*) is used in modern times for a *waslibasīn*, but formerly must have meant a copper pan or bowl. Instead of "by," the Arabic has *fī* ("in"), but the description indicates that the pieces of bread were outside the vessel.

⁴⁵⁹ This refers to something spread out on the floor, such as a rug or mattress.

men] rose up and paid their respects to them, approving of the marriage. Foreigners and protégés were [among] those who submitted.⁴⁶⁰

The Sects Which Developed from the Sects of the Magians and the Khurramīyah in Islāmic Times

At the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd regime, before the appearance of [al-Saffāh] Abū al-'Abbās, there was a man named *Bihāfrīd* from the village of Rūwā in the region of Abrušāhr.⁴⁶¹ He was a Magian who observed the five prayers without prostration and was lax about the *qiblah*. He served as a priest and called upon the Magians [to join] his sect, so that many people turned to him. When Abū Muslim sent *Shabīb* ibn Rawāḥ and 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'īd to set forth Islām to him, he accepted Islām and joined the black.⁴⁶² But, as he served as a priest, his profession of Islām was not accepted and he was killed. There is a group belonging to his sect in Khurāsān even at this time. This is what *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-'Abbās al-Šūlī records in the book *The 'Abbāsīd Regime*, but it is Allāh who knows.⁴⁶³

The Muslimīyah⁴⁶⁴

Among the creeds which developed in Khurāsān after [the establishment of] Islām, there was that of the Muslimīyah.⁴⁶⁵ They were followers of Abū Muslim, who believed in his imamate and declared that he was alive and prospering. When al-Manšūr killed

⁴⁶⁰ "Those who submitted" is *al-musallimūn*. The word might be *al-Muslimūn* ("the Muslims"), meaning that the men who were Muslims in the ranks of Bābak were either strangers or protégés, but the first interpretation seems to be the most likely.

⁴⁶¹ For this locality in Persia, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 80. "In the region of" is, in Arabic, *mīn*.

⁴⁶² Black was the color of the 'Abbāsīd movement, which Abū Muslim was championing.

⁴⁶³ The Flügel version adds "with correctness" (*bi-al-ṣawāb*).

⁴⁶⁴ MS 1934 seems to give this passage more accurately than Flügel or MS 1135. Light is shed on it by the following references: Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 426 bottom; Mas'ūdī, VI, 186-89; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part 3, pp. 1285, 1287-88, 1291-92; Iṣṭakhri, *Masālik al-Mamālik* (de Goeje), p. 203; Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Ta'āshim*, p. 398 bottom; Hawqal, *Al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik*, pp. 265-66.

⁴⁶⁵ Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 293, calls this group al-Abū Muslimīyah. See also Baghdādī, pp. 75, 92.

Abū Muslim, he caused his propaganda agents and the adherents loyal to him to flee to the frontiers of the land.⁴⁶⁶

A man known as *Ishāq*⁴⁶⁷ went to the Turks in the Land beyond the River (Transoxiana), where he instituted propaganda for Abū Muslim. He claimed that Abū Muslim was detained among the mountains of al-Rayy.⁴⁶⁸ According to them he will come forth at a time about which they know. This is similar to what the Kaysāniyah assert about *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥanafiyah.⁴⁶⁹

Someone narrating this report has said, "I asked a group why *Ishāq* was called a Turk. They said it was because he entered the land of the Turks to propagandize them about the mission of Abū Muslim. One group relates that *Ishāq* was one of the 'Alawīyah, but he concealed himself among them [the Turks] by means of this sect, for he was one of the sons of *Yahyā* ibn Zayd ibn 'Alī. It was also said that he went off, fleeing from the Banū Umayyah, to roam about in the lands of the Turks."⁴⁷⁰

The author of the book *Account of the Part of Khurāsān Which Is in the Land beyond the River (Transoxiana)*⁴⁷¹ said, "*Ibrāhīm* ibn *Muḥammad*, who was acquainted with the affairs of the Muslimīyah, told us that *Ishāq* was merely a man from among the people of the Land beyond the River (Transoxiana), who was illiterate but had a following among the *jinn*, so that if he asked about anything, the answer came after a night. So when events occurred for Abū Muslim as they did,⁴⁷² he called the people to him, asserting that he was a prophet appointed by Zoroaster and claiming that Zoroaster

⁴⁶⁶ When some of the followers of Abū Muslim wished to have him become the caliph, al-Manṣūr, the second member of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, had him killed.

⁴⁶⁷ For the sect of *Ishāq*, see Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 75 n. 3.

⁴⁶⁸ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 892.

⁴⁶⁹ See "Kaysāniya," *Enc. Islam*, II, 658; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 35, 48, 49; Khallikān, II, 577; Maṣ'ūdī, V, 180, 267-68.

⁴⁷⁰ Because the 'Alawīyah were descendants of the Prophet's daughter and pretenders to the caliphate, they were feared by the ruling caliphs. This passage suggests that *Ishāq* was the son of *Yahyā* ibn Zayd ibn 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn. When his father was killed, he probably sought refuge in central Asia, but this supposition cannot be proved. See "*Yahyā* b. Zaid al-Ḥusainī," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1151, and "Alids," I, 297.

⁴⁷¹ The author of this book has not been identified, but for the region see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 400; "Khorāsān," *Enc. Islam*, II, 966.

⁴⁷² Abū Muslim was killed A.D. 755.

was alive and had not died. His adherents, therefore, were certain that he was living and would not die, but would come forth to raise up this cult for them.⁴⁷³ This was among the mysteries of the Muslimīyah."

Al-Balkhī⁴⁷⁴ said, "Some people call the Muslimīyah the Khurram-dīniyah." He also said "I have heard that we have a group of them in Balkh, in a village called Khurram-ābādh, in which it [the group] takes refuge."⁴⁷⁵

Doctrines of the Shamanīyah⁴⁷⁶

I have read [what was written] in the handwriting of a man from among the people of Khurāsān, who composed an account of Khurāsān in ancient times and of what has recently come to pass there, this passage being similar to the original record.⁴⁷⁷ He said, "The prophet of the Shamanīyah is the Buddha,⁴⁷⁸ and the majority of the people of the Land beyond the River (Transoxiana) were in accord with this doctrine before Islām, in ancient times. The meaning of the Shamanīyah is related to *shamani*,⁴⁷⁹ and these were the most exalted⁴⁸⁰ people of the earth and the religions. That was because the Buddha prophesied to them, teaching them that the principal thing which is illegal and forbidden for a man to believe in and practice is the saying of *lā*, in connection with all things.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷³ Evidently Ishāq stirred up followers of Abū Muslim to believe that he had not been killed, but like Zoroaster was still alive and would come back to make his adherents powerful.

⁴⁷⁴ See n. 445.

⁴⁷⁵ It is quite likely that some of the heretical Khurramīyah, fugitives in a town of Balkh, may have joined the new revolutionary sect of the Muslimīyah.

⁴⁷⁶ For this sect, see the Glossary.

⁴⁷⁷ The word "original record" (*al-dustūr*) probably indicates that there was an ancient source from which the passage was quoted.

⁴⁷⁸ In the Arabic text the name is given as Burwāsaf in MS 1934 and Budāsaf in the Flügel version. The prophet referred to is evidently the Buddha. For further information see "Būdāsaf" in the Glossary.

⁴⁷⁹ For the Shamanīyah, see Glossary.

⁴⁸⁰ "Most exalted" (*asmā*) is taken from MS 1934. Another possibility is *askhā* ("most generous"), given in MS 1135 and Flügel; this would be logical if the members of the cult were forbidden to say "no" (see following note).

⁴⁸¹ *Lā* means "no." If this word is correct, the prohibition against saying "no" may refer to the doctrine that members of the sect were not supposed to refuse alms to Buddhist monks, perhaps also to guests and strangers. It is more likely, however,

They are in accord with this both in speaking and acting, for the saying of *lā* with them is an act of Satan and their doctrines about Satan ————.⁴⁸²

that the word is meant to be *anā*, the first person pronoun, "I." Among the things which the Buddhists are commanded to avoid are the Ten Fetters, which bind men to the wheel of existence. The first fetter which must be avoided is belief in the existence of "self." Thus, acknowledging the existence of the ego and using the pronoun "I" would be prohibited. See Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, pp. 43, 127; Noss, *Man's Religions*, p. 174.

⁴⁸² Flügel and MS 1135 insert *dag* ("warding off") before Satan, but MS 1934 omits this word. The remainder of the passage is evidently incomplete. It is likely that the original manuscript from which this was quoted was torn off at this point.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Second Section of the Ninth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed. This chapter comprises sects and doctrines.

The Doctrines of India

"I read in a section, which I translated, this statement: 'Book. In it are the sects and religions of India. I transcribed this book from a book among the books, on Friday the third of al-Muḥarram [the first Muslim month], during the year two hundred and fifty-nine [A.D. 863/64].'"¹

I do not know who wrote this statement, which is in this book, except that I saw it written in the handwriting of Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī, letter for letter. There was under this translation of this statement, in the words of the writer, "Some of the theologians have said that Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī sent a man to India, so that he might bring him the medicinal plants found in that land and also write for him about the religions. So he wrote this book for him."²

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: He who knew about the subject of India during the Arab regime was Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd,

¹ As the Arabic text does not supply quotation marks, it is impossible to be sure which parts of this account are quoted. It is likely that this book was translated by some unknown scholar, copied by Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī, and then used by al-Nadīm to form the basis of the account of Indian sects which follows in the succeeding paragraphs. As it took some time for books to be copied and distributed, al-Nadīm evidently had not come across the accounts of India given by al-Mas'ūdī, Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Ḥasan ibn Yazīd al-Sirāfī, and al-Muqaddisī, all of whom must have written their books during the lifetime of al-Nadīm, or during the decades just preceding his birth.

² MS 1135 omits this paragraph, as well as the one which follows.

with also a group of the *Barmak* family. So it is quite likely that this statement is correct, if we relate it to what we know from the accounts of the members of the Barmak family, with their concern for India and their causing the scholars of its medicine and its doctors to be present [in Baghdād].³

The Names of the Places of Worship in the Land of India, with a Description of the Buildings and the State of the Idols⁴

The greatest of the buildings is the edifice at Mānkīr, which is a parasang in length. Mānkīr is the city in which there is the Balharā.⁵ It is forty parasangs long, [made] of teak, palm, and other sorts of wood.⁶ It is said that there are a thousand thousand elephants there to transport the goods of the common people. At the king's stable there are sixty thousand elephants, and one hundred and twenty thousand elephants belong to the [cloth] bleachers there.

In the building of the idols, there are about twenty thousand idols made of a variety of materials, such as gold, silver, iron, copper, brass, and ivory, as well as crushed stones adorned with precious jewels.

Every year the king goes to this building. He walks from his palace and then returns riding. In it there is an idol made of gold, the height of which is twelve cubits. It is on a throne of gold, under the center of a golden dome, all adorned with jewels—pearls⁷ and precious stones; red, yellow, blue, and green.⁸ They slay sacrificial victims for this idol, and

³ Flügel omits the words "so it is quite likely that this statement is correct, if we relate it to what we know from the accounts of." Flügel also confuses other words in this passage. The translation is taken from MS 1934.

⁴ "Idols" (*al-bidadah*) evidently refers to idols in general, rather than specifically to Buddhist ones. Most of the material under this heading is evidently a quotation. See n. 17 for the end of the quotation.

⁵ Mānkīr was the ancient Mānyakheta and modern Mālkhed, northwest of Hyderabad in the Deccan. See Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 387; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 444 l. 7; Mas'ūdī, I, 162, 177-78, 374, 381-83; Ḥasan ibn Yazīd, *Akhhār al-Šīn wa-al-Hind*, p. 12. "Parasang" represents different distances in different vernaculars. Here it cannot have been a very long distance. The Balharā (Bulahrā) was the dynastic title of the most important king in India during the tenth century. For this passage, see Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān*, pp. 47 ff.

⁶ Flügel and MS 1135 have *al-qanā* ("dates"), which is here translated as "palm," but MS 1934 has *al-fanā*, which is the tree called *Solanum hortense*. The passage probably refers to the city as a whole.

⁷ "Pearls" is given as the translation for *al-abyaḍ al-ḥabb*.

⁸ The word translated as "precious stones" is *al-yāqūt*, which here seems to be used in a general way, though it usually means "rubies."

there is a certain day of the year, known to them, when they go furthest in making offerings of themselves as well.⁹

There is a building at al-Mūltān, which building is said to be one of the seven temples.¹⁰ In it there is an iron idol which is seven cubits in length. It is under the center of a dome which magnetic stones support with balanced pressure on all sides. It is said that it leans to one side because of some injury. This temple is at the foot of a mountain. The height of its dome is one hundred and eighty cubits. The people of India make pilgrimages to it by land and sea from the farthest parts of their country. The road to it from Balkh is a straight one, for the regions of al-Mūltān are near to the districts of Balkh. On top of the mountain, as well as at its foot, there are houses for devotees and ascetics, as well as places for sacrificial victims and offerings. It is said that there is never a spare moment or a single hour when there are no people going there as pilgrims.

They have two idols, one of which is called Jun-bukt and the other Zun-bukt.¹¹ Their forms are carved out of the sides of a great valley, cut from the rock of the mountain. The height of each one of them is eighty cubits, so that they can be seen from a great distance.

He said:¹²

The people of India go on pilgrimages to these two [idols], bearing

⁹ "Offerings of themselves" may refer to Hindu human sacrifices, the burning of widows, or to dedication to some fraternity or priesthood. See Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, pp. 645-48.

¹⁰ The word *bayt* is translated as "building" or "temple" according to which interpretation seems most suitable. Mūltān (Mūlastāna) is on a fork of the Indus River in the western part of the Punjab. See Balfour, *Cyclopaedia of India*, II, 1007; Jackson, *History of India*, III, 9 ff.; Mas'ūdi, I, 151, 154, 207, 374-78; IV, 96; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 457 l. 4; IV, 629; Bīrūnī, *Alberuni's India*, I, 116; II, 184; Fidā', *Taqwīm al-Buldān*, p. 351; Iṣṭakhri, *Masālik al-Mamālik* (de Goeje), pp. 172-78; Idrīsī, *India*, pp. 49 ff., 96, 149; Hawqal, *Oriental Geography*, p. 154.

¹¹ These were the famous images of Bāmiyān (Bamian), eighty miles northwest of Kābul. In some books the idols are called Surkh-but and Khink-but, meaning "gold" ("red") and "white" idol. For pictures and accounts of these rock carvings, see Hackin, *Bamian*, pp. 38 ff.; Godard, *Antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, pp. 11 ff., 86, and Plates I-XIII, XXIX; Williams, *National Geographic Magazine*, LXIV, No. 6 (December 1933), 741, 745; "Bāmiyān," *Enc. Islam*, I, 643; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, 118-19. See also Hackin, *Nouvelles Recherches*, Plates II, III; Iṣṭakhri, *Al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik* (Hīnī and Ghurbāl), p. 156; Hawqal, *Oriental Geography*, pp. 213, 225-28; Fidā', *Taqwīm al-Buldān*, p. 455; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 481.

¹² "He said" evidently refers to the author of this long passage, which al-Nadīm found copied in the handwriting of al-Kiudī.

with them offerings, incense, and fragrant woods. If the eye should fall upon them from a distance, a man would be obliged to lower his eyes, overawed by them. If he is lacking in attention or careless when he sees them, it is necessary for him to return to a place from which he cannot view them and then to approach them, seeking them as the object of his attention with reverence for them.

A man who has been an eyewitness of them told me that the amount of blood which is shed beside them is not small in quantity. He asserted that it might happen that perhaps about fifty thousand or more might offer themselves, but it is Allāh who knows.¹³

They have a building at Bāmiyān¹⁴ on the frontiers of India, where it borders on Sijistān. Ya'qūb ibn al-Layth reached this locality when he sought to invade India. The idols which were sent to the City of Peace [Baghdād] from that locality of Bāmiyān were transported at the time of its invasion. Ascetics and devotees occupy this great building. In it there are idols of gold adorned with precious stones, the number of which is unknown and to which no praise or description can do justice. The people of India go there on pilgrimages by land and sea from the furthest town (regions) of their country.

At Faraj¹⁵ there is the House of Gold, a building about which there is a difference of opinion. Some say that it is a stone building, containing idols, and that it is called the "House of Gold" because the Arabs took a hundred *buhār*¹⁶ of gold from it when they invaded this place during the days of al-Ḥajjāj.¹⁷

Abū Dulaf al-Yanbū'ī, a traveler, told me that the building which is known as the House of Gold is not this one.¹⁸ The building is in

¹³ If this statement refers to human sacrifices, it must be connected with the Hindus rather than the Buddhists; see n. 9 and Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, 69; II, 288–89. It may be that the passage confuses sacrifice with the dedication of men to lives in the Buddhist monasteries.

¹⁴ See n. 11.

¹⁵ Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 869, says that Faraj is the name for the House of Gold at al-Mulcān; see also Idrīsī, *India*, p. 51.

¹⁶ *Buhār* was the name of a measure. Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 299, says that it was equal to 400 pounds. Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 121, says it is a bag for measuring. Bustānī, *Muḥṣṣ al-Muḥṣṣ*, I, 135, describes it as a larger measure.

¹⁷ It is likely that the quotation begun with the second heading of this section ends here, and that Abū Dulaf gave the following information to al-Nadīm in person.

¹⁸ Abū Dulaf Mi'sar ibn Muḥallil was sent on a mission to India, A.D. 942. He probably died at Baghdād about the time when *Al-Fihrist* was being completed.

the wild parts of India, in the territories of Makrān and Qandahār.¹⁹ Nobody reaches it except the devotees and ascetics of India. It is built of gold. Its length is seven cubits and its width the same. Its height is twelve cubits and it is adorned with varieties of precious stones. In it there are idols made of red rubies and other marvelous precious stones, and it is adorned with glorious pearls, each one of which is like a bird's egg or even larger. He [Abū Dulaf] asserted that reliable authorities from among the people of India told him that the rain draws away from the top of this building, as well as from the right and left [sides], so that it does not strike it. In the same way the stream in flood avoids it, flowing to the right and left. He said, "One of the Indians said that if anyone sick with any disease whatsoever, sees it, Allāh, may His name be glorified, cures him." He also said, "When I examined this matter, there was disagreement about it. Some of the Brahmans stated to me that it is hanging between Heaven and earth without support or suspension."

Abū Dulaf said to me, "The Indians have a temple at Qimār. Its walls are made of gold and its roofs with beams of Indian lumber, the length of each timber being fifty cubits or more. Its idols, niches, and its parts faced in worship have been adorned with glorious pearls and precious stones." He said, "A reliable person told me that in the city of al-Ṣanf they have a temple other than this one. It is an ancient temple in which all of its idols speak with the worshipers, answering everything about which they are questioned." Abū Dulaf [also] said, "At the time when I was in India, the king of the government of al-Ṣanf was named Lājīn." The Najrānī monk told me that the king at the present time is a monarch known as King Lūqīn, who desired al-Ṣanf. He devastated it and became ruler over its people.²⁰

¹⁹ See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 445 ff. for an account of Abū Dulaf. Makrān is west of modern Karachi. See Hawqal, *Oriental Geography*, pp. 138-41; Bīrūnī, *Tahqīq mā li-al-Hind*, p. 167 l. 10; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 612-14. Qandahār (Qanduhār) is in southern Afghanistan, and can easily be confused with Ghandār, nearer to modern Bombay. See Balādhurī, *Furūḥ al-Buldan*, p. 610; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 183; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 347; Idrīsī, *India*, pp. 66, 159.

²⁰ For details about the Najrānī monk, see n. 39. He was probably the source of the "Statement about the Buddha" which follows. The most reasonable explanation for this paragraph is that it refers to Indochina, and that the names are as follows:

Statement about the Buddha, from a Source Other than the Book [Transcribed] in the Handwriting of al-Kindi²¹

The people of India disagree about this [subject]. One party asserted that he [Buddha] was the likeness of the Creator, may His greatness be exalted. Another group said that he was the likeness of his apostle [sent] to them. Then they disagreed at this point. One sect (party) said that the apostle was one of the angels. Another sect stated that the apostle was a man among the people. Then a group said that he was a demon among the demons, while [another] sect stated that he was a likeness of the Būdāsaf, the wise, who came to them from Allāh, may His name be glorified. Each sect among them has a ritual for worshiping and exalting him.²²

Some of their trustworthy people have said that each one of their communities has an image to which people go so as to worship and exalt it. Al-Budd (Buddha) is a generic term, while *al-aṣnām* (idols) signifies [different] "kinds." The description of the greatest Buddha is that of a man seated on a throne, with no hair on his face and with his chin and mouth sunk [close] together. He is not covered by a

Qimār (Qamār) is probably meant to be Khmer, the name for the dynasty and kingdom of Cambodia which flourished at the time when *Al-Fihrist* was being written. Al-Ṣanf is probably Champa (Tchampa), the ancient kingdom of southern Annam. Lājīn seems to be confused with Rājēn and meant to be Rajendravarman, the king of Qimār, who made himself master of al-Ṣanf A.D. 944-52. Lūqīn is very likely meant to be Lung-pien of Tonkin, southeast of Hanoi near the mouth of the Song-koi River. Lung-pien established rule over al-Ṣanf toward the end of the tenth century.

For these places, see Miṣ'ar ibn Muḥalhil, *Al-Risālah al-Thānīyah*, p. 7; Grousset, *L'Asie Orientale*, pp. 371 (map), 398; Grousset, *Histoire d'Extrême Orient*, II, 559 bottom, 562-63; "Cochin-China," *Enc. Brit.*, VI, 621; "Cambodia," *Enc. Brit.*, V, 84; Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān*, pp. 98-102; Maṣ'ūdī, I, 72, 169-75, 330, 341-43; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 173; Fīdā', *Taqwīm al-Buldān*, p. 369; Fīdā', *Géographie d'Aboulfēda*, I, cdxv-cdxvi; Reinaud, *Relations des voyages*, pp. 97 ff.; Renaudot, *Ancient Accounts of India and China*, I, 63 ff.; Ḥasan ibn Yazīd, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa-al-Hind*, p. 45 l. 37; Idrīsī, *Waṣf al-Hind*, pp. 20, 76, 81; Idrīsī, *India*, pp. 35, 69, 72, 90, 99, 113, 128, 157, 161. It should be mentioned that some of these references connect Qimār (Qamār) with Comorin in southern India.

²¹ The passage under this heading, with the possible exception of the last two sentences about the image with four faces, seems to refer to the Buddha himself.

²² For the use of *Būdāsaf*, see the Glossary.

robe and he is as though smiling. With his hand he is stringing thirty-two [beads].²³

A trustworthy person has said that there is an image of him in every house. These are made of all kinds of materials, according to the status of the individual. They are of gold adorned with different jewels, or of silver, brass, stone, or wood. They exalt him as he receives them, facing either from east to west, or from west to east, but for the most part they turn his back to the east, so that they face themselves toward the east. It is said that they have this image with four faces, so fashioned by engineering and accurate craftsmanship that from whatever place they approach it, they see the full face and the profile perfectly, without any part of it hidden from them. It is said that this is the form of the idol that is at Mūltān.²⁴

Al-Mahākālayah,²⁵ from What Is [Written] in the Handwriting of al-Kindī

They have an idol named Mahākāl which has four hands and is sapphire in color, with a great deal of lank hair on its head. It bares its teeth, its stomach is exposed, and on its back is an elephant's skin dripping blood. The legs of an elephant's hide are tied in front of it. In one of its hands is a great serpent with its mouth open, in another is a rod, in the third there is a man's head. It has the fourth hand uplifted. Two snakes are in its ears, like earrings, and two huge serpents, which have wrapped themselves around it, are on its body. On its head there is a crown made of skull bones, and it

²³ Some Buddhists followed the custom of the Siva worshipers, using a rosary with thirty-two beads. However, as a rule, the Buddha is represented with a lotus flower rather than a rosary. See "Rosaries," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, X, 848, 850 top; for pictures of Buddhist idols, see Silva-Vigier, *Life of the Buddha*, Plates 67, 85, 96, 143.

²⁴ These two final sentences may not refer to the Buddha, although he is sometimes represented with numerous heads. The well-known four-faced figure was Chaturānana, representing Brahma, while the idol at Mūltān was connected with sun worship. See "Images and Idols," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, VII, 123, 144. For Mūltān, see n. 10 and Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, 453.

²⁵ Evidently these were worshipers of the Great Kāla, the male deity Mahā-Kāla, rather than his female consort, as at the end of the paragraph the idol is referred to as masculine. See "Brahmanism," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, II, 812; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 2, p. 368; Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, pp. 82, 188; Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, 169; Bīrūnī, *Alberuni's India*, p. 202.

has a necklace also made of them. They claim that it is a demon from among the devils, meriting worship because of its great power and its possession of qualities which are praiseworthy and lovable, as well as despised and abhorred, and also because of its giving and refusing, doing good and committing evil. It is, moreover, their refuge during times of adversity.

Among Them Are Members of the Sect of the Dinabaktanīyah (Sun Worshipers)²⁶

They are worshipers of the sun, for which they have made an idol on wheels.²⁷ The supports of the cart are four horses, and in the hand of the idol there is a jewel the color of fire. They claim that the sun is the king of the angels, deserving devotion and worship. They prostrate themselves in front of this idol and walk around it with incense and stringed instruments.²⁸ This idol has estates and revenues, as well as temple servants and retainers to care for its upkeep and the maintenance of its estates. It is worshiped three times a day, with the expressions of speech (forms of litanies) which they have for it.

There come to it persons with maladies—leprosy, leprous skin, lameness, and other distressing forms of illness. They stand by it and spend nights beside it, worshiping, making supplication, and praying that it may cure them. They neither eat nor drink, but fast for it. Thus the sick person continues, until in his sleep he sees someone saying to him, "Thou hast been cured, the desire has been attained!"

²⁶ As this sect and the ones which follow are not well known and the names are incorrectly transliterated into Arabic from the Sanskrit, without consonant and vowel signs, an attempt to identify them can only be guesswork. The Arabic term for the Sun Worshipers very likely comes from *āditya* ("sun") and *bhaktā* ("devotees"), with the common Arabic ending *nīyah* added to the Sanskrit names. The sun god worshiped at Mūltān was *Āditya*. The first name is abbreviated, so instead of *āditya* it may be *dīna*, which sometimes implies "the splendor of the sun." See Idrīsī, *India*, pp. 96, 148–49; Birūnī, *Alberuni's India*, I, 116, 291; Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, pp. 87 n. 1, 97; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 2, p. 366; "Brahmanism," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, II, 805; "Nature," *ibid.*, IX, 230; "Ormazd," *ibid.*, IX, 568; Flügel edition, p. 348 n. 1.

²⁷ "Wheels" is *ʿajal*, which seems to be correct, although in the account of the Moon Worshipers, Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 2, p. 367, has *ʿijl* ("calf").

²⁸ "Stringed instruments" is *al-mazāhir wa-al-maʿāzif*.

Then it is said that the idol has spoken to him in his sleep, so that he has been cured and returned to good health.

Among Them Are Members of the Sect of the Chandrabhēknīyah (Moon Worshipers)²⁹

They are worshipers of the moon. They say that the moon is one of the angels, meriting exaltation and worship. According to their ordinances, they worship it as an idol mounted on a cart. Four ducks draw the cart, and in the hand of this idol there is a jewel called Moon Devotion.³⁰ It is a part of their religion to bow down to it and worship it, as well as to fast for half of every month. They do not break the fasting until the moon rises, when they come to their idol with food, drinks, and milk. They make supplication to it, looking up to the moon and praying to it for what they need. When the moon appears as a crescent at the beginning of the month, they go up to the housetops, gazing at the moon and burning incense. When it appears they call upon it, making supplication to it. Then they descend from the roofs for food and drink, joy and merry-making. They do not look at it except when its faces are beautiful.³¹ In the middle of the month, when they have finished breaking the fast,³² they start dancing, games, and [playing] musical instruments, in the presence of the moon and the idol.

²⁹ The Arabic term may refer to Canrabhāgā, the old name for the Chenab River, where there was a great temple, but it is much more likely that it is an attempt to transliterate the Sanskrit words *candra* (*chandra*) meaning "moon," and *bhakti* ("devotion"), with the Arabic ending *nīyah*. See Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, 453; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, 254; Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, pp. 108, 343; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 2, p. 367; Deffrémery, *Journal asiatique*, IV (August 1844), 128.

³⁰ Instead of "mounted on a cart," Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 2, p. 367, has "in the form of a calf." In the translation the name of the jewel is given as "Moon Devotion" (*Chandra-bhakti*), although in the Arabic text the spelling seems to be something like *Jandarkūt*.

³¹ The Arabic is literally "except on beautiful faces." This may refer to times when certain faces or quarters of the moon indicate festival times, or perhaps to times when the moon is clear.

³² Both MS 1934 and MS 1135 omit the words "breaking the fast," probably a mistake.

Among Them Are Members of the Sect of the Anshīyah (Abstaining from Food),³³ Meaning Those Restricted from Food and Drink

Among Them Are the Members of the Sect Called Bakrananīyah (Shackled),³⁴ Meaning the Shackling of Themselves with Iron

Their ordinances are that they must shave their heads and beards, and make naked their bodies except for their private parts. It is not in accord with their ordinances to recognize anyone or to speak to him unless he has entered their sect. They command whoever enters into their faith to offer alms, thereby to be humbled. A person who enters their faith does not shackle himself with iron until he reaches the grade in which he is worthy of so doing. The shackling of themselves is from their waists up to their chests, so as not to tear their stomachs. They assert that this is the result of great learning and mastery of the intellect.

Among Them Are Members of a Sect Called the Kankāyātrah (Ganges Pilgrims)³⁵

The people of this doctrine are distributed throughout all of the regions of India. According to their ordinances, if a person commits an important sin, he must start out from far or near [and travel] until he washes in the River Ganges, so as thereby to become purified.

Among Them Are the Members of a Sect Called the Rājamarītyah (King Servers)³⁶

They are partisans of the kings. According to the ordinances of their faith, they must help the kings. They say, "God, the Creator,

³³ The Arabic is probably meant to be the Sanskrit *an-āśin* ("not eating"). See Flügel, ZDMG, XXII (1868), 737, for an early study of these names.

³⁴ This name cannot be identified. The Sanskrit word for "shackled" is *baddha*, and it is possible that the Arabic is meant to be *al-Baddhanīyah* (*Baddha* plus the Arabic ending, *nīyah*). In that case the dot on the *dhāl* (*dh*) has been so carelessly written that it makes the *dāl* (*d*) coming before it look like a *kāf* (*k*). This letter *dhāl* (*dh*) is written like a *rā'* (*r*). Cf. Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 2, p. 361.

³⁵ The Indian name for the Ganges is *Ganga*. In the Arabic text the name is badly written, but it must be an attempt to indicate the *Ganga*. The *g* is transliterated as *kāf* (*k*), as is also the case in Mas'ūdī, II, 80, and Baṭūṭah, *Tuhfat al-Nuẓẓār*, IV, 212. The word after *Ganga* is evidently *yātrā*, a Sanskrit word used for a person going on a pilgrimage.

³⁶ The garbled Arabic appears to be a crude transliteration of the Sanskrit *Rāja-bhṛītya* ("King Servers"). In the Arabic, possibly the *m* (*mīm*) is meant to be *b* (*bā'*).

Blessed and Almighty, made them kings, so that if we are slain in obeying them, we shall go to the Garden [of Paradise]."

Among Them Are the Members of a Sect

According to its ordinances they let their hair grow long, twisting it on their faces. All sides of their heads are covered, their hair hanging down to an equal extent on the different sides of the head. According to their ordinances, they do not drink wine. They have a mountain called Jūr'ān³⁷ to which they make pilgrimages. When they leave for the pilgrimage they do not enter inhabited places along the way. If they go forth and meet a woman, they flee from her. They have a large temple, containing an image, at this mountain to which they make their pilgrimages.

The Doctrines of China³⁸ and Some Accounts of Them

What was told me by the Najrānī monk who came from China during the year three hundred and seventy-seven [A.D. 987/88].

This man was one of the people of Najrān, whom the Catholics sent to China about seven years ago.³⁹ He took with him five Christian men from among those who stood for the cause of the faith. This monk and another one returned from the group after

³⁷ MS 1934 and Flügel both give a form which might be Jūr'ān, whereas MS 1135 has what is probably meant to be either Jūr or Jawr. The word probably refers to Guru, the summit of Mt. Abu, where the Aghori ascetics had a center. It is also possible, but not as likely, that the proper name refers to the sacred Gauri region around Mt. Kailāsa in Tibet, a famous place for pilgrims. See Flügel, *ZDMG*, XXII (1868), 737; "Abu," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, I, 51; "Aghori," *ibid.*, I, 211; "Kailās Kailāsa," *ibid.*, VII, 637.

³⁸ The translation follows MS 1934. Flügel gives "doctrines of the people of China." The literal translation of the next clause is "and something from their traditions (*akhbār*)."

³⁹ The Catholics must have been Nestorian, as other patriarchs were not permitted to live at Baghdād. As it is unlikely that any Christians who might have remained in southern Arabia were Nestorians, this name evidently does not refer to the original Najrān in the Arabian peninsula, but to the colony of the same name two days south of al-Kūfāh, founded by refugees from southern Arabia during the reign of the second caliph. See Yule, *Cathay*, I, 113-14; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 757; "Nestorians," *Enc. Brit.*, XIX, 407. Fidā', *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, I, cdxvi, says the monk left for China about A.D. 980. He returned 987-88. During this period the Sung emperor T'ai Tsung (A.D. 960-88) was trying to unify the kingdom. See Latourette, *The Chinese*, p. 227; Grousset, *L'Asie Orientale*, p. 263 ff.

six years. I met him in Dār al-Rūm, behind the Church.⁴⁰ I saw a young man of handsome appearance, who spoke little unless he was questioned. I asked him why he had set forth on this [journey], and the reason for his lingering for this long period of time. He told me about the things he had met along the way which had delayed him, and said that the Christians who used to be in the land of China had disappeared and perished for various reasons,⁴¹ so that only one man remained in the entire country. He mentioned that they had had a church there which was destroyed. He said, "When I saw that there were none to whom I could give support in their religion, I returned in less time than I had gone."

When making his remarks, he said, "Sea voyages have changed and sea travel degenerated, so that the persons who understand these things are few in number. Accidents have made their appearance, with fear and with islands to bar the voyages, so that only a person willing to brave dangers undertakes travel."

He related that the name of the city of the king, in which the king dwelt, was Tājūyah. The kingdom belonged to two rulers, but one of them died and the other remained.⁴² He said, "The symbol of eminence for whoever enters the presence of the kings in their services is the *bushān*, which is a piece of horn on which there are natural designs. An *auqīyah* [of this horn] reached the value of five *mann* of gold. But the king who remains has done away with this and permitted them to enter into his presence with girdles of

⁴⁰ Dār al-Rūm ("the Court of the Greeks") was used to designate the Christian quarter of Baghdād on the East Bank. It was used in a special way for the area near a caravanserai frequented by Christian merchants, near the great church and monastery built by the Nestorians in the late eighth century. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 662; Levy, *Baghdad Chronicle*, pp. 67, 162; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 207-8, and p. 213, which gives a free translation of the passage.

⁴¹ The idiom translated "for various reasons" is *bi-ashāb*; the exact meaning is not certain. The church referred to in the following sentence was very likely the Nestorian church at Ch'ang-an.

⁴² Tājūyah is probably T'ai-yuan in Shansi, the Tājah of Idrīsī. It was captured by the Sung king A.D. 976 and became the northern capital. The two kings were probably Chao K'uang-yin (T'ai Tsu) of the Sung dynasty and his brother, Chao Kuei (T'ai Tsung), who became the sole monarch when the brother died, A.D. 976. See Grousset, *L'Asie Orientale*, pp. 263 ff; Grousset, *Histoire d'Extrême Orient*, I, 369-70; Latourette, *The Chinese*, p. 227; Yule, *Cathay*, I, 114; Ennin, *Diary*, pp. 264 n. 984, 268.

gold and similar things. Thus the value of this [horn] has depreciated, until an *awqīyah* of it is worth only an *awqīyah* of gold or even less."⁴³

The monk said, "When I asked about this horn, the philosophers and wise men of China recorded, with regards to the animal to which this horn belongs, that when the young is born, there appears on its horn an image of the first thing which appears to it as it comes from the womb." He [also] said, "The things marked on it are for the most part flies and fish." I said to him, "They say that it is the horn of the rhinoceros." He replied, "It is not as they say, for it is one of the animals of that country." He went on to say, "It has been said to me that it is a beast of the land of India, which is the real truth."⁴⁴

He said, "In every city of China there are four officers. One of them is called *lānjūn*, which means *amīr al-umārā'* (chief of chiefs), and the name of another is *ṣarāṣibah*, which means *amīr al-jaysh* (chief of the army).⁴⁵ There is a place in which there is the greatest idol, which is an image of the *baghbūr* at Baghrān,⁴⁶ in the kingdom of the land of Khānfū.⁴⁷

⁴³ Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 204, gives the *awqīyah* as equal to one ounce; p. 1495 gives the *man* as equal to two pounds or more. The values of these weights are different in different regions; it is impossible to know what they represented in China.

⁴⁴ This was evidently the rhinoceros of Indochina or of Indonesia. See Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān*, pp. 50, 54, 141; Reinaud, *Relations des voyages*, I, 61 bottom.

⁴⁵ *Lānjūn* is the Chinese *lang-chung* ("secretary"). *Ṣarāṣibah* is probably incorrectly transliterated, as it does not resemble a Chinese word.

⁴⁶ The word *baghbūr* is similar to the Persian *faqhūr* (*faṣūr*) meaning "Son of Heaven," also similar to the Chinese *t'ien-tzu* and the Indian *bhagaputra*; see Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, II, 652. Baghrān has not been identified. It was probably the ancestral tomb center of the rulers in the north. One can see more recent tombs, similar to this ancient one, north of Peking at the Ming Tombs. The text explains that the greatest idol is an image of the *baghbūr*. In a tomb shrine there was apt to be a portrait of the ruler, set in a side chamber, and perhaps also a large tablet. The "image of the *baghbūr*" perhaps refers to one of these rather than to a statue, though it is possible that there was a statue of the king during the tenth century. For this passage, see Yule, *Cathay* I, 141, 256; Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān*, p. 62; "China," *Enc. Islam*, I, 842; Maṣ'ūdī, I, 306; Reinaud, *Relations des voyages*, I, 45; II, 30; Hasan ibn Yazīd, *Akhbār al-Šīn wa-al-Hind*, pp. 20, 61, sect. 45 n. 3; Polo, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, 148 n. 1.

Among the cities of China there are Hanjūn, Sībūn, and Janbūn.⁴⁸ He [also] said, "The meaning of *baghbūr* in the language of China is the 'Son of Heaven,' that is, 'descended from heaven.' *Jikī* the Chinese told me this in the year three hundred and fifty-six [A.D. 967]."⁴⁹

I Asked the Monk about Doctrine

He said, "Most of them are dualists and Shamanīyah." He [also] said; "Their common people worship the king, exalting his image, which has a great building in the city of Baghrān.⁵⁰ It is about ten thousand cubits (*dhira'*) each way [square]. It is built of varieties of stones, baked bricks, gold, and silver. Before reaching it, the person seeking it beholds different kinds of idols, statues, images, and fabulous creatures, which surpass the imagination of the person ignorant of how they are [made] and of what their purpose is." He said to me, "By Allāh, oh, Abū al-Faraj [al-Nadīm], if one of us Christians, Jews, or Muslims should exalt Allāh, may His name be magnified, as these people exalt the image of their king, to say nothing of his own person, why Allāh would cause rain to fall for him. For if they behold it, there comes to them such agitation, trembling, and emotion, that any one of them might lose consciousness for a number of days."

⁴⁷ Khānfū was Canton (Kwang-chau). See Khurdādhbih, *Al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik*, Arabic, p. 69 and French, p. 49; Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 13 l. 5; Mas'ūdī, I, 311-13; Hasan ibn Yazīd, *Akhbār al-Sīn wa-al-Hind*, p. 6 l. 14; Yule, *Cathay*, I, 86, 89, 129; "China," *Enc. Islam*, I, 841-43; Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān*, pp. 18-19.

⁴⁸ Hanjūn was almost certainly Khanjū (Janjū or Ch'üan-chou), later known as Zaytūn. This was a city near Amoy, an eight-day journey from Canton. See Khurdādhbih, *Al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik*, Arabic, p. 69, and French, p. 49; see Yule, *Cathay*, I, 256; Reinaud, *Relations des voyages*, II, 65. Sībūn is perhaps meant to be Si-fou, said to be the mid-tenth-century name for the seaport capital city of Hang-tcheou, or it may be confused with Saiafu (Siang-yang-fu) on the River Han. See Grousset, *Histoire d'Extrême Orient*, I, 368 n. 4; Polo, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, 167. The ending būn is not Chinese, so that the Arabs must have added the *n* (*nūn*) or else transliterated this form from some other name which has not been identified. Janbūn is perhaps Janfū, which was known by other names in later times; see Yule, *Cathay*, I, 136.

⁴⁹ As al-Nadīm received this information about A.D. 967 and *Jikī* is called "the Chinese," this *Jikī* was not the Nestorian monk.

⁵⁰ For the Shamanīyah, see Glossary. For Baghrān, see n. 46.

Then I said, "All this is because Satan has gained control over their country and their population, seducing them and misleading them from the way of Allāh." He said, "It is just about like that."

Another Account from a Person Other than the Monk

Abū Dulaf al-Yanbū'ī said, "The name of the city of the greatest king is Humdān,⁵¹ and the city of merchants and financial affairs is Khānfū, the length of which is forty parasangs."⁵² It is not so large, for the monk said that it was less than that.

Another person has said:

There are three hundred cities in China, all of which are flourishing. Over every fifty cities there is a king, who represents the *baghbūr*.⁵³ Among their cities are Wūsanū, Qānšū, and a city named Arqā'il,⁵⁴ between which and Qānšū there is a journey of two months. Qānšū is close to the frontiers of Tībet, the Turks, and the Tughuzghuz,⁵⁵ who are on good terms with one another. From Tibet to Khurāsān and the seacoast of China in a circuit is three thousand parasangs.⁵⁶

Among the regions of China is al-Sīlā, which is one of the best and noblest of the lands and one of the richest in gold.⁵⁷ In China there are

⁵¹ Humdān (Khumdān), called Ch'in Hsien-yang, was the Ch'in capital across the river from Ch'an-an; see Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān*, pp. 77, 86, 92, 105; Mas'ūdī, I, 313; Grousset, *Histoire d'Extrême Orient*, I, 356; Yule, *Cathay*, I, 133, 141; Khurdādhbih, *Al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik*, French, p. 206, and Arabic, p. 264 l. 19.

⁵² For Khānfū (Canton), see n. 47.

⁵³ For the *baghbūr*, see n. 46.

⁵⁴ Wūsanū is spelled differently in the various versions. The transliteration seems to be imperfect, so that it is unreasonable to attempt to identify the name. Qānšū is most likely Kan-chou (Kan-tchou) in western China. The first time it is mentioned in MS 1934 the name is clearly written, but when repeated, and when given in the other versions, it is spelled incorrectly. See Grousset, *L'Asie Orientale*, pp. 255, 267, 271 map; Khurdādhbih, *Al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik*, French, p. 49, where the spelling is Kānçou (Kian-Tshou), and Arabic, p. 69. Arqā'il seems to be the form intended in MS 1934, if the sign after the long *alif* (ā) is a *hamzah* ('). The name is not correctly given by MS 1135 or Flügel. It is probably meant to be Erguini (Hsi-liang), north of Tibet. See Polo, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, I, 274, 276 n. 1, 281, 282; Polo, *Travels*, p. 135 n. 1; Polo, *Description of the World*, I, 178.

⁵⁵ See Glossary, "Tughuzghuz."

⁵⁶ This description seems to indicate a journey from China across northern Tibet to Khurāsān and back.

⁵⁷ Al-Sīlā (Silla or Sin-lo) was originally the central kingdom of Korea, but later the term came to be used for the whole area of Korea; see Mas'ūdī, I, 346; "Japan," *Enc. Brit.*, XV, 253; Entin, *Diary*, pp. 5 n. 13, 141-42; Yule, *Cathay*, I, 137; Reinaud, *Relations des voyages*, I, clxix, 60.

deserts, mountains, and wildernesses as far as the River of Sand and the mountain behind which the sun rises.⁵⁸ A group of people from al-Andals told me that between their country and China there are arid lands. They said, "The land of China is called the Plenteous Earth." Al-Andals is in the north, and for that reason they are near to the sunrise and the land of China.⁵⁹

In the land of China, if one of us or one of them who is a traveler goes on a journey, he registers his family relationship, his distinguishing characteristics, the number of his years, the amount of what is with him, his slaves and servants, until he reaches his destination and place of safety, fearing lest in the land of China there will befall him some occurrence which will be an embarrassment to the king.

If one of them dies, the corpse remains at home for a year in a wooden chest. After that, it is buried in a grave without a place prepared (*laḥd*). The relatives and descendants are expected to observe bereavement and sorrow for three years, three months, three days, and three hours. If anyone does not show his grief, they beat his head with a piece of wood, saying "You killed him!" The dead person is not buried except during the same month in which he was born, as well as on the same day and at the same hour.

If one of us should marry one of them and then desire to depart, they would say to him, "Leave the earth but take the seed." If he should take the woman secretly and be discovered, he would be obliged to pay as a fine an amount established for his case. He would also be placed in prison and perhaps beaten.

The king does not appoint a governor or officer (*amīr*) unless he is forty years of age, not less than that. Justice there is greater and more apparent than in the other lands of the earth. One cannot enter or leave it [China] unless one stops at a hundred or more places, according to the length of the journey.

On the day when they bring the dead to the grave, the road is decorated with various kinds of brocades and silks, in keeping with the circumstances and importance of the dead man. Then, after returning, the persons who follow pillage these decorations.

⁵⁸ "The River of Sand" was used for the desert east of Yazd; see Yule, *Cathay*, II, 106-7. Here it very likely refers to the desert east of Kashgar. "The mountain behind which the sun rises" probably refers to the northern mountains of Tibet. China is beyond, further to the east.

⁵⁹ Al-Andals cannot be accurately identified. Miṣ'ar ibn Muḥalhil, *Al-Risālah al-Thāniyah*, English, p. 9 (e), suggests it is Mānsā, a country in Manchuria. Possibly it refers to a tribe rather than a locality.

China is said to belong to the Tughuzghuz, for the land of the Tughuzghuz is adjacent to China. Between Tibet and China there is a valley, the depth of which is unfathomed. Its bottom is unknown, terrifying, deserted. From its west side to its east side is about five hundred cubits. Across it there is a bridge of a series of staves,⁶⁰ which the learned men and artisans of China constructed, with a width of two cubits. It is impossible for animals and others to pass over it on foot, except with shoving and pulling, for it sways so that animals cannot be steady on it. Accordingly, most of the people place the animal and also the human being in a sort of basket, which is drawn by men accustomed to the crossing.

Among the ordinances of China are exaltation and worship of the kings. This holds true for most of the common people, but the doctrines of the kings and important people are dualism and the Shamaniyah [faith].⁶¹

⁶⁰ 'Aqib, translated as "staves," has numerous meanings. It may refer to pieces of wood fixed in series, or to the gut with which the staves were bound together. For an idea of this type of construction, see Rock, *The Ancient Na-kuh Kingdom of Southern China*, I, Plates 110, 111; Shelton, *National Geographic Magazine*, XL, No. 3 (September 1921), 320; Polo, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, 51; Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, 2d Ser., XIII (1912), 584.

⁶¹ See Glossary, "Samaniyah."

The Tenth Part

of the book *Al-Fihrist*, with accounts of the scholars in the remaining sciences from among those who were ancient and recent, with the names of the books which they compiled. It is the end of the book, which is a composition of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, Ishāq known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq.¹

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Tenth Chapter

of the book *Al-Fihrist*, including accounts of the alchemists and the workers of the Art [alchemy] among the ancient and recent philosophers.²

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, known as Ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Warrāq: Persons interested in the art of alchemy, which is the making of gold and silver from other metals, state that the first man who spoke about the science of this art was *Hermes*, the wise man and Babylonian, who moved to Egypt when the peoples

¹ The title is taken from MS 1934. The irregular form, "Ishāq known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq" is similar to the form in the titles of Chapters II, VIII, and IX. The phrase "an imitation of the handwriting of the author, His servant Muḥammad ibn Ishāq" is written below the title on the left. Further below on the right is found "In it is the tenth chapter, the last of the book."

² Instead of "workers of the Art," Fück, *Ambix*, p. 81 (see below), gives "seekers after the Philosophers' Stone." Fück also introduces other variations in giving the title. Many books and articles have been written about alchemy. Only a few are suggested here as especially helpful in studying this chapter. The most important is Fück, *Ambix*, IV, Nos. 3 and 4 (February 1951), 81-144, hereafter referred to as Fück, *Ambix*. This article gives a translation of the chapter which is somewhat freer than this translation. It has notes of a very scholarly nature which it is unnecessary to repeat. See also Berthelot, *La Chimie au Moyen Âge* (abbreviated as *La Chimie*), III, 1, 26 ff. This gives a somewhat older French translation of most of the chapter. Cf. Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), III, 227-80.

were dispersed from Babylon. He was the king of Egypt, a wise man and philosopher, for whom the Art [alchemy] was validated,³ and about which [the Art] he wrote a number of books. He observed the specific and spiritual properties of phenomena and his knowledge of the art of alchemy was substantiated by this investigation and observation. He also knew about the making of talismans and wrote many books about them. But it was also said that this [mention of the Art] was thousands of years before the time of Hermes, according to the doctrine of the upholders of eternity.⁴

Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, who was called Muḥammad ibn Zakariyā', stated that the study of philosophy "was not valid, nor could a learned man be called a philosopher, until the art of alchemy had been validated for him. Then he could be independent of all other people, all of whom would have to depend upon him because of his knowledge and situation.

Another school of thought among the people [concerned with] the art of alchemy said that it was a revelation from Allāh, may His name be glorified, to a group of the people of this Art. Others have said that this was a revelation from Allāh to Mūsā (Moses) the son of 'Imrān (Amram) and his brother Hārūn (Aaron), for both of whom may there be peace. The person administering this for them was Qārūn (Korah), who when his stores of gold and silver increased, hoarded treasure. Then when Allāh, may He be blessed and exalted, saw that Qārūn was growing haughty, self-important, and oppressive, because of what he possessed, He did away with him upon the invocation of Mūsā, for whom may there be peace. In another place in his books al-Rāzī stated that a group of philosophers such as *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and finally *Galen* used to practice the Art.⁵

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: All of the different groups have books and sciences related to the Art [alchemy], but

³ The statement that "the Art [alchemy] was validated" for him evidently means that he had found the elixir.

⁴ For Hermes, see Biog. Index and, in this connection, Berthelot, *Alchimistes grecs*, II, 424; III, 406. *Al-qidam* ("eternity") might be instead *al-qidm* ("antiquity"). Instead of "upholders of eternity," Fück, *Ambix*, p. 88, gives "those who believe in the eternity of the world."

⁵ According to Fück, *Ambix*, p. 110, the book of al-Rāzī referred to is *Kitāb al-Asrār*.

this is a matter for Allāh, who knows about it, so that in mentioning it, we are free from blame and calumny.

Mention of *Hermes* the Babylonian

There has been a difference of opinion about him. It is said that he was one of the seven attendants whom they established for the care of the seven shrines, and that he was in charge of the Shrine of 'Uṭārid (Mercury), by whose name he was called, for in the Chaldaean tongue, 'Uṭārid is *Hermes*.⁶ It is related that for various reasons he migrated to the land of Egypt, which he ruled [as king]. He had many children, among whom were Ṭāt, Šā, Ashmun, Athrīb, and Quṣṭ.⁷ He was, moreover, the wise man of his time.

When he died he was buried in the building which is known in the city of Miṣr as Abū *Hermes*. The common people know it as al-Haramayn (the Two Pyramids). One of them is his tomb while the other is the tomb of his wife, or it is said the tomb of his son, who succeeded him after his death.⁸

Account of the Two Pyramids and Allāh Is the One Who Knows

In a book which fell to my lot, containing bits of information about the earth and the marvelous things on it and in it from among buildings, kingdoms, and types of people, and which was related

⁶ The seven shrines were probably dedicated to the sun, the moon, and the five known planets and located in the temple enclosure at Babylon. Cf. Chap. IX, sect. 1 n. 50.

⁷ Ṭāt was evidently Thoth, the ibis-headed vizier of the sun god and scribe at the judgment. See Breasted, *History of Egypt*, pp. 46, 57, 320; Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, I, 400; "Ethics and Morality," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, V, 477, 479 illustration. Šā was probably a deity connected with the province of that name. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 359; Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Khiṣṭ*, I, 294. He may instead have been connected with Sa, god of perception. See "Egyptian Religion," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, V, 250; Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, II, 89. Ashmun may be Eshmūn, the Phoenician god of healing, or related to Ushmūn; see "al-Ashmūnain," *Enc. Islam*, I, 483 bottom. Athrīb is evidently related to Athribis, a religious center in the Delta. See Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 575; Budge, *History of Egypt*, III, 86; VI, 154, 156, 203; VII, 23; Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, I, 100. Quṣṭ (Qifṭ) must have been a deity connected with the trading center of Coptos, where merchandise from the Red Sea reached the Nile. See Breasted, *History of Egypt*, pp. 18, 218; "Qifṭ," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1004.

⁸ Miṣr was used for al-Fuṣṭāt, the old section of Cairo to the south. Al-Haramayn undoubtedly refers to the two large pyramids of Cheops and Chephren. For Miṣr, see Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Khiṣṭ*, II, 59.

to a member of the *Thawābah* family, I read that he said:⁹ "*Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad al-Ushmūnī told me that one of the governors of Egypt desired to know what was on top of one of the two pyramids. As his soul reached out for this, he sought it by all kinds of devices, until there happened to come to him a man from the land of India, to whom he granted whatever demand he [the Indian] desired, in return for making the ascent to the top." He said, "A man is incapable of making the ascent because of the agitation, dizziness, and anxiety befalling him in going up and ascending, and in seeing what is in front of him."¹⁰

He said, "The length of this building at the base is four hundred and eighty Hāshimī cubits (*dhira'*) by four hundred and eighty cubits.¹¹ As the building becomes slender, when a man reaches the top the size of the surface is forty by forty cubits. This is in accordance with the mathematical measurement,¹² but when he came down, the man who made the ascent reported that on seeing the top it was the area of a resting place for twenty Bactrian camels."¹³

He said, "In the middle of this surface there was a pretty dome, under the center of which there was what resembled a tomb. At the head of this tomb there were two stones with the acme of refinement in beauty and wealth of color. On each one of these there was a stone image portraying a male and female, their faces being turned toward one another. In the hand of the male there was a tablet on which there was an inscription, while in the hand of the female there was a mirror and also a gold utensil resembling a chisel. Between the two stones there was a stone vessel, on the top of which

⁹ "He" may refer to the member of the *Thawābah* family or to someone else, perhaps the author of the book.

¹⁰ Although the description does not make it clear, this passage probably refers to ascents of the Great Pyramid, both inside and outside the pyramid. For accounts of the pyramids, see Breasted, *History of Egypt*, pp. 116-20; Fakhry, *Pyramids*, pp. 99-124; Mas'ūdī, II, 379, 404-5; Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Khifāf*, I, 179 ff., with special reference to p. 183; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah*, pp. 29 bottom, 31. For "the two pyramids" (*al-haramān*), see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 963.

¹¹ For this measurement, see Fück, *Ambix*, p. 113 n. 13.

¹² The Arabic word translated "mathematical measurement" is *al-handasah*, which usually means "geometry."

¹³ The man who gave this description had evidently seen big Asiatic camels kneel down close together. The flat top of the Great Pyramid and also the inside burial chamber might fit this description.

there was a gold cover." He said, "I tried to pull it up, until I did remove it and saw in it [the vessel] something like pitch, but without its smell for it had dried up." He said, "I put my hand in it and a gold receptacle happened to be inside. When I removed its lid, behold there was in it fresh blood. The moment the air came into contact with it, it clotted as blood clots, so that by the time that I was able to descend it had become dry."

He said, "On the tomb there were stone covers¹⁴ and I did not stop trying until I removed the lid from one of them. Then, behold, a man was lying on his back¹⁵ in the best possible state of preservation and dryness, his form clearly defined and his hair showing. Alongside him there was a woman, appearing like him."

He said, "The surface was hollowed out about as much as a man's height, as though it were rounded like the domes in stone vaults.¹⁶ In it were images and statues lying down and upright and other deities whose forms are unknown, for it is Allāh who does know. In Egypt there are buildings called the *barābī*,¹⁷ made of large stones of excessive size. The *barābī* are structures of different types, in which there are places for grinding and pulverizing, dissolving, congealing, and distillation, which shows that they were used for the art of alchemy. In these structures there are carvings and writings in Chaldaean and Coptic; it is not known what they are. There have also been discovered underground libraries containing scientific works¹⁸ written on hides treated with *nūrah*¹⁹ and on the *tūz*²⁰ used by the bowmakers, as well as on plates of gold, copper, and stone."

¹⁴ Evidently the lid of a sarcophagus.

¹⁵ The Arabic word translated "back" is as a rule used for the back of the head.

¹⁶ The words "like the domes in stone vaults" are not given clearly in any of the Arabic texts. There is a word which is probably a plural form from *nīm* ("half") and *khāyah* ("egg"), used for domes, followed by *dhāt al-āzāj* ("with oblong arched roof"), followed by *min hijārah* ("from stone").

¹⁷ The word can also be written *barābā*; it was used for temples in Egypt. See Mas'ūdī, II, 402-4; "Barbā," *Enc. Islām*, I, 655.

¹⁸ The words translated "scientific works" are literally "these sciences."

¹⁹ The expression "hides treated with *nūrah*" is taken from MS 1934. Flügel gives a variation. *Nūrah* is made from arsenic and quicklime. See Fück, *Ambix*, p. 90 n. k.

²⁰ *Tūz* or *toz* was the inner bark of a tree used by the Persians for their bows and also as a writing material. See Fück, *Ambix*, p. 113 n. 16.

Hermes wrote about the stars, incantations, and things incorporeal (pneumas).

The Books of Hermes about the Art²¹

Book of *Hermes* to his son about the Art; Flowing Gold;²² to Tāt about the Art;²³ The Making of Knots;²⁴ Secrets; Al-Hārītūs;²⁵ Al-Malāṭīs; Al-Aṣṭamākhus; Al-Sulimāṭīs; of Armenius, the pupil of Hermes;²⁶ of Bīlādus, the pupil of Hermes, about the opinion of Hermes; Al-Arkhayqī;²⁷ of Damānūs by Hermes.²⁸

Ostanes

Among the philosophers, who were practicers (people) of the Art, becoming celebrated because of it and writing books about it, was Ostanes al-Rūmī. He was one of the people of Alexandria, and according to what he recorded in one of his epistles, he wrote one thousand books and epistles. Each book and epistle had a name by which it was called. The books of this kind of people were composed in accordance with allegories and enigmas. Among the books of Ostanes there was *The Dialogue of Ostanes with Tawhir, King of India*.²⁹

²¹ See Flick, *Ambix*, pp. 114-15, and Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 28.

²² "Flowing gold" was mercury.

²³ Tāt must have been the deity Thoth; see n. 7. For Thoth as related to alchemy, see Berthelot, *Alchimistes grecs*, I, 16 n. 2, 236; III, 223-24; Berthelot, *Origines de l'alchimie*, pp. 31, 133. Qifī, p. 350 top, gives Tāṭī as a pupil of Hermes. Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 215 l. 27, says he was the ancestor of the Ṣābiāns and the son of Idrīs.

²⁴ In the text the word translated "knots" is *al-'uqūd*, but Lane, *Lexicon*, pp. 2107, 2177, says that the *n* (*nūn*) can be superfluous, giving *al-'uqūd*, meaning "knots" or "strings of beads."

²⁵ This title and the three following are probably transliterations of the following words: (1) *Al-Hārītūs* of ὄδατος, cf. von Lippman, *Entstehung*, pp. 37, 85; (2) *Al-Malāṭīs* of the word meaning "demon possessed," see *al-malāṭīsh* in Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 531; (3) *Al-Aṣṭamākhus* of ὁ ἀστρομάχος, used for the orifice of the stomach or of other parts of the body; (4) *Al-Sulimāṭīs* of σουλιμάτος; see Lippman, *Entstehung*, p. 117.

²⁶ It is not certain who these two pupils were. Armenius is a guess. Bīlādus looks like Polyeides, a Greek physician, but very likely is meant to be some semilegendary person. See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 462.

²⁷ *Al-Arkhayqī* is very likely meant to be ἀρχαῖκη ("primal," "elemental").

²⁸ Damānīs is badly transliterated and cannot be identified. One would expect the *Poemander* to be mentioned as an important book ascribed to Hermes. If the first letter, *dāl* (*d*), is a corruption of *bā'* (*b*) *wāw* (*w*), and if the other letters are also badly transliterated, perhaps the *Poemander* is the work meant. See "Hermes Trismegistus," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, VI, 627; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 414.

²⁹ Compare a free translation in Bidez, *Les Mages hellénisés*, II, 270. The Indian king's name is also written Tawhir and Tōhir, but it cannot be properly identified.

Zosimus³⁰

Among them was Zosimus, who went the way of Ostanes. His was a book which he entitled *The Keys of the Art*, comprising a number of books and epistles in sequence, its first, its second, its third, known as the *Seventy Epistles*.

The Names of the Philosophers Who Spoke about the Art³¹

Hermes, Agathodaemon, Anṭūs,³² Malinūs,³³ Plato, Zosimus, Eustathius, Democritus,³⁴ Ostanes, Heraclius, Būrūs,³⁵ Mārīyah, Rasāwaras,³⁶ Afrāghasarīs,³⁷ Stephanus [al-Qadīm], Alexandrus,³⁸ Chymes, Jāmāsāb, Zoroaster,³⁹ Archalaeus, Marqūnas,⁴⁰ Sinqājā,⁴¹ Simmias,⁴² Rawsham, Fūrūs,⁴³ Pythagoras,⁴⁴ Nicolaus,⁴⁵ Marianus, Safidus,⁴⁶

³⁰ The name is badly spelled in the Arabic as Rusāmus, but the passage undoubtedly refers to Zosimus. For this name and the ones which occur in the passage which follows, see Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 28-29; Fück, *Ambix*, pp. 115 ff.

³¹ For this list it is important to study the notes given by Fück and Berthelot; see preceding note. A few other suggestions are added in what follows.

³² Perhaps this is meant to be Aftūs (Phṭa'); see Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten*, no. 6, p. 22. Flügel gives what seems to be Anthony, but his p. 353 n. 16, suggests Onatus. See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 28; Rosenthal, *Oriens*, XV (1962), 35.

³³ As *b* (bā') without its dot can be confused with *m* (mīm), perhaps this is meant to be Balinūs, a name for Apollonius of Tyanaeus; see Qifī, p. 316 l. 10.

³⁴ See Biog. Index, Pseudo Democritus.

³⁵ Perhaps Būrūs is meant to be Tadrūs (Theodorus) or Fūrūn, mentioned by Qifī, p. 259, as one of the earliest philosophers.

³⁶ This name is not clearly marked. Perhaps it is meant to be Zenodorus, see Sarton, I, 182, or the Theodorus known for his interest in alchemy. For other possibilities, see Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten*, no. 6, pp. 13 n. 2, 25.

³⁷ It is possible, though not very likely, that this name is meant to be Africanus. See Berthelot, *Alchimistes grecs*, I, 175, 176, 188, 202; III, 82, 168.

³⁸ This may refer to either Alexander the Great, or Alexander of Tralles.

³⁹ The Arabic name is probably meant to be Zoroaster. For his interest in alchemy, see Berthelot, *Alchimistes grecs*, I, 11, 17, 206, 234.

⁴⁰ For this legendary king of Egypt and the name which follows, see Fück, *Ambix*, p. 115.

⁴¹ This was a legendary king of Upper Egypt who asked Marqūnas to answer questions.

⁴² This may be Simmias of Thebes; see Smith, *GRBM*, III, 827 bottom. Or perhaps it is meant to be Chymes.

⁴³ This is very likely meant to be Pyrrhon of Elis.

⁴⁴ This name is evidently meant to be Pythagoras, though the usual Arabic spelling of the name does not match the Flügel edition, p. 245 bottom line, or Qifī, p. 258.

⁴⁵ Nicolaus (Nīqulā'ūs) might be the name intended in MS 1934, which is garbled. Flügel has a name that looks like Dilā'ūs.

Mihr-Arīs,⁴⁷ Farnāfānus,⁴⁸ Themistius,⁴⁹ Kāhin Arṭā,⁵⁰ Aras al-Qass,⁵¹ Khālid ibn Yazīd, Stephanus,⁵² al-Ḥarbi,⁵³ Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, Yaḥyā ibn Khālid ibn Barniāk, Khāṭif al-Hudhālī,⁵⁴ al-Afranji,⁵⁵ Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Sālim ibn Farrūkh,⁵⁶ Abū 'Isā al-A'war, al-Ḥasan ibn Qudāmāh, Abū Qirān, al-Būnī, al-Sakhāwī, al-Rāzī, al-Sā'ih al-'Alawī, Ibn Waḥshīyah, al-'Azāqirī.⁵⁷

These are remembered for making the head⁵⁸ and the perfected elixir. Coming after them were those who sought this aim but were unsuccessful, because they only accomplished operations of an external nature.⁵⁹ They were many and we will mention some of them in the proper place, if Allāh⁶⁰ so wills.

Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, a Muslim and Recent

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: The man who became concerned with the issuing of ancient books about the Art was Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah. He was an orator, poet, and master of literary style, as well as a man with comprehensive interests⁶¹

⁴⁶ Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 22 l. 14, has Saqirūs. Perhaps the name is intended to be Severus, but the famous doctor of that name was not noted for alchemy.

⁴⁷ This name probably comes from the Persian words *mihr* and *arīs* ("acute"). *Mihr* is often used in compound names.

⁴⁸ No name seems to fit these letters.

⁴⁹ Themistius is a guess; see Qifṭī, p. 107.

⁵⁰ *Kāhin* is used for a priest or soothsayer; this person cannot be identified.

⁵¹ This is probably meant to be *Ahron* al-Qass.

⁵² This may be a repetition referring to *Stephanus* al-Qadīm.

⁵³ For al-Ḥarbi, see Flügel edition, p. 353 n. 22.

⁵⁴ This name and the one which follows are omitted in MS 1135.

⁵⁵ This name is given by some authorities as al-Qarīhī, but in MS 1934 it appears to be al-Afranji ("the Frank").

⁵⁶ MS 1135 has Furūj instead of Farrūkh.

⁵⁷ See Biog. Index, *Shalmaghānī*.

⁵⁸ *Al-ra's* ("the head") was the basic agent in alchemy.

⁵⁹ See Glossary, "external alchemy."

⁶⁰ MS 1135 and Flügel add the word "Almighty" after Allāh.

⁶¹ "Man of comprehensive interests" is taken from MS 1934, which has a form of *jāmi'*. The Flügel edition has *ḥāzīm* ("prudent," "resolute").

and vision. He was the first person for whom books on medicine and the stars and also books on alchemy were translated.⁶²

He was a generous man, for when someone said to him, "You have expended most of your energy in seeking the Art," Khālid replied, "In so doing I have sought only to enrich my friends and brothers. I coveted the caliphate, but was unsuccessful.⁶³ Now I have no alternative other than attaining the culmination of this Art, so that anyone who one day has known me, or whom I have known, will not be obliged to stand at the gate of the sultan, petitioning or afraid."⁶⁴

It is said, and Allāh is the one who knows, that practice of the Art was validated for him. About it he wrote a number of books and epistles. He also wrote a great deal of poetry about this subject.⁶⁵ I have seen about five hundred leaves of this poetry. His books which I have seen are:

Heats;⁶⁶ the large book, *Al-Ṣaḥīfah*; the small book, *Al-Ṣaḥīfah*; his charge to his son about the Art.

The Names of the Books Which the Savants Composed

Book of *Dioscorus* about the Art;⁶⁷ *Māriyah al-Qibṭiyah* with the Savants, When They Assembled with Her; of *Alexandrus* on the [Philosophers'] Stone; Red Sulphur;⁶⁸ of *Dioscorus* when *Synesius*⁶⁹ questioned him about the problems; of *Stephanus*; of *Crates* the Heavenly

⁶² Before his time the Muslims were so occupied with military expansion and administering their subject peoples that they had little time for science.

⁶³ A.D. 683 Marwān, rather than Khālid ibn Yazīd, was chosen to be the caliph. See Mas'ūdī, V, 198, 199, 206; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part 2, p. 429.

⁶⁴ The word for "afraid" is *rahabah*, which as a rule means "fear."

⁶⁵ The wording of the translation is given in a form longer than that of the Arabic.

⁶⁶ *Ḥararāt* ("Heats") is taken from MS 1934. It may be more reasonable to accept the form as *Hīrazāt* ("Antulets"). The next title, *Al-Ṣaḥīfah* ("The Scroll") may refer to some Egyptian scroll which was translated for Khālid. It is also possible that it is meant to be *Al-Suḥayfah*, which is a copper vessel used for measuring; see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 820.

⁶⁷ MS 1934 does not give this name accurately, but it seems to be *Dioscorus*.

⁶⁸ See Glossary.

⁶⁹ *Synesius* is a very uncertain guess, as the name is given in a different form in all of the Arabic texts.

(Qrāṭīs al-Samāwī); Al-Shamūs⁷⁰ of Māriyah, the large book of Naẓūr ibn Nūḥ;⁷¹ Unusual anecdotes (Rare Forms) of the Philosophers, about the Art; of *Eugenius*; of Nimrod;⁷² of *Cleopatra* the Queen; of Māḡus;⁷³ of *Pythagorus*; of *Bilqīs*, Queen of Egypt, the beginning of which is, "When she (I) ascended the mountain"; The Elements, by Dūnus;⁷⁴ of *Sergius* al-Ra's 'Aynī to Quwayrī, bishop of al-Ruha' (Edessa);⁷⁵ of Saḡiyās on his wisdom, [addressed] to King *Hadrian*;⁷⁶ of *Aras*, the larger book;⁷⁷ of *Aras*, the smaller book.

Book of Andriyā;⁷⁸ of Bighī to Martiyā;⁷⁹ of Tādrus the Wise Man;⁸⁰ of the Christian,⁸¹ in which he says that wisdom is wisdom like its name; Possessor (Lord) of the Prayer Niche;⁸² of Andrasīyūs from Ephesus to *Nicephorus*,⁸³ The Seven Brothers Who Were Savants, about the Art; of *Democritus*, about the epistles;⁸⁴ of *Zosimus* to all of the savants, about the

⁷⁰ This is probably the plural of *shams*, which in alchemy refers to gold; see Sprenger, p. 750.

⁷¹ This name cannot be identified and may not be spelled correctly.

⁷² Nimrod is a guess.

⁷³ Māḡus (Māḡush) was an honorary name for *Ostanes*. See Berthelot, *Origines de l'alchimie*, pp. 52, 163; von Lippman, *Entstehung*, pp. 73, 98, 236.

⁷⁴ This name may be an error, meant to be *Zosimus*.

⁷⁵ For the localities, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 731, 876. The name Quwayrī is uncertain. In MS 1934 it looks like something else.

⁷⁶ The name Saḡiyās is probably meant to be *Souphis*, from *σοφία*, a name given to King Cheops of Egypt, who was also called *Sophius*. See Berthelot, *Origines de l'alchimie*, pp. 28, 58, 139, 158, 183; Berthelot, *Alchimistes grecs*, I, 198, 202; II, 211, 213; III, 205, 206, 343. This book was probably about the legendary wisdom of Cheops, and dedicated to Hadrian.

⁷⁷ See Biog. Index, *Ahron*.

⁷⁸ For Andriyā, see Fück, *Ambix*, p. 123 n. 23.

⁷⁹ Perhaps Bighī is meant to be *Pebecius*. See Bidez, *Les Mages hellénisés*, pp. 336, 337, 339; Berthelot, *Origines de l'alchimie*, p. 168. The name as given in MS 1934 needs only a very small modification to look like *Seneca*, who was interested in alchemy. See *ibid.*, pp. 34, 59, 64, 99, 149, 150, 155; von Lippman, *Entstehung*, pp. 145, 181, 200, 331.

Perhaps Martiyā is meant to be *Maribā*, or something else, as the consonant signs are omitted in MS 1934. It is a coincidence that there is the famous treatise called *Seneca to Martia* (*Consolatione ad Marcian*). Was this title confused with one of *Seneca's* statements about alchemy? For this treatise, see Smith, *GRBM*, III, 781, sect. 4.

⁸⁰ This may be *Theodorus*, known for his interest in alchemy.

⁸¹ This may be *Christianus Philosophus*.

⁸² This title probably refers to some idol. See Berthelot *La Chimie*, III, 61.

⁸³ Qifī, p. 95 l. 16, gives *Andrasīyūs*. Perhaps it is intended to be *Andronicus*; see Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten*, no. 10, p. 35.

⁸⁴ Fück, *Ambix*, p. 95, omits "about the epistles."

Art; of *Germanus*, the patriarch of Rome, about the Art;⁸⁵ of *Sergius*, the Monk, about the Art;⁸⁶ of *Māgus*, the savant, about the Art;⁸⁷ the epistle of *Pelagius* about the Art;⁸⁸ of *Theophilus*, about the Art; The Two Words, the first book; The Two Words, the second book; the epistle, The Gift of *Alexander*;⁸⁹ of *Petronius*; of *Qabān*;⁹⁰ of *Heraclius*, the larger book, fourteen chapters;⁹¹ of *Severus*, a large book about dreams connected with the Art;⁹² of *Sergius*, about the Art;⁹³ of *Jāmāsh*, about the Art.

Account of *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*,⁹⁴ with the Titles of His Books

He was *Abū 'Abd Allāh Jābir ibn Ḥayyān ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kūfī*,⁹⁵ known as *al-Ṣūfī*. People differ about him. The *Shī'ah* have said that he was one of their great men and one of their *abwāb*.⁹⁶ They claimed that he was a companion of *Ja'far al-Ṣādiq*, for whom may there be peace.⁹⁷ He was one of the people of *al-Kūfah*. A

⁸⁵ Rome evidently refers to the Byzantine Empire.

⁸⁶ This was probably *Sergius* of Ra's al-'Ayn.

⁸⁷ See n. 73.

⁸⁸ Fück, *Ambix*, p. 95 n. 35, suggests *Pelagius*. The Arabic form appears to be *Blākhūs*.

⁸⁹ MS 1934 is probably correct in giving *The Gift of Alexander*. This very likely refers to *l'oeuf philosophique*, which *Aristotle* gave to *Alexander the Great*; see *Berthelot, Alchimistes grecs*, III, 19 n. 1.

⁹⁰ This word lacks the article and therefore may be a proper name such as *Qabān*, given in the translation. Other possibilities are *fattān* ("assayer of gold"); *qabbān* ("a large set of scales"), or *iyān* ("slaves").

⁹¹ "Larger" (*akbār*) may go with *Heraclius* instead of "book," making it "of the greater *Heraclius*."

⁹² The name *Severus* is very uncertain; the different versions give variations for this name.

⁹³ The name is probably meant to be *Sergius*. MS 1934 gives a form which is likely an error.

⁹⁴ MS 1135 adds *al-Ṣūfī* to this name.

⁹⁵ Over this name, MS 1934 has inserted, in small letters, "and *Abū Mūsā 'Amī*." Perhaps because his eldest son died, he was first called *Abū 'Abd Allāh* and later known by the name of another son, *Mūsā*. The name *'Amī* is obviously meant to discredit him as a *Sunni* of the lower classes, or else is a mistake, meant to be *Umayyad*, indicating that he was a protégé of *Khālid ibn Yazīd* of the *Umayyad* family. See "Djābir b. Ḥayyān," *Enc. Islam*, I, 987-88; *Berthelot, La Chimie*, III, pp. 31-36, 133.

⁹⁶ Here *abwāb* refers to spiritual leaders with access to the divine.

⁹⁷ Instead of this pious phrase taken from MS 1934, Flügel has "with whom may *Allāh* be well pleased."

group of philosophers have stated that he was one of their number, and that he wrote compositions about logic and philosophy.

Those engaged in the Art of gold and silver [alchemy] have asserted that during his time the leadership culminated with him, but his status was kept secret. They stated that he moved about among the regions, without settling in any town (region), fearing lest the sultan (government) might take his life.

It is said that he belonged to the circle of the *Barmak* family, to which he was attached, and that he was regarded as trustworthy by *Ja'far ibn Yaḥyā*.⁹⁸ Those who asserted this said that by⁹⁹ his master, *Ja'far*, he meant the *Barmakī*, but the *Shī'ah* said that he meant *Ja'far al-Ṣādiq*.¹⁰⁰

A reliable person occupied with the Art told me that he resided on the street of *Bāb al-Shām*¹⁰¹ on an alley known as *Darb al-Dhahab*.¹⁰² This man told me that *Jābir* for the most part was at *al-Kūfah*, where because of the healthiness of the climate, he used to deal with the elixir. When they hit upon the arched chamber at *al-Kūfah*, in which they found a mortar for gold, there were about two hundred *riḡl* in it.¹⁰³ This man mentioned that the place in which this was hit upon was the house of *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān* and that nothing other than the mortar was found in the arched chamber, which was built for solution and fixation. This was at the time of 'Izz

⁹⁸ *Mutaḥaqqaq* ("regarded as trustworthy") may also be translated as "shown respect."

⁹⁹ *Bi* ("by") is from *Flügel*; MS 1934 has *li* ("to").

¹⁰⁰ For the two men named *Ja'far*, see *Khallikān*, I, 300-301. For a possible connection between *Jābir* and the descendants of *Ja'far al-Ṣādiq* who were among the *Isma'īliyah*, see *Kraus, Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, pp. xli ff. As both men called *Ja'far* incurred the ill will of the caliph, *Jābir* was evidently obliged to escape from the police, as he was a protégé of one of them.

¹⁰¹ *Bāb al-Shām* was the northwest gate of the Round City at *Baghdād*. See *Le Strange, Baghdad*, p. 17; *Yāqūt, Geog.*, I, 445.

¹⁰² This was probably a passage in the gold bazaar. Some authorities believe that it was the "reliable person occupied with the Art" who lived on *Darb al-Dhahab*, but if *Jābir* was attached to the *Barmak* family, he must have had a residence at *Baghdād*, and an alley in the gold bazaar would have been an appropriate place for an alchemist.

¹⁰³ *Fück, Ambix*, p. 96, has "a golden mortar weighing 200 *riḡl* was found." The translation follows MS 1934, which seems to be more reasonable than the statement that the mortar was "golden." For *riḡl*, see "*Raḡl*," *Enc. Islam*, III, 1129.

al-Dawlah ibn Mu'izz al-Dawlah. Abū *Subuktikin* Destar-Dār told me that it was he who went forth to receive this.

A group of scholars and *warrāqūn* have told me that this man, meaning Jābir, had no basis or validity. One of them said that even if there was truth [about his existence], he did not write anything except the *Book of Mercy* (*Kitāb al-Rahmah*)¹⁰⁴ and that the people who composed the [other] works ascribed them [falsely] to him. But I assert that if an excellent man sits down and toils to compile a book which comprises two thousand leaves, fatiguing his genius and intelligence in producing it, while wearying his hand and body in transcribing it, and then attributes it to someone else, whether existent or nonexistent, it is a form of folly. Such a thing cannot last for anyone, nor would a person who has been adorned with learning for a single hour demean himself with it. For what profit would there be in this, or what advantage?

The man is authentic, his case is most apparent and well known, his compositions being most important and numerous.¹⁰⁵ This man had books about the doctrines of the Shī'ah, which I shall mention in the proper place, and also books about the significance of a variety of the sciences. I have dealt with them in their proper places in the book. It was said that his origin was Khurāsān. Al-Rāzī remarks in his books composed about the Art, saying,¹⁰⁶ "our teacher, Abū Mūsā Jābir ibn Ḥayyān."

The Names of His Pupils

Al-Khiraqī, for whom the Sikkat al-Khiraqī in al-Madīnah is named; Ibn 'Iyāḍ al-Miṣrī; and al-Ikhlāmī.

The Names of His Books about the Art

He had a large catalogue comprising everything which he had written about the Art and other subjects. He also had a small

¹⁰⁴ Most authorities believe that this book was compiled by the disciples of Jābir but confused with the master's own works. It is not included in the long list of Jābir's books in MS 1934. See Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, pp. xxxiv n. 1, 5-9, 120; Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 133, 163; "Djābir," *Enc. Islam*, I, 988.

¹⁰⁵ As these adjectives are given as comparatives, they cannot be translated literally. Flick, *Ambix*, p. 96 has "His circumstances are too clear and well known and his writings too important and numerous [for his authorship of them to be doubted]."

¹⁰⁶ Instead of "saying," Flick, *ibid.*, gives "there said."

catalogue including exclusively what he had written about the Art. We shall mention all of his books which we ourselves have seen, or which reliable persons have witnessed and reported to us. Among them there are:¹⁰⁷

The Element of Genesis, the first [one addressed] to the *Barmak* family;¹⁰⁸ The Element of Genesis, the second [addressed] to them; The Perfect (Complete), the third [addressed] to them; The One, the large book;¹⁰⁹ The One, the small book; The Support;¹¹⁰ The Explanation; Arrangement (Observing the Proper Order); The Light; Red Tincture;¹¹¹ Fermented Liquors, a large book; Fermented Liquors, a small book; Processes Based on Reasoning;¹¹² known as The Third; The Spirit; Mercury (Al-Zi'biq, Al-Zibaq);¹¹³ Interior Amalgams; Exterior Amalgams; The Amalekites, the large book;¹¹⁴ The Amalekites, the small book; The Swelling Sea; The Eggs; The Blood; The Hair; The Plants; Fulfillment.

Defended (Well-Guarded) Wisdom; Dividing by Headings; The Salts; The Stones; Chameleon (Abū Qalamīn);¹¹⁵ Circulating (Construction of a Circle);¹¹⁶ Splendor; Repetition; The Hidden Pearl;¹¹⁷ Progressing, Step by Step; The Pure; The Comprehensive; The Moon;¹¹⁸ The Sun; The Compound; Understanding (Knowledge of

¹⁰⁷ Although the translation of these book titles has been made with the help of the numerous authorities referred to in the notes, it is impossible to be sure of the exact significance of each title, as many of the words seem to have some special meaning connected with medieval alchemy.

¹⁰⁸ For this book, see Chap. VII, sect. 3, n. 187.

¹⁰⁹ *Al-Wāhid* ("The One") may refer to a theological conception of unity (see Qur'ān 2:163), or to some principle of alchemy.

¹¹⁰ Sprenger, p. 591, says that "the support" (*al-rukn*) is the essential without which there can be no existence.

¹¹¹ For "red tincture," Siggel, *Decknamen*, p. 45, gives *rote farbe*.

¹¹² This is *Al-Tadābir al-Ra'iyah* in Flügel. MS 1934 lacks vowel and consonant signs. Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 33, gives *Le Livre des opérations par fusion*.

¹¹³ See Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 207-16.

¹¹⁴ See "Amālik," *Enc. Islam*, I, 325. For the second title following, *The Swelling Sea*, the Arabic is *Al-Baḥr al-Zākhir*. It might be instead *Al-Baḥr al-Zākhir* ("The Odor Rising Up").

¹¹⁵ For chameleon, cf. von Lippman, *Entstehung*, pp. 35, 36, 298, 331, 342, 673.

¹¹⁶ *Al-Tadwīr* ("Circulating") may be connected with astrology rather than alchemy; see Sprenger, p. 478.

¹¹⁷ This was a term for a valuable pearl, but here probably has a metaphorical meaning in connection with alchemy.

¹¹⁸ In alchemy the moon was related to silver and the sun to gold.

the Law); The Element; The Animals; Urine; The Processes, another one;¹¹⁹ The Secrets.

Concealing Minerals (Mines); The Quality; The Sky, its first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh; The Earth, its first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh. Then after that, Extracts;¹²⁰ The Eggs, the second book; The Animals, the second book; The Salts, the second one; The Door, the second one;¹²¹ The Stones, the second one; The Perfect (Complete); Praise;¹²² The Residue of Fermented Liquors; The Element; The Compound, the second one; Specific Properties (Characteristics); The Reminder; The Garden; The Inundations (Torrents); The Spirituality of Mercury; Fulfillment (Completion); Varieties (Species); The Proof; The Substances, the large book;¹²³ The Tinctures (Dyes); Odor (Perfume), the large book; Odor, the pleasant book; Semen; The Clay.¹²⁴

The Salt; The True and Greatest Stone; Milks; Nature; Metaphysics; Cansing to Shine; The Proud (Glorious); The Lowly;¹²⁵ The Luster; The Truthful (Sincere); The Garden; Flowering; The Crown; Specters;¹²⁶ Presentation of Knowledge; Arsenics; Divine;¹²⁷ to Khāṭif;¹²⁸ to Jumhūr al-Franjī;¹²⁹ to 'Alī ibn Yaqṭīn; Plantations (Sown Fields) of the Art; to 'Alī ibn Ishāq al-Barmakī; Transmutation;

¹¹⁹ The first treatise on the subject was *Processes Based on Reasoning*, listed in the middle of the preceding paragraph. This is a second treatise on processes.

¹²⁰ *Al-mujarradāt* ("extracts"), also means "abstractions" or "things incorporeal."

¹²¹ The translation follows MS 1934, which differs from the other versions. This book is called the "second," but no book with the same title has preceded it. For *bāb* ("door") see Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten*, no. 10, pp. 42, 49, 54. The word has a special significance for alchemy.

¹²² Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 26 ff., gives *La Soustraction* instead of *Praise*.

¹²³ The word *al-jawāhir* ("the substances") may also mean "precious stones" or refer to stones from which things of value are extracted.

¹²⁴ MS 1135 gives *Al-Tīn* ("Clay"). MS 1934 gives what is not certain but seems to be *Al-Ṭayr*, which can mean "sal ammoniac." See Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 980; cf. Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten*, no. 10, p. 46 n. 4.

¹²⁵ *Al-ḥārī* is sometimes translated as "submissive." The most common meaning is "lowly."

¹²⁶ Instead of *Al-Khiyāl* ("Specters" or "Imaginations"), the word may be *Al-Jibāl* ("Mountains"), *Al-Khabāl* ("Putrid Matter"), or *Al-Hibāl* ("Ropes").

¹²⁷ Instead of *Ilahī* ("Divine"), perhaps this word is meant to be *Al-Hayl* ("Essence," "Existence"), or *Al-Huṭī* ("Preparation").

¹²⁸ This is probably *Khāṭif al-Hudhālī*.

¹²⁹ *Juruhūr al-Franjī* may be a proper name, *al-Franjī* meaning "the Frank." Other possibilities are that *jumhūr* means "crowd" and that the second word is *al-Qarīf*. Cf. n. 55.

Guidance; Softening of Stones, [addressed] to *Maṣṣūr* ibn Aḥmad al-Barmakī; The Aims of the Art, [addressed] to *Ja'far* ibn Yahyā; *Al-Bāhit*;¹³⁰ Exposition of the Accidents (Aims).¹³¹

This is a hundred and twelve books, in addition to which he had seventy books, which are;

Divinity (Theology);¹³² The Door;¹³³ The Thirty Words; Semen; Guidance; Attributes (Qualities); The Ten; Qualifications (Praises); Conditions; The Seven; The Living; The Government;¹³⁴ Eloquence (Rhetoric); Resemblance; Fifteen; The Equal (Similar); Comprehending (Including); The Filter; The Dome; Fixation (Regulation, Control); The Trees; The Gifts.

The Necklace; The Crown (Chaplet);¹³⁵ Refined Metal;¹³⁶ *Al-Wajih*;¹³⁷ The Desire; The Creation;¹³⁸ The Form;¹³⁹ The Garden; The Pure (Unmixed); Penetration;¹⁴⁰ The Pure; A Night;¹⁴¹ Advantages (Profits); The Game;¹⁴² The Origins (Emanations); Compilation.

¹³⁰ For *Al-Bāhit*, Fück, *Ambix*, p. 100, gives *Faint Color*. Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 121, explains the word as "une pierre qu'on trouve dans l'Océan Atlantique, et qui était renommée dans l'Afrique occidentale, ou elle se vendait à très haut prix."

¹³¹ "Accidents" or "non-essential characteristics" is *al-a'rād*. Another possibility is *al-aḡhrād* ("aim" or "aims"), the word resulting if a consonant sign is placed over the 'ayn in *al-a'rād*. MSS 1934 and 1135 lack this sign. The same word is used in the second title preceding.

¹³² MS 1135 has *Al-Lāhūt* ("Divinity", "Theology"), which must be correct, though MS 1934 omits an *lām* (l).

¹³³ See reference in n. 121.

¹³⁴ *al-ḥukūmah* ("government") can also be translated "judgment" or "decision."

¹³⁵ In Arabic the title is *Al-Ikhlil*, which was used for the 27th lunar mansion. Jābir may have written on this subject, as he was interested in astrology.

¹³⁶ Perhaps this should be *Pure Gold*. In Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 26 ff., it is translated as *L'Épuration*.

¹³⁷ Authorities translate this term as "the worthy" and *considéré*. The correct meaning is probably that given in Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1633, "beads worn as preservatives against fascination."

¹³⁸ Instead of *al-khalqah* ("creation"), this word given here may be *al-khilfah* ("purging"), *al-hilfah* ("compact"), or perhaps *al-khalqah* ("polishing").

¹³⁹ Both MS 1934 and Flügel give *Kitāb al-Hay'ah* (or *al-Hi'ah*), which means "The Book of Form," "The Book of Appearance," or "The Book of Astronomy." Fück, *Ambix*, p. 101, gives *Kitāb al-Hibah* ("The Book of the Gift").

¹⁴⁰ MS 1934 gives a form which looks like *Al-Nafadh* ("Penetration") or *Al-Nafad* ("Vanishing"). Fück, *Ambix*, p. 101, has *Al-Naqd* ("Criticism"); Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 26 ff., gives *La Monnaie*.

¹⁴¹ This title is taken from Flügel. In MS 1934 the word appears to be *Al-Mah* ("Moon"), but, as this is a Persian word, it is probably an error.

¹⁴² Instead of *Al-la'bah* ("The Game"), this might be *Al-La'nah* ("Curse").

These are forty books from among the seventy books.¹⁴³ Then there follow epistles about the [Philosophers'] Stone,¹⁴⁴ his (its) first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, which have no titles. In addition to these, he had ten epistles about plants, his first to his tenth. Then he had ten [other] epistles of this type about stones. This [totals] seventy epistles. Supplementing the seventy, there are ten books which are:

Emendation; The Meaning (Idea); Elucidation; The Intention; The Scales; The Agreement; The Condition; The Residue; The Completion; The Accidents (Aims).¹⁴⁵

After these and following these books he has ten treatises, which are:¹⁴⁶

Emendations of Pythagoras; emendations of Socrates; emendations of Plato; emendations of Aristotle; emendations of Archigenes;¹⁴⁷ emendations of Homer;¹⁴⁸ emendations of Democritus; emendations of al-Ḥarbi;¹⁴⁹ and emendations of our own [writings].

Then following, with their titles, are these twenty books:

The Emerald; The Model (Pattern); Vital Spirit (Blood of the Heart); The Unveiling of Secrets;¹⁵⁰ The Distant; The Excellent (Virtuous);

¹⁴³ Actually there are 38, not 40, books in this list. In these lists the differences between books, epistles, and chapters do not seem to be clearly distinguished.

¹⁴⁴ Fück, *Ambix*, p. 101, has "stones," but MS 1934 gives *al-hajar* ("stone"), probably referring to the Philosopher's Stone. The singular form seems reasonable, since the plural, *al-ahjār* ("stones"), is given in the second sentence following, and a repetition is unlikely. In this second sentence, Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 26 ff., gives "plants" instead of "stones."

¹⁴⁵ For this title, see Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 139. For the last title in the list, see n. 131.

¹⁴⁶ There are only nine titles in this list, if Archigenes is given twice.

¹⁴⁷ Two names are given here in the Arabic. They are probably meant to be transliterations of Archigenes. They are spelled differently and are likely duplicated by mistake.

¹⁴⁸ For Homer's connection with alchemy, see Berthelot, *Alchimistes grecs*, I, 250, 267; von Lippman, *Entstehung*, pp. 46, 74, 121.

¹⁴⁹ In MS 1934, the name al-Ḥarbi is spelled with a *zā'* (z) instead of a *rā'* (r), evidently an error.

¹⁵⁰ Instead of *al-sifr* ("unveiling"), the word may be *al-sifr* ("book").

The Carnelian;¹⁵¹ The Crystal; The Resplendent;¹⁵² Illumination;¹⁵³ The Symptoms;¹⁵⁴ The Questions; Rivalry (Emulation); Resemblance (Ambiguity); Commentary; Distinction (Specification); Perfection and Completion.

There follow, being connected with them, three more books:

Reflection (Secret Thought, Conscience); Purity; The Aims (Accidents).¹⁵⁵

After that there are seventeen books, the first one of which is:¹⁵⁶

The Beginning of Training (Practice);¹⁵⁷ Introduction to the Art; Stopping (Delaying Judgment); Confidence in the Truth of Science; Mediation (Avoiding Extreme Points of View) in Connection with the Art; The Test; The Reality (Truth); Agreement and Disagreement; The Rules and Perplexity;¹⁵⁸ The Scales; The Obscure Secret; The Supreme (Most Distant) Point of Attainment; Opposition; The Explanation; The Deficient and the Complete;¹⁵⁹ The Thorough Investigation.

Then there follow these three books, which are:

Purity, another one; Confidence; The Aims (Accidents).¹⁶⁰

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: In his book catalogue Jābir said, "After these books I composed thirty epistles which

¹⁵¹ *Al-'aqīqah* ("carnelian") can also mean "lightning," "turban," and other things.

¹⁵² Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 35, gives for *Al-Sāfi* ("The Resplendent"), *Celui qui s'élève*, referring to the heavenly bodies.

¹⁵³ The Arabic is *Al-Ishrāq*. Berthelot, *ibid.*, translates it as *Lever*, also referring to the heavenly bodies.

¹⁵⁴ Instead of *Al-Makḥā'il* ("Symptoms"), this title might be *Al-Majā'il* ("Assemblies," "Groups"). The title which follows is omitted by Fück, *Ambix*, p. 102.

¹⁵⁵ See n. 131.

¹⁵⁶ There are only 16 titles.

¹⁵⁷ The Arabic is *Al-Mubtada' bi-al-Riyāḍah*, which Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 26 ff., translates as *Éléments des sciences exactes*. MS. 1135 has variations, but the translation continues to follow MS 1934.

¹⁵⁸ The Arabic is *Al-Sunan wa-al-Ḥayrah*. Instead of *al-sunan* ("rules"), Fück, *Ambix*, p. 102, has *al-tabyīn* ("evidence"). Another possibility for the second word is *al-khayrah* ("the good").

¹⁵⁹ MS 1934 gives *Al-Kamān wa-al-Tamām*. The first word is a form of *kam*, which can mean "deficient." See Richardson, *Dictionary*, pp. 1203-4. Other versions of *Al-Fihrist* give different words. *Al-tamām* means "complete."

¹⁶⁰ For this last title, see n. 131.

have no titles. Then after that I composed four treatises, which are:

The First Nature, Active and with Movement, Which Is Fire; The Second Nature, Active and without Movement, Which Is Water; The Third Nature, Passive and Dry, Which Is the Earth;¹⁶¹ The Fourth Nature, Passive and Moist, Which Is the Air.

Jābir said, "With these books there are two [other] books which explain them. They are:

Purity; The Aims (Accidents).¹⁶²

Then after that I composed four books, which are:

Venus; Consolation (Comfort); The Perfect (Complete); Life.

"After that I composed ten books according to the opinion of Apollonius, author of *The Talismans*.¹⁶³ They are:

Saturn; Mars; The Sun, the larger book; The Sun, the smaller book; Venus; Mercury; The Moon, the larger book; The Aims (Accidents);¹⁶⁴ a book known as The Inherent Quality of Its Essence; The Twofold."¹⁶⁵

He had four books about hidden treasures:

The Result; The Field of the Mind;¹⁶⁶ The Eye (Fountain, Quintessence); The Arrangement.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ MS 1934 omits this title, but with a correction on the margin and a repetition of the first title of the four.

¹⁶² For this last title, see n. 131.

¹⁶³ This man was Apollonius of Tyana (Tyanaeus). In Arabic Apollonius is Balīnūs; see Qifī, p. 316 l. 10. This name is followed by the word *ṣāhib*, translated "author" instead. It may mean "master." Smith, *GRBM*, I, 244, speaks of his works on divination by the stars.

¹⁶⁴ See n. 131.

¹⁶⁵ *The Twofold* ("Al-Muthannā") is from MSS 1934 and 1135. Fück, *Ambix*, p. 104, gives *Al-Mushtari* ("The Planet Jupiter").

¹⁶⁶ "The field" (*al-maydān*) is given as "the racecourse" in Fück, *Ambix*, p. 104.

¹⁶⁷ *Al-Naẓm* ("The Arrangement") is also used to mean "The Pleiades." This passage and what follows in MS 1934 is written in a handwriting which appears to be different from that of the rest of the chapter.

Abū Mūsā [Jābir] said, "I composed three hundred books on philosophy and one thousand three hundred books about devices, according to the model of the book *Taqāṭur*,¹⁶⁸ and also one thousand three hundred epistles about the arts as a whole and the instruments of war. Then I composed a great book about medicine, also writing other books, large and small. I wrote about five hundred books on medicine similar to the book *The Pulse and Anatomy*. Then I composed books of logic, according to the opinion of *Aristotle*, and after that I composed:

Astronomical Tables, an elegant book of about three hundred leaves; Exposition of *Euclid*; Exposition of the "Almagest";¹⁶⁹ Mirrors; The Greedy (Devastating Torrent), which the theologians refuted and which was attributed to Abū Sa'īd al-Miṣrī.

"Then I composed a book about asceticism and sermons. I also composed many beautiful books about the charms. Then I composed books about incantations and many [other] books about the phenomena which act by their specific qualities (special properties). After that I composed five hundred books refuting the philosophers, and then I composed a book about the Art known as the *Book of the Kingdom (King)*, and a book known as *The Gardens*."¹⁷⁰

*Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī*¹⁷¹

He was Abū al-Fayd Dhū al-Nūn ibn Ibrāhīm, who engaged in ascetic (Ṣūfī) practices and left a tradition related to the Art, about which he composed books.¹⁷² Among his books there were:

The Support;¹⁷³ Confidence in the Art.

¹⁶⁸ The word translated "devices" is *al-ḥiyāl*, which can also mean "tricks," "mechanical devices," and other things of that nature. Füick, *Ambix*, p. 134 no. 44, suggests that *ḥiyāl* might mean "automata." *Taqāṭur*, means "distilling, drop by drop." It is similar to the more common word *al-taḡīr* ("distilling"). See Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 428; Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten*, no. 10, p. 46. Füick, *Ambix*, p. 134 no. 44, compares the book with a treatise of the Banū Mūsā.

¹⁶⁹ This was the famous book of Ptolemy.

¹⁷⁰ *The Gardens (Al-Riyāḍ)* is given by Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 36, as *Les Parterres*.

¹⁷¹ For Dhū al-Nūn, al-Rāzī, and Ibn Waḥshīyah as alchemists, see Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 36-37; Füick, *Ambix*, pp. 136-38.

¹⁷² Cf. Füick, *Ambix*, p. 105, for this passage and the following one about al-Rāzī.

¹⁷³ For "support" see n. 110.

Al-Rāzī, Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā¹⁷⁴

His place in the science of philosophy and in medicine is [well] known and famous. I have dealt with him thoroughly in the account of medicine. He saw (professed) the truth of the Art, about which he composed many books. Among them there was a volume comprising twelve sections, which were:

The Didactic (Instructive) Introduction; The Introduction by Proof; The Proofs;¹⁷⁵ The Process; The [Philosophers'] Stone; The Elixir; Nobility of the Art; The Arrangement (Observing the Proper Order); The Processes; Subtleties of the Enigmas;¹⁷⁶ The Testing;¹⁷⁷ The Devices.

In addition to these he had other books about the Art:

Secrets; The Secret of Secrets; Dividing by Headings; the epistle, Specific Property (Particularity); Yellow Stone;¹⁷⁸ Epistles to (of) the Kings; Refutation of *al-Kindī*, about his refutation of the Art.

Ibn Waḥshīyah

He was Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Qays ibn al-Mukhtār ibn 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Ḥarathīyā ibn Badanīyā ibn Bīrnāṭīyā al-Kazdānī, from among the people of Junbulā' and Qussīn.¹⁷⁹ He was one of the Nabataeans, who had a good literary style in the language of the Kasdānīyūn [Nabataeans]. We have dealt with him thoroughly by mentioning what he did in Chapter Eight, in the section about magic, juggling, and charms,¹⁸⁰ things with which he had good luck (skill).

¹⁷⁴ For the treatment of *al-Rāzī* in connection with medicine, see Chap. VII, sect. 3, n. 151.

¹⁷⁵ Flügel gives *Al-Abyāt* ("Verses"), but the correct title is evidently *Al-Athbāt* ("Proofs").

¹⁷⁶ For this title, see n. 206.

¹⁷⁷ This title is not clearly written in MS 1934. Instead of *Al-Mīḥnah* ("The Testing"), the title may be *Al-Muḥabbah* ("Love").

¹⁷⁸ The Arabic is *Al-Ḥajar al-Aṣfar*. Another possible translation is *The Gold Stone* as *al-ṣufr* plural of *al-aṣfar* ("yellow") is defined as "pieces of gold" by Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 836.

¹⁷⁹ Some of the ancestors' names are copied from the mention of Ibn Waḥshīyah in Chap. VIII, sect. 2, near n. 30, where they are a little clearer. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 126; IV, 100.

¹⁸⁰ The word translated "juggling" is *al-sha'badhah*. For "charms" see the Glossary.

In this place we mention his books about the art of alchemy. They were:

The Principles, a large book about the Art; The Principles, a small book about the Art; Gradation;¹⁸¹ Discourses, about the Art; a book comprising twenty sections, first, second, third, in sequence; a transcription of the calligraphies with which the books on the Art and magic are written.¹⁸²

Ibn Waḡṣhūyah mentions these [calligraphies], and I have read about them [in what was written] in his handwriting. I have also read a transcription of these same calligraphies in a collection of passages written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Kūfī,¹⁸³ with marginal notes on language and grammar, historical accounts, poems, and traditions. They fell [into the hands of] Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Tunj from among the books of the Banū al-Furāt.¹⁸⁴ This was the finest of what I have seen written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī, except for the book *Vices of the Common People*, by Abū al-'Anbas al-Ṣaymarī.

The letters of Fāqītīs:¹⁸⁵ *a b t t h j ḥ k h d d h r z s s h ṣ ḍ ṭ ṣ ' g h f q k l m n h w l a y*.

The letters of the Musnad:¹⁸⁶ *a b t t h j ḥ k h d d h r z s s h ṣ ḍ ṭ ṣ ' g h f q k l m n h w l a y*.

These are the letters which served for the ancient sciences in the *barābi*.¹⁸⁷

The letters of al-'Anbath.

These scripts frequently (sometimes) occurred in the books which I have mentioned about the Art, magic, and charms, in the languages

¹⁸¹ *Al-mudarrajah* ("gradation") can also mean "graduation" or "indication of degrees of quantity."

¹⁸² Instead of "calligraphies" the Arabic may mean "alphabets."

¹⁸³ Ibn al-Kūfī, A.D. 868-960, was a well-known calligrapher whom the author of *Al-Fihrist* may have known personally.

¹⁸⁴ Both Flügel and Fück, *Ambix*, p. 106, fail to give al-Tunj properly. The Banū al-Furāt were members of a family who gained great political power at Baghdād during the late ninth and early tenth centuries. For a famous vizier and his brother who belonged to this family, see Biog. Index, Ibn al-Furāt.

¹⁸⁵ This name Fāqītīs may be related to Quṣṭus (Coptos). See Fück, *Ambix*, p. 140.

¹⁸⁶ For the Musnad, see Remarks about the Ḥimyarite script, in Chap. I, sect. 1, near n. 14. This alphabet, however, may refer to the Egyptian hieroglyphics.

¹⁸⁷ For *barābi*, see n. 17.

with which people originated science but, by Allāh, they cannot be understood unless a man knows that language, which is unusual. Often these writings (scripts) were transliterations into the Arabic language, so that it is necessary to study them so as to make those scripts correspond with it [Arabic]. We shall return to it [this subject], if Allāh so wills.¹⁸⁸

Al-Ikhmīmī¹⁸⁹

His name was 'Uthmān ibn Suwayd Abū Ḥarī al-Ikhmīmī from Ikhmīm, a village from among the villages of Egypt. He was pre-eminent and a leader in the art of alchemy. He had controversies with Ibn *Waḥshīyah* and between them there was correspondence. [He wrote]:

Red Sulphur;¹⁹⁰ The Exposition; Emendations; Clearing *Dhū al-Nūn* al-Miṣrī of False Charges; Marginal Notes; Instruments of the Ancients; Dissolving and Fixation;¹⁹¹ Processes; Sublimating and Distilling; The Hottest (Greatest) Fire; Controversies and Conferences of the Scholars.

Abū Qirān

He was one of the people of Nisibīn who affirmed that the art of alchemy had been validated for him.¹⁹² He was, moreover, one of the persons to whom those practicing this Art refer, regarding him as preeminent and superior. Ibn *Waḥshīyah* made mention of him. Among his books there were:

An explanation of the "Book of Mercy" by *Jābir*;¹⁹³ Fermented Liquors;

¹⁸⁸ "We shall return" seems to be indicated in MS 1934. Different authorities give somewhat varied interpretations of this passage, but the meaning in general seems to be clear.

¹⁸⁹ MSS 1934 and 1135 give the name as al-Akhmīmī, but al-Ikhmīmī seems more correct as the man came from the Egyptian village which Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 165, spells Ikhmīm.

¹⁹⁰ See Glossary.

¹⁹¹ Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 38-40, deals with these passages which come at the end of the chapter. He translates this title as *De la Dissolution et de la combinaison*.

¹⁹² For "validated" see n. 3.

¹⁹³ For the *Book of Mercy* see n. 104.

Consummation (Ripeness, Puberty); Explanation of the Ether; Emendations; Eggs; The Sevenfold Purple;¹⁹⁴ Advice; Making Liquid.¹⁹⁵

Stephen the Monk

This man was at al-Mawṣil in a monastery called Mikhā'il.¹⁹⁶ It was said about him that he practiced alchemy and that when he died his books appeared at al-Mawṣil. I saw some of them, which were:

Guidance; What We Have Initiated (Invented); The Greatest Door;¹⁹⁷ The Prayers and Offerings Employed Prior to (before Practicing) the Art of Alchemy; Marginal Notes; Seasons (Hours) and Times.¹⁹⁸

Al-Sā'ih al-'Alawī

He was Abū Bakr 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Khurāsānī al-Šūfī, one of the descendants of al-Hasan ibn 'Alī, may Allāh be well pleased with them both. According to what has been recorded by persons concerned with this matter, he was one of the people for whom the art of alchemy was validated. He used to move about among the towns (regions), fearing lest the sultan might take his life.¹⁹⁹ I have never seen anyone who met him, but his books have reached us from the region of al-Jabal. Among his books there were:

Epistle of the Orphan; The Pure Stone; The Humble [and] Useful; Concealed Pure;²⁰⁰ The Sources (Fundamentals); Hair, Blood, Eggs, and the Use of Their Liquids.

¹⁹⁴ Fück, *Ambix*, p. 107, gives *Al-Firfir al-Mussaba'* ("The Sevenfold Purple"). Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 38-40, gives a choice of *Le Livre hâtif des deux separations* or *Le Livre né avant terme, bâtard*. MS 1934 has what appears to be *al-farfayn* ("the purslane plant") followed by a word which might be either *al-musi'* ("profuse") or *al-mussaba'* ("sevenfold").

¹⁹⁵ This title might also be *Watering*, *L'Enjolivement*, or *Gilding*. The Arabic is *Al-Tamwīh*.

¹⁹⁶ Both MS 1934 and MS 1135 omit any word indicating "monastery," but Flügel inserts *fī 'amr* ("in a building"). For the Monastery of Mikhā'il (Dayr Mikhā'il), see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 646.

¹⁹⁷ See n. 121.

¹⁹⁸ Flügel gives a title missing in MS 1934, *Astrological Selection of the Art*.

¹⁹⁹ As this man was a descendant of the Prophet, he was feared as a pretender to the caliphate. He was hunted by the police, so that he was forced to wander.

²⁰⁰ The Arabic is *Al-Ṭāhir al-Khaṣī*, taken from Flügel. MSS 1934 and 1135 have a different form, which is garbled.

Dubays, a Pupil of al-Kindī

He was Muḥammad ibn Yāzid, known as Dubays, who was one of the people who dealt with the Art and external practices. Among his books there were:

The Compilation; The Making of Dyes, Ink, and Ḥibr.²⁰¹

Ibn Sulaymān

He was Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān, said to be one of the people of Egypt. It has not come down to me [my knowledge] that the Art was validated for him. Those of his [books] which have happened to come to this country are:²⁰²

Explanation and Elucidation, about external practices; Collection of External Practices; Amalgams; Things Kneaded;²⁰³ Fermented Liquors.

It is also said that the book *Explanation and Elucidation* was written by Ibn ‘Iyād al-Miṣrī, a pupil of Jābir.

Ishāq ibn Nuṣayr

Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāq ibn Nuṣayr was one of those who dealt with the Art. He [also] had a knowledge of enamels and operations with glass. Among his books there were:

Making Things Lustrous and Glassy Fluxes;²⁰⁴ The Making of Precious Pearls.

Ibn Abī al-‘Azāqir

Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Shalmaghānī, with whom I have dealt thoroughly in the passage on the Shī‘ah, had a leading place in the art of alchemy. Among his books there were:

Ferments; The [Philosophers’] Stone; explanation of the “Book of Mercy” by Jābir;²⁰⁵ External Practices.

²⁰¹ *Ḥibr* is colored fluid used for writing or painting. Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 243, mentions sepia as one meaning.

²⁰² Berthelot, *La Chimie*, III, 39, gives a different translation, which does not follow MS 1934.

²⁰³ Berthelot, *ibid.*, gives *Pâtes*. The Arabic is *Al-Ma‘jūnāt*. For “external practices” see the Glossary, “external alchemy.”

²⁰⁴ For this title, Berthelot, *ibid.*, gives *Les Reflets et la fusion du verre*. This title and the one which follows cast light on the meaning of external alchemy.

²⁰⁵ For the *Book of Mercy*, see n. 104.

Al-Khanshalil

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad, al-Khanshalil being a nickname. He was a friend of mine, who a number of times asserted to me that the Art had been validated for him. But I did not observe any indications of that in his case, because I never saw him to be other than a poor, miserable, old man, who was also foul [looking or smelling]. Among his books there were:

Explanation of the Subtleties of Enigmas;²⁰⁶ The Sun;²⁰⁷ The Moon; Helper (Faithful Neighbor) of the Poor; Operations on the Top of the Forge (Furnace).

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: the books composed about this subject are more numerous and greater than can be estimated, because the authors make false claims about them. There were authors and learned men in this field among the people of Egypt, where there was the beginning of talk about the Art and from which place they derived it. The [well] known *barābi*,²⁰⁸ which were the houses of learning, and *Mariyah* were in the land of Egypt. It is also said that the origin of talk about the Art was with the first Persians, but [on the other hand] it is said that the Greeks, the Indians, or the Chinese were the earliest to speak about it. It is Allāh who knows.²⁰⁹

The tenth chapter of Kitāb al-Fihrist is completed and with its completion the entire book is finished. To Allāh is the praise, the grace, the strength, and the power. May Allāh bless our master Muḥammad and his family. Peace and salutation.

²⁰⁶ The phrase "subtleties of enigmas" is in Arabic *nukat al-rumūz*. Fück, *Ambix*, p. 109, gives *al-rumūz* ("enigmas") as "mystical sayings."

²⁰⁷ In alchemy the moon was related to silver and the sun to gold.

²⁰⁸ See n. 17.

²⁰⁹ In MS 1135 there is a marginal note at the bottom of the page.

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²⁰⁷ In alchemy the moon was related to silver and the sun to gold.

²⁰⁸ See n. 17.

²⁰⁹ In MS 1135 there is a marginal note at the bottom of the page.

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Glossary

'abd: servant or slave. Used in proper names in combination with Allāh, e.g. 'Abd Allāh (Servant of God), 'Abd al-Rahīm (Servant of the Compassionate).

the abrogating and the abrogated: the *al-nāsikh wa-al-mansūkh*. This phrase refers to verses in the Qur'ān which modify the instructions in earlier verses and to the verses thus modified. Thus, at first the Muslims were ordered to turn toward Jerusalem in prayer, but later they were told to turn toward Makkah. See Qur'ān, 2:133, 134, 149, 150.

abū: father. Written as *abī* after *ibn*.

abwāb (s., bāb): doors. The form is also used for the sections of a book. The Shī'ah used it for their imams. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442; "Bāb," *Enc. Islām*, (1960) I, 832. It may refer to the gates of Heaven. See Qur'ān, 38: 50.

accidents: *al-a'rāḍ*. Unexpected and fortuitous events.

accounts: *akhbār*. This translation is given frequently, especially in the headings of paragraphs.

acrostic: *al-muwashshah*. Verses arranged so that the initial letters of each line together form a word or verse.

adab: training, good manners, culture. The plural form, *ādāb*, is used even more often than the singular for morals, literary pursuits, and belles-lettres. See "Adab," *Enc. Islām*, I, 122.

ahkām al-nujūm. See *judgments of the stars*.

Ahl al-Bayt: People of the House. Members of the family of the Prophet.

Ahl al-Da'wah: People of the Summons. The name which the Ismā'īliyah used for members of their own sect.

Ahl al-Dhimmah. Conquered peoples, who were obliged to pay taxes but were not forced to accept Islām. See "Dhimma," *Enc. Islām*, I, 958.

akhbār (s., khabar): account, accounts, historical traditions, news, information. These are the most common translations.

algebra and equation: *al-jabr wa-al-muqābalah*. Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, 170, translates the Arabic as "reduction and cancellation."

allegorical interpretation: *mutashābihah* (pl., *mutashābihāt*). This word is used to refer to the allegorical material in the Qur'ān, such as the "throne of God." Other possible translations are allegory, simile, metaphor, comparison, similitude.

analogy: *al-qiyās*. Interpretation of the law by means of comparisons and precedents. See Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, pp. 98-132; "Qiyās," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1051.

anthology: *al-dīwān*, when used for a collection of poetical verses.

anwā': conditions in the heavens and the atmosphere. *Al-Anwā'* is also a group of 28 stars, which divide the stages of the moon as it passes through the zodiac. See Qutaybah, *Kitāb al-Anwā'*; also Ma'lūf, *Al-Munjid*, p. 844.

apostasy: *al-riddah*. In early Islām this word was used for persons and tribes who turned against the Prophet. See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 141-2.

aristocratic families: *al-bāyūtāt*. A plural form from *bayt* ("house"), used for the families of tribal chiefs.

art: *al-ṣan'ah*. In addition to its common meaning, this word was used for alchemy. See "al-Kīmīyā," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1010-16.

ascetic: *al-zāhid*, *al-nāsik*. See also *Ṣūfī*.

asceticism: *al-zuhd*. This way of life included renunciation of worldly things, fasting, prayer at night, observance of mosque ceremonies, study of the Qur'ān, and similar religious practices.

aṣḥāb (s., *ṣāhib*): Companions of the Prophet, associates, pupils, adherents, owners, or friends.

Ashkanian dynasty. See *Parthians*.

associates: *al-julasā'*. The word was often used for persons who took part in intellectual discussions, often at the court of the caliph. See also *aṣḥāb*.

astrolabe. There was the plane type (*al-musaffah* or *dhāt al-ṣafā'ih*), which was often hung from a ring, and the spherical type (*al-kurī*). See "Asturlāb," *Enc. Islam*, I, 501; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 374; Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, 91, 169.

astronomical tables: *al-zīj*. See "Astronomy," *Enc. Islam*, I, 497-500; Pingree, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXII, No. 4 (October-December 1962), 487-502; Salam and Kennedy, *ibid*, LXXXVII, No. 4 (October-December 1967), 492-497; Hājj Khalifah, III, 566. The book entitled *Zīj al-Shāhriyār* was a compilation written during the late Sasanian period. It was known in Persian as *Zīj al-Shāh* or *Zik i Shatro-ayār* ("Royal Astronomical Tables"). It became popular among the Muslims during the ninth century. See Battānī,

- Al-Battānī sive Albatēnī Opus astronomicum*, and Nallino, *'Ilm al-Falak*, which explain how these tables formed the basis for Muslim astronomy.
- Aswāriyah*. A sect of the Mu'tazilah. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, pp. 27, 60; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 116; Jār Allāh, *Mu'tazilah*, p. 140.
- atom*: *al-juz'* (pl., *al-ajzā'*). The particle which was considered to be a constituent part of matter. See Nādir, *Système philosophique*, p. 152.
- attributes*: *al-ṣifāt* (s., *al-ṣifah*). Qualities of Allāh. The theologian al-Ash'arī regarded them as knowledge, power, will, hearing, sight, and speech. The Mu'tazilah denied their existence, as limiting the oneness of Allāh.
- authorities on the Hadīth*: *al-muḥaddithūn*.
- 'ayn*: the eighteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet. It is also a word which may mean eye, spring, or essence.
- ayyām* (s., *al-yawm*): days. Also used to mean "battles" and "times."
- Azāriqah*, also called in the singular *Azraqī*. A dangerous group of early Islām, defeated A.D. 698. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 208; "Azraqites," *Enc. Islam*, I, 542; "Khāridjites," *Enc. Islam*, II, 907; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 83; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 133.
- bāb*: door, gate. See *ahwāb*.
- Badr*: the battle fought in A.D. 624, 20 miles southeast of al-Madīnah when the Muslims attacked a caravan. See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 116-17.
- Bakrīyah*. A heretical sect, which followed the tenets of *Bakr* ibn Ukht 'Abd al-Wahīd ibn Ziyād. See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 38, 41; Baghdādī (Halkin), pp. 15-16, 169, 225.
- banū*: sons. Used for the members of a tribe or family.
- Banū al-'Abbās*. The 'Abbāsids, members of the dynasty which ruled from A.D. 750 until the fall of Baghdād.
- Banū Hāshim*. The family of the Prophet's great-grandfather. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 189.
- Banū Umayyah*. The Umayyads, members of the dynasty who ruled at Damascus A.D. 661-750.
- Barmak* (p., *Barāmakah*). The members of a Persian family, many of whom became distinguished as viziers and scholars at Baghdād. See "Barmakids," *Enc. Islam*, I, 663; Hitti, *Arabs*, 294-96.
- Bayhāsiyah*. Followers of Abū *Bayhas* Haysīm ibn Jābir. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 139; "Abū Baihas," *Enc. Islam*, I, 80; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 110, which gives ibn 'Āmir instead of ibn Jābir.

Bayt al-Hikmah: House of Wisdom. A research center, library, and translation bureau founded by al-Ma'nūn at Baghdād, A.D. 830. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 310.

bint: girl. When used in proper names it means "daughter of."

Būdāsāf (*Būtāsāf*, *Yūdāsāf*, *Buwāsāf*, *Budāsāf*). Corruptions for Bodisattva, used to designate a Buddhist ready to become an enlightened one, and also applied to the Buddha himself. See "Bodhisattva," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, II, 739.

Būdāsāf and Balawhar. The Arabic translation from the Pahlavi of an old story about how the *Buddha*, here called Būdāsāf, was persuaded by an ascetic companion, Balawhar, to relinquish worldly things. In Europe the story became famous as *Barlaam and Josaphat*. See Introduction to Budge, *Baralām and Yēwāsēf*; "Barlaam and Josaphat," *Enc. Islam*, I, 663; "Josaphat," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, VII, 567; "Barlaam and Josaphat," *Enc. Brit.*, III, 403; "Bidpai," *ibid.*, III, 919; "Fable," *ibid.*, X, 114; "Jātaka," *ibid.*, XV, 280; anonymous note in *ZDMG*, XXIV (1870), 480; Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat*, pp. xiv, xv, xxvii-xxxiii, and Part 2, p. 3.

buffoons. See *jesters*.

Bureau of al-Sawād: *Dīwān al-Sawād*. The government office in charge of taxes and other affairs for central and southern Irāq.

Byzantines: *al-Rūm*. The word is used for both Greeks and Romans. In *Al-Fihrist* it usually applies to the people of the Byzantine Empire, unless the context shows that it refers to the more ancient Greeks and Romans.

calculations for nativities: *al-numūdārāt* (s., *al-numūdār*). A system of complicated rules for selecting the heavenly body to be ascendant at the time of birth. See "Astrology," *Enc. Islam*, I, 496 bottom.

caliph: *al-khalīfah*. The successor of the Prophet and ruler of the Islamic empire.

Camel, the Battle of. A battle fought between 'Alī and his opponents, A.D. 656. See Hitti, *Arabs*, 179.

charms: *al-'azā'im*. These were often made from verses of the Qur'ān, though other things were also used to form them. Other words for "charm" or "incantation" are *al-ruqyah* (pl., *al-ruqā*) and *al-nīranj* (cf. *incantation*). See Füick, *Ambix*, p. 113, n. 17.

choices: *al-ikhtiyārāt*. Used in astrology for the choices of auspicious moments for action, by observing in which of its twelve celestial houses the moon is located. See "Astrology," *Enc. Islam*, I, 496.

City of Peace: Madīnat al-Salām. The popular name for Baghdād, clowns. See jesters.

Commander of the Faithful: Amīr al-Mu'minīn. A popular title for the caliph.

commentary: al-tafsīr. The word was often used in the titles of books, which explained the Qur'ān or some other famous book. Only the great scholars wrote original works; their pupils and the less brilliant scholars wrote commentaries.

compilation: al-jāmi'. This also means a "collecting" or "compendium," when referring to books.

compulsion: al-jabr. Predestination, which excluded free will.

condition: shart' (pl., shurūf). For its legal use, see "Shart'," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 335.

conjunction: al-qirān, al-ijtimā', or al-ittiṣāl. The meeting of two planets, which were usually Jupiter and Venus, Jupiter and Saturn, or Mars and Saturn. The Ṣābiāns of Harrān used the word *al-ijtimā'* to signify the simultaneous setting of the moon and rising of the sun. See Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, p. 319, 1.2.

consensus of opinion: al-ijmā'. Interpretation of the law according to the opinions of the leading jurists. See Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, pp. 82-97; "Idjmā'," *Enc. Islam*, II, 448.

court companion: al-naḍīm (pl., al-nudamā'). A drinking companion of the caliph or of a high official, or a more serious-minded person attached to the court.

created: al-makhlūq. This can mean "what has been created by Allāh." It was also used by the Mu'tazilah for the Qur'ān. They believed that the orthodox tenet that the Qur'ān was uncreated contradicted the idea of unity of God, so that they regarded the Qur'ān as created by Allāh.

Dahrīyah. Heretical materialists. The word is derived from a term in the Qur'ān 45.23 (24). See also "Dahrīya," *Enc. Islam*, I, 894; Baghdādī (Scelye), pp. 125, 127, 129; Jār Allāh, *Mu'tazilah*, pp. 38, 60, 196, 203; Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), pp. 6, 14, 38, 81.

darb: street or pathway.

days. See *ayyān*.

Dayṣāniyūn (al-Dayṣāniyah). Members of the sect which followed Ibn Dayṣān, who was called Bardayṣān in Europe. See "Bardaiṣān," *Enc. Brit.*, III, 395; "Docetae," *ibid.*, VII, 353; "Gnosticism," *ibid.*, III, 158; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 293; Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, pp. 23, 207; Sarton, I, 298; "Ibn Daiṣān," *Enc. Islam*,

- II, 370; Smith, GRMB, I, 462; also for reference, Hilgenfeld, *Bardesaner der letzte Gnostiker*.
- deputations*: *al-uwufūd*. Negotiators between the tribes and Muḥammad. See Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 627.
- dīnār*. The gold coin of the Muslims. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 171, n. 1.
- dirham*. May be used for money or for a silver coin. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 172, n. 4.
- disposition*: *al-khulq*. Refers to temperament, character, or nature. The form *al-khalq* means "creation."
- diwān*: government bureau or official register, usually in connection with the taxes. It can also designate an anthology of poetry.
- doorkeeper*: *al-ḥājib*. The Arabic word also means "chamberlain."
- dualists*: *al-thanaḥīyah*. A term as a rule applied to Zoroastrians and Manichaeans. They were called *Aṣḥāb al-Ithnayn*. They were disliked because as Persians they were rebellious against the Arab rule. See "Thanawīya," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 736.
- ecstasy*: *al-hulūl*. Union with God by means of mystical practices.
- edit*: *ʿamīl, jaʿal*. Used for the revision of poetry and ancient works. Verses which were retained only in memory or written in an imperfect way were corrected and edited, so as to form properly written anthologies and books.
- elixir*: *al-iksīr*. The Philosopher's Stone; also the substance which could change crude metal into gold. See *alchemy*.
- emir*: *al-amīr* (pl., *al-umārā*). A prince, governor, or descendant of an aristocratic family.
- enslaved by love*: *al-mutayyam* (pl., *al-mutayyamūn*).
- epistle*: *al-risālah* (pl., *al-rasāʾil*). A letter, monograph, or essay.
- essence*. In certain cases this word denotes the following: *al-nafs*, which also means "the soul"; *al-jawhar*, which also means "the jewel"; *al-maʿīyah* (*mahiyah*), which is like the Greek *οὐσία*. When speaking about material phenomena, the word implies "essential properties." See Qiftī, p. 369 n.c.; Sprenger, pp. 131 ff.
- etymology*: *al-ishtiḳāq*. See Durayd, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāq*.
- external alchemy*: *al-aʿmāl al-barrānīyah*. Refers to fabrication of ceramics, imitation precious stones, artificial pearls, and similar things, rather than to changing metal into gold.
- faʿala wa-afʿala*. Other forms are *faʿala wa-yafʿal* and *faʿaltu wa-afʿaltu*. These are forms of the verb discussed in books on grammar. For the theological significance, see Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 137; Baghdādī (Scelye), p. 131.

- Fātiḥah*. The first sūrah of the Qur'ān, used by Muslims much as Christians use the Lord's Prayer. It was called the Sūrah of Praise.
- faults: al-mathālib*. Used for political purposes to condemn the vices of tribes and individuals.
- Fudayliyah*. A sect which was probably connected with disputes over the legal heir to the caliphate. Perhaps it was named for *Fudayl al-Risān*. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 179.
- Ghāliyah*. See *Ghulāt*.
- Ghaylānīyah*. Members of a sect who were almost certainly followers of Ghaylān al-Dimashqī. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 119; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 160.
- ghulām*. See *young man*.
- Ghulāt (al-Ghāliyah, al-Ghulāh)*. A sect which was so heretical that it was not regarded as belonging to Islām. See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 17, 34-6; Baghdādī (Halkin), pp. 49-57; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, pp. 199-200. "Ghālī," *Enc. Islam*, II, 137.
- grace: al-na'im*. The doctrine that God shows grace by refraining to foreordain actions of a sinful nature for man to appropriate.
- grammar: al-naḥw*. In modern times the Arabic term is used for syntax, but in *Al-Fihrist* it is used for grammar.
- Ḥadīth*: Traditions of the Prophet. The collection of sayings and precedents of the Prophet, handed down by his associates and followers.
- ḥājib (pl., al-ḥujjāb)*. See *doorkeeper*.
- ḥamāsah*: valor. Often used as the title of a book on tribal anecdotes or poetry. The most famous book was that of Abū Tammām: see Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 129.
- hamzah*. A sign in Arabic script, which indicates a connection between two letters or an initial vowel sound.
- ḥanīf (pl., al-ḥunafā')*. A Pre-Islāmic worshiper with pure ideas about religion. Abraham was the classic example. See Qur'ān 3:67, 6:79; "Ḥanīf," *Enc. Islam*, II, 258.
- Ḥashawiyah (Ḥashwīyah)*. A sect which upheld anthropomorphic tenets. See Jār Allāh, *Mu'tazilah*, pp. 6, 190, 261 top; Murādā, pp. 6, 64; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, pp. 89, 101; Part 2, p. 403; "Ḥashwīya," *Enc. Islam*, II, 287; Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* (Nādir), pp. 68, 120.
- heretics: al-mulḥidūn*. Other forms of the word were the *Mulḥidah* or the *Malāḥidah*, names for a group of the Bāṭinīyah in Khurāsān. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 221.
- heroic deeds: al-māthir (s., al-ma'tharah)*.

Hijāz. The central region of western Arabia, which includes part of the Tihāmah Plain along the Red Sea, as well as the mountains to the east. It includes the holy cities of Makkah and al-Madīnah and the seaport of Jidda (Juddah). See "al-Hidjāz," *Enc. Islam*, II, 300; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 204.

Hijrah: the Hégira.

Hishāmīyah. Two heretical sects named for *Hishām* ibn al-Ḥakam and *Hishām* ibn Sālim al-Jawāliqī. Their heresies concerned the imamate and they also attributed physical characteristics to Allāh. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 67; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 212.

historical traditions. See *akhbār*.

holy war: *al-jihād*. See Qur'ān 2:190-93; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 136.

ḥunafā'. See *ḥanīf*.

Ibādīyah. A sect which started as an offshoot of the Khawārij during the eighth century but spread to North Africa, where it was called the Abādīyah. See "Abādītes," *Enc. Islam*, I, 3; "Ibādīya," *ibid.*, II, 350; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 151; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 104, 120, 129.

ibn (pl., *banū*, *abnā'*): son.

ikhwāw: brothers. Often used to denote the members of some special group or movement.

'ilal (s., *'illah*): causes, diseases, defects, reasons.

imam: *al-imām*. A term used among other things for the caliph, a descendant of 'Alī claiming the right to rule, certain famous legal and religious leaders, the prayer leader in a mosque and the Manichaean prelate. For the Shi'ite imams, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442.

imamate: *al-imāmah*. Office of the caliph. See "Imām," *Enc. Islam*, II, 473-74.

Imāmīyah. A sect concerned with the legality of the imamate. See Baghdādī (Seelye), 35, 43-4, 60; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 184.

incantation: *al-nīranj* (*nīraj*) (pl., *al-nīranjāt*). Other translations are "charm" and "enchantment."

interpretation: *al-ta'wīl*. Interpretation of the Qur'ān often formed the basis for a court decision, theological doctrine, or political propaganda.

introduction: *al-madkhal*. For its use as a technical term in astrology, see Sprenger, p. 485.

invasions: *al-futūḥ*. The early conquests of the Muslims, including the wars outside the Arabian peninsula.

irjā'. The principal doctrine of a theological sect. See *Murji'ah*.

- Isma'īliyah.* See *Al-Fihrist*, p. 462, n. 39, and also the Appendix, p. 929, for the succession of the imams.
- istiqbāl.* See *opposite position*.
- istiṭā'ah.* A man's ability to appropriate a foreordained action. This doctrine was an important one for the Mujbirah. See Ash'arī, *Theology*, Chap. VI; "Al-Nadjdjār," *Enc. Islam*, III, 819 bottom.
- i'tizāl:* separation, turning away, leaving. A term used for the doctrine of the Mu'tazilah.
- jabal:* mountain. Al-Jabal was the mountain region of Persia, where Media used to be. It was called Persian 'Irāq and was sometimes used in connection with southern Armenia. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 20; Khallikān, III, 497.
- Jabariyah.* The sect especially concerned with predestination. See "Djabariya," *Enc. Islam*, I, 985; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 88; *ibid.*, Part 2, p. 377.
- Ja'fariyah.* For sects with this name, see Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 188; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 173; Mas'ūdi, V, 443; *ibid.*, VII, 231.
- Jahmiyah.* Followers of the heretic Jahm ibn Safwān. See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 37, 126; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 89.
- jama'ah.* The loyal Muslim community. See "Djamā'a," *Enc. Islam*, I, 1008.
- jazīrah:* island. In *Al-Fihrist* it is not only used for the Arabian peninsula but also for the arid region of the north Syrian desert, between the Euphrates and the Tigris.
- jesters.* There were three words for men of this type at the courts of the caliphs and high officials: (1) *al-ṣafādamah* ("buffoons"), probably from the Persian words *ṣafā* and *dam*, both meaning "pleasure"; (2) *al-ṣafā'inah* ("clowns" or "slap-takers"); and (3) *al-muddikūn* ("jesters"). See Flügel, *ZDMG*, XIII (1859), 593; Chejne, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXV, No. 3 (July-September 1965), 327-35.
- jinnī* (pl., *jinn*): an imaginary spirit or genie, sometimes good like a fairy and sometimes bad like a demon. See "Djinnī," *Enc. Islam*, I, 1045; 'Abqar, pp. 60-73.
- judgment of the stars:* *ahkām al-uwjūm*. Predictions of future events obtained by observing the positions of the stars.
- judicial decisions:* *al-aḥkām*.
- judicial interpretation:* *furūā*. The legal interpretation given by a *mufti*.
- Ka'bah.* The shrine at Makkah sacred to the Muslims.
- kalām:* word. Used to mean "theology," "dialectic metaphysics,"

"logos," and sometimes the Qur'ān. See "Kalām," *Enc. Islam*, II, 670-75.

Kalilah wa-Dimnah. A collection of fables derived from the *Fables of Bidpai*. It was translated from Indian into Persian and then into Arabic. See Jacobs, *Fables of Bidpai*, pp. vii-lviii; Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 346; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 308; "Kalila wa-Dimnah," *Enc. Islam*, II, 694-98.

kātib: scribe. See secretary.

khamīs. A form derived from the word for "five." *Yawm al-Khamīs* is Thursday. The word also designates the army, with its five sections, front, center, two wings, and rear.

Khawārij (*Kharījites*). An early sect of Islām, which opposed the idea that the caliph must come from the Quraysh Tribe and upheld democratic and puritanical ideas. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 246; "Kharidjites," *Enc. Islam*, II, 904; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 76; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 128.

Khurramīyah (*Khurramī*). A revolutionary movement which became prominent in Ādharbayjān when *Babak* rebelled during the time of al-Ma'mūn. See "Khurramiya," *Enc. Islam*, II, 974; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 2, p. 419; Tabarī, *Annales*, Part 3, pp. 1044, l. 6; 1065, l. 9, 1171 ff.; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 312; Maqdisī, *Al-Bad' wa-al-Ta'rīkh*, VI, 110-16. Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 427, l. 19, says that the name comes from the town of Khurram.

Kings of the Tribes: *Mulūk al-Tawā'if*. See *Parthians*.

Kitāb al-'Ayn. The first Arabic dictionary, compiled by al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad, who died about A.D. 786.

knowledge. See *ma'rifah*.

labor (of childbirth): *al-haylāj*. See Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1699; Wenrich, p. 293, n. 15; "Astrology," *Enc. Islam*, I, 496.

land tax: *al-kharāj*. See "Kharāj," *Enc. Islam*, II, 902; Hitti, *Arabs*, 170-71; Dennett, *Conversion of the Poll Tax*.

law: *al-fiqh*. Other translations are "jurisprudence," "knowledge," or "understanding." The mystics used it in a different way, with a religious significance.

leaf: *al-waraqah* (pl., *al-awraq*). The folio of a manuscript. One side of a leaf, that is, one page, was called *al-ṣaḥīfah*.

leap: *al-tafrah*. The heresy of the leaps said that one part of the distance is passed through by ordinary movement and the other part by leaps, going from the first to the third location without passing by the second. See Nādir, *Système philosophique*, pp. xv, 182-83; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 145.

learning. For its use by the Mystics, see *ma'rifah*.

legal interpretation: *al-ijtihād*. Use of individual deduction for determining the interpretation of the law. For an example, see Dodge, *Muslim Education*, p. 65.

literary pursuits. See *adab*.

ma'āwī. See *meaning* for the usual translation. For a special use of the word, see Frank, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXVII, No. 3 (July-September 1967), 248-59.

madhhab (pl., *madhāhib*): sect, doctrine, school of thought, legal system.

Madīnah, al- (*Medina*). The name given to Yathrib, to which the Prophet migrated, where he became prominent and died.

Magians. See *Majūs*.

Majūs: Magi or Magians. In *Al-Fihrist* it usually refers to the Zoroastrians rather than to the more ancient priests of Persia. See "Madjūs," *Enc. Islam*, III, 97.

Majūsīyah. The religion of the Majūs.

Makkah (Mecca). The holy city of Arabia, where the shrine of the Ka'bah is located and the Prophet Muḥammad started his career.

Manichaeans. Members of the sect which was founded by *Mani*, born A.D. 216. Some of the works especially helpful for a study of the sect are: Puech; Burkitt, *Manichees*; Flügel, *Mani*; "Manichaeism," *Enc. Brit.*, XVII, 573; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, pp. 285-91; Jackson, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XLIV (1924), 61-72; Colpe; Cumont, "La cosmogonie manichéenne," *Recherches sur le Manichéisme* (1908), I, 1-53.

Manṣūriyah. An heretical sect. See Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 57; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 205.

Marcionites (al-Marqīyūniyah). A sect founded by *Marcion* about A.D. 140. For information about Marcion, see Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence*; Wilson, *Marcion*; Harnack, *Neue Studien zu Marcion*; Barnikol, *Die Entstehung der Kirche*; Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, pp. 23 1:9, 207 1:7; Smith, *GRMB*, II, 942; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 295; "Marcion," *Enc. Brit.*, XVII, 691; "Marcionism," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, VIII, 407-9; See also books on Church history.

ma'rifah: *learning, knowledge*. It was the knowledge of Allāh, the experience of ecstasy, and the gnosis of the mystics. See Ash'arī, *Theology*, pp. 15-19; Shehadi, p. 58; Sprenger, p. 995 bottom; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 134.

Marj Rāhiṭ. A battle near Damascus, A.D. 634. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 150.
master of literary style: *baligh* (pl., *bulghā*'), *faṣīḥ* (pl., *fuṣaḥā*').

Mazdakīyah (*Mazdakites*). The followers of *Mazdak*, whose doctrines were influential in Persia, especially during the late fifth and early sixth centuries. See "Mazdak," *Enc. Islam*, III, 430; Shahrastānī (*Haarbrückert*), Part 1, p. 291; Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, p. 209; Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, VII, 182, 201; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part 1, p. 897; Sykes, *History of Persia*, I, 487; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 169; Mas'ūdī, II, 195-96; Nizām al-Mulk, *Siasat Namah*, p. 266.

meaning: *al-ma'ānī*. A popular title for a book which explains the Qur'ān, poetry, or other forms of literature. In modern Arabic it is also used for a form of rhetoric.

memorable deeds: *al-manāqib* (s., *al-manqabah*). Other translations are "virtues" or "praiseworthy actions."

men of letters: *al-udabā'*. These were cultivated men, interested in literature and intellectual things.

menstruation: *al-ḥayḍ*. It had importance in connection with determining the time of conception and responsibility for fatherhood, as well as significance for ritual purification.

middle position: *al-manzilah bayn al-manzilatayn*. Literally, "the positions between two positions." This was the tenet that a Muslim who commits a major sin is neither a believer nor an unbeliever, but a sinner. See Mas'ūdī, VI, 22.

morals. See *adab*.

"*Mu'allaqāt, Al-*." The seven most famous Pre-Islāmic poems. See Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 101; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 93.

muftī. The legal authority in Islām, who gives expert decisions by which the courts are guided.

Mughīriyah. An extremely heretical sect. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 36; Baghdādī (*Halkin*), pp. 49, 54.

Mughṭasilah (*Ṣābat al-Baṣā'ih*). See *Ṣābians*.

Muḥakkimali. A sect of the Khawārij. See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 76, 83. Shahrastānī (*Haarbrücker*), Part 1, p. 129.

Mujbirah. A sect of the M'n'tazilah. See Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), pp. 24, 67, 135; Jār Allāh, *Mu'tazilah*, pp. 6, 97, 261. Compare different spelling in Shahrastānī (*Haarbrücker*), Part 1, p. 249.

Murji'ah. An early sect of Islām, which taught that the caliph and other Muslims could not be condemned for doing evil but that punishment must be left to Allāh. This doctrine was called *al-irjā'*. They also

- emphasized the importance of faith in comparison with good works. See "al-Murdjī'a," *Enc. Islam*, III, 734; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 156; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 37; Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, pp. 123-26.
- Mushabbihah*. A sect which had anthropomorphic doctrines. See Baghdādī (Halkin), pp. 31-36; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, pp. 12, 13, 98.
- musnad*: attributed to authority. The chain of authorities who passed down the Ḥadīth. It was a common book title.
- mutakallimūn*: the dialectic metaphysicians or theologians. See "Kalām," *Enc. Islam*, II, 672.
- mutashabihah*: similarity. It is used like *al-tashbīḥ* for metaphor, similitude, comparison. It also refers to allegorical passages in the Qur'ān. See Qur'ān 3:7, 39:23.
- Mu'tazilah* (adj. *al-Mu'tazilī*): Those Who Separate Themselves. The important sect which developed in the mid-eighth century. They called themselves the People of Justice and Oneness (*Ahl al-'Adl wa-al-Tawḥīd*) because they believed that a just god would not preordain a man to sin and then send him to Hell, and that Allāh is one, so that he cannot have attributes such as hearing and sight. They also claimed that the Qur'ān was created, rather than the preexistent word of Allāh. See "al-Mu'tazila," *Enc. Islam*, III, 787; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, pp. 41-88; Ḥazm, *Al-Fiṣal fī al-Milal wa-al-Niḥal*, V, 79; Laoust, *Revue des études islamiques*, XXIX (1961), 19-59.
- muttahim* (pl., *muttahimūn*): the accused. This in a special way referred to accusation of heresy, which might lead to rebellion.
- muwashshah*. See *acrostic*.
- mystic*. See *Ṣūfī*.
- Nabataeans* (*al-Nabṭ*). A tribal group regarded by the Muslims as having an ancient origin, but nothing certain is known about their history before the fourth century B.C. In historical times they became prominent east of Jordan, with Petra as their center. See "Nabataeans," *Enc. Islam*, III, 801. Numbers of them lived in the marshlands of southern 'Irāq, and they were sometimes called the *Kasdāniyūn*. For traditions which explain their connection with ancient Mesopotamia, see Mas'ūdī, I, 78; II, 94; III, 106, 108-09; VII, 119. "Nabataeans," *Jewish Enc.*, IX, 139, states: "A large number of the inscriptions of the Nabataeans have been recovered. They are written in the Aramaic language. The Nabataeans were, therefore, either of Aramaic extraction, or Arabs who came under Aramaic influence." As neither Dūrāyd, *Geneal.*, nor

Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, includes them in his exhaustive account of the tribes of Arabia, it is likely that the Nabataeans came from al-'Irāq. Their dialect was western Aramaic, related to that of the book of Ezra. Their principal deity was Dūshara. During the period before Christ they drove the Edomites to the west, so as to become strong themselves east of the Dead Sea.

Nābitah: Neo-Sunnites. For this sect see Pellat, *Le Milieu baṣrien*, pp. 53, 103; Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), pp. 139, 145.

naḍīm. See *court companion*.

Nahrawān. The battle, A.D. 659, in which 'Alī defeated the Khawārij. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 182.

Najadāt. A sect of the Khawārij. See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 75, 76, 87-90, 120, 174; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 136.

nativity: *al-mawlid* (pl. *al-mawālīd*). See "Astrology," *Enc. Islam*, I, 496, for the connection with astrology.

nature. See *ṭabā'i'*.

nawāfil (s., *al-nāfilah*): deeds of heroism, over and above what is expected; works of supererogation.

nickname: *al-laqaḥ* (pl., *al-aḳāḥ*). The Arabic word can also refer to an honorary title.

nobleman. See *sharīf*.

North. The most important deity of the Šābians of Ḥarrān. In *Al-Fihrist*, Chap. IX, p. 760, this god is called "the North, who is the greatest god." In very ancient times the people of Ugarit may have believed that this was the deity residing on Mt. Casius. This god was probably the same as the ancient Semitic deity Šaphōn, also called Zephon and perhaps Typhon. Exod. 14:2,9 and Num. 33:7 mention places named for this deity. See also "Baal-Zephon," *Jewish Enc.*, II, 387. There are several names mentioned in Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, p. 222, Adon Saphon Lord of the North; p. 233, Sapuna near Mt. Casius; p. 237, Baal Zephon Lord of the North, and p. 483, Baal Melkart Baal of the North. Dhorme, *Syria*, XIV, Part 3 (1933), 234, states that Šaphōn derives its name from the North. See also Cumont, *Religions orientales*, pp. 175-76; Haussig, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, pp. 258-60; "Baal, Beel, Bel," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, II, 288. Augury by arrows, burning pine sticks, and other magical rites were connected with the North. No woman, slave, son of a slave girl, or lunatic could take part in a Šābian ceremony, called the mystery of the North. During February the people prayed only to the North, hoping for help with the jinn and the devils. Apparently the

mystery could be celebrated in various places, not in one special shrine. *nukat*. Certain auguries, which were based on the conjunction of planets, marks on the ground, and other natural occurrences. See Sprenger, p. 1374.

oneness: *al-tawḥīd*. The oneness of Allāh and His creation. See "Tawḥīd," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 704; Massignon, *Origines du lexique*, p. 255.

opposite position: *al-istiḡbāl*. In everyday usage, the Arabic means "reception" or "future," but the Ṣābians gave the word a technical meaning. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 30, translates it as *begrussung*. It is used for the position in which the sun and the moon or a planet are on opposite sides of the earth, 180 degrees apart. The Ṣābians had a festival when the sun and the moon were in this position, probably with one at the zenith and the other below the earth. It was just before the 17th day of the month. See Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 318; Sprenger, p. 1205; "Astrology," *Enc. Islam*, I, 495; Lewy in Henning, p. 149, n. 1.

ordinance: *al-ḥadd* (pl., *al-ḥudūd*). *Al-ḥadd* also means punishment for disobeying the ordinance and sometimes "definition." *Al-sunan* is used for the ordinances of the Prophet Muḥammad. *Al-fara'id* is sometimes used for ordinances, but more often signifies "shares of inheritance."

paedect: *al-kunūsh*. A collection of medical and pharmaceutical notes. See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 494.

Parthian. The dynasty which ruled Persia from 249 B.C. to A.D. 226. It was also called *Ashkānian*, and the kings were named *Mulūk al-Tawā'if*. See *Kings of the Tribes*. See also Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 111; Sykes, *History of Persia*, I, 349-418.

People of the Book: *Ahl al-Kitāb*. The name used in the Qur'ān for Christians, Jews, and Ṣābians. See Qur'ān 5: 71-72; "Ahl al-Kitāb," *Enc. Islam*, I, 184.

People of the House. See *Ahl al-Bayt*.

People of Justice and Oneness. See *Mu'tazilah*.

personal opinion: *al-ra'y*. The term signifies interpretation of the law (*al-ijtihād*) by personal opinion. See Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, pp. 98-132.

Philosophers' Stone. This was referred to as *al-hajar* ("the stone") and *al-iksīr* ("the elixir").

pious foundation: *al-waqf* (pl., *al-awqāf*). A legal trust established to help support a religious or philanthropic enterprise. A trust of this sort was also called *al-ḥub* (pl., *al-aḥbās*). See "Waqf," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1096.

poll tax: *al-jizyah*. This was originally a tax levied on a non-Muslim

- subject, but it underwent change in the course of the history of Islām. See Dennett, *Conversion of the Poll Tax*; "Djizya," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1051.
- poor tax*: *al-zakāt*. The alms tax prescribed for Muslims. See Qur'ān 2: 43, 110, 177, 277; 4: 162; 5: 58. See also "Zakāt," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1202.
- predestination*: *al-qadā'* or *al-qadar*. For the ways in which these terms were used, see "Qadā'," *Enc. Islam*, II, 603; "Qadar," *ibid.*, II, 605; "Kadar-īya," *ibid.*, II, 605.
- Pre-Islāmic period*: *al-jāhiliyyah*.
- promise and threat*: *al-wa'd wa-al-wa'id*. For "promise" see Qur'ān 5: 10. "Threat" was the threat of Allāh's punishment for major sins. See Qur'ān 14: 17 (14); 20: 113 (112); 50: 14 (13), 20 (19). See also "al-Mu'tazila," *Enc. Islam*, III, 792 middle.
- proof*: *al-burhān*. The forms *al-hujjah* and *al-ihitijāj* can also mean "proof" as well as "argument" or "pretext." *Al-thahāt* (pl., *al-athbāt*) means "proof" with the significance of "confirmation."
- protégé*: *al-mawlā*. A person from some non-Muslim community, who as the protégé of some important tribe or man became a Muslim, enjoying the rights of Islām but not the aristocratic standing of his patron. A more technical translation of the word is "client." *Al-mawlā* can also mean a "patron," a "chief," or have the opposite meaning of "slave."
- pupils*. See *aṣṣāb* for a term often used in *Al-Fihrist*.
- Qadariyyah*. The earliest philosophical school of thought in Islām. It was a reaction against extreme ideas of predestination. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 245; "Qadariya," *Enc. Islam*, II, 605 bottom; Steiner, *Mu'tazilliten*, p. 26; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 116 ff.; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 41.
- Qaramāṭah*. Rebellious followers of Ḥamidān Qarmat, who started a revolution in the Persian Gulf region during the second half of the ninth century. See "Qarmatians," *Enc. Islam*, II, 767; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 444.
- qawāfi*. A verse in which the final words or syllables form a rhyme.
- qiblah*: the south, or the direction to be faced in prayer.
- questions*: *al-masā'il*. As a technical astrological term, see "Astrology," *Enc. Islam*, I, 496. The Arabic word is translated "problems" when referring to mathematics.
- quote*. Pupils and disciples quoted the words and ideas of their master. Few scholars initiated new ideas. Most of them wrote commentaries, explaining their master's teaching.

- Quraysh*. The tribe at Makkah to which the Prophet Muḥammad belonged. See "Kuraish," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1122.
- Rāfiḍah* (pl., *Rawāfiḍ*; adj., *Rāfiḍī*). The group in early Islām which rejected the earliest caliphs. In time the term became synonymous with the Shī'ah. See Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 268, n. 1; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 43 ff.
- raids*: *al-maghāzī*. When used as a book title this usually refers to the military expeditions of early Islām.
- rajaz*. A form of poetry. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 92; Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 74.
- Ramaḍān*. The ninth month of the Muslim year. It is also the month of the fast, during which the believer must refrain from food, drink, and sexual intercourse between dawn and sunset. See Qur'ān 2:185; "Ramaḍān," *Enc. Islam*, III, 1111.
- rare forms*: *al-nawādir*. When used with the Qur'ān, the Ḥadīth and ancient poetry, the word signifies vernacular expressions. The Arabic word also means "anecdotes."
- Rawāfiḍ*. See *Rāfiḍah*.
- readers*: *al-qurrā'* (s., *al-qārī*). Persons trained to read or recite the Qur'ān correctly. As the earliest Qur'ānic texts were written with clumsy Cufic letters, without signs to indicate vowels or consonants, it was inevitable that different men who read or recited the words interpreted them in different ways. In order to avoid serious abuse, about A.D. 900 the viziers Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḡlah and 'Alī Ibn 'Isā authorized the methods of seven especially capable readers, while those of other scholars were declared illegal. Cf. Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), II, 440; "Koran," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1073.
- reading*: *al-qirā'ah*. The method of reading and reciting the Qur'ān in a way which interprets its meaning. See *readers*.
- reasons*. See *'ilal*.
- red sulphur*: *al-kibrīt al-aḥmar*. This term was also used for "gold," "the Philosophers' Stone," and "red mercury."
- relationship*: *al-walā'*. Contiguity, close relationship, the condition of a protégé, fealty, or one's right over a slave recently set free. It can also mean succession or kinship.
- revolutions (transfers) of the years of nativity* (*revolutiones annorum nativitatum* or *de annorum natalitiorum conversione*). See "Astrology," *Enc. Islam*, I, 496; Kennedy, *American Philosophical Society, Transactions*, XLVI, No. 2 (1956), 144.
- revolutions (transfers) of the years of the world* (*revolutiones annorum mundi*

or *de annorum mundi conversione*). See references for the preceding subject.

rites of the pilgrimage: al-manāsik. The word may imply ascetic practices in general and the rites connected with pilgrimages to Makkah and other holy places.

Šābat al-Baṭā'ih. See Šābians.

Šābians. The following unrelated peoples were known as "Šābians":

(1) The great tribal nation of southern Arabia, whose kingdom existed from about 950 to 115 B.C. The name is usually written Sabaeans, and the first letter is a *sin* rather than a *šad*. See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 54-61.

(2) The Šābians of the marshlands of southern 'Irāq. They were called Šābat al-Baṭā'ih, or the Mughtasilah, and were the forerunners of the Mandaeanes. The first letter of their name was a *šad*. They were almost certainly the Šābiaus mentioned in the Qur'ān 2: 62, 5: 72, 22: 17. See "al-Šābi'a," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 21; Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*; Pallis, *Mandaean Studies*; Drower, *Mandaean of Iraq and Iran and Secret Adam*.

(3) A group of pagans in the old city of Harrān, in northern Mesopotamia, called Haran in Gen. 11: 31-32. It was the city to which Abraham migrated from Ur. These people were called al-Ḥarrānīyah, corrupted in vernacular usage to al-Ḥamānīyah. When the Caliph al-Ma'inūn threatened to massacre them unless they gave up their paganism, they adopted the name "Šābian," as the Šābians were regarded as a sect authorized by the Qur'ān. Here also the first letter of the name is a *šad*. They were often called Harrānian or Chaldaean Šābians to distinguish them from the true Šābians or Mughtasilah of southern 'Irāq.

For this strange sect, see Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, Vols. I and II; Goeje in *Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes*, Part 2, pp. 283-366; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 2, pp. 4-61; Mas'ūdī, IV, 61-71; Dimashqī, *Kitāb Nukhbat al-Dahr*, Part 1, sect. 10; Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 70, 314-20, and *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, pp. 318-23; Dodge in Sarrūf, *American University of Beirut Festival Book*, pp. 60-85.

There are various theories about the origin of the name Šābian. These theories are explained in the references given above, but it is not properly understood who the original Šābians were. Professor Harald Ingholt of Yale has recorded an additional item, which has not been mentioned by other authorities. The Danish archaeologists at Hama on the Orontes discovered graffiti scratched by soldiers from Arabia who fought with the coalition against Irkhuleni in 850 B.C. Twelve

- times the word *ṣaba* was scratched, interpreted by the archaeologists as the word for soldier, but very likely signifying something different.
- ṣal'am*: an abbreviation of the epithet *ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam* (may Allāh bless him and give him peace).
- satire or spelling*: *al-hijā'*.
- Sawād*. Central and southern 'Irāq. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 174.
- sayyid*: master, lord. It is also used for a descendant of the Prophet by his daughter Fāṭimah.
- secretary*: *al-kātib* (pl., *al-kuttāb*). A writer, secretarial assistant, or high government official.
- section*: *al-maqālah* (pl., *al-maqālāt*). It comes from the Arabic word "to say" and means a treatise. In the main headings of *Al-Fihrist* the word *al-maqālah* is translated as "chapter" and the words *al-fann* and *al-bāb* are translated as "section," when they refer to a portion of the text. The Greeks used "book" for a subdivision, but to avoid confusion the translation gives "section" instead of "book" in connection with Greek works.
- session*: *al-majlis* (pl., *al-majālis*). (1) A meeting for literary or theological discussion, sometimes held in the palace; (2) a class, usually in a mosque but sometimes in a private house; (3) a gathering for social pleasure and conversation.
- Shām* (*Shām*). The old Arab name for Syria, sometimes used for Damascus. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 239.
- Shamanīyah* (*Samanīyah*, *Shamanists*). Idolaters of Central Asia who became somewhat influenced by Buddhism. The name is said to have come from *Sramaṇa* (a type of Buddhist monk) or from the Sanscrit *śramaṇa*. See Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, pp. 75, 261-63; Mas'ūdī, I, 298; Birūnī, *Chronologic orientalischer Völker*, p. 206, 1:18; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 385; Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 686; "Shaman," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 302; "Shamanism," *Enc. Religion and Ethics*, XI, 441.
- sharī'ah*. The Muslim law derived from the Qur'ān, the Ḥadīth, and the processes of jurisprudence. See "Sharī'a," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 320.
- sharīf* (pl., *ashrāf*): nobleman, the member of an aristocratic family. It is also used for a descendant of the Prophet, especially through one of his grandsons. See "Sharīf," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 324.
- shaykh* (pl., *shuyūkh*). Literally, an old man. The term is used for a chief or for a man who has completed his religious and legal studies at a mosque or theological institution.
- Shī'ah* (*Shī'ites*, s., *Shī'ī*). The Muslim sect which developed the doctrine that only a descendant of 'Alī had the right to be a caliph. See "Shī'a," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 350.

shortened and the lengthened: *al-maqsūr wa-al-mamdūd*. This was a phrase to describe forms of the letter *alif* (a). A grammarian was likely to use it as the title of one of his books.

Shurāt. Members of a fanatical group of the rebellious Khawārij. See "Shurāt," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 392; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 76.

Shu'ūbiyah. Persons, especially literary men, many of whom were Persians. They resented the Arabs' claim to superiority. See Goldziher, *Muhammedanische studien*, pp. 147-216; Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, pp. 62-73; Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 279 bottom.

Šiffin. The battle, A.D. 657, between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 180.

Sindbād (Sindbādh). The "Sailor," who was a hero of popular stories. See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 305, 384. There was also a wise man and court tutor who is mentioned in fiction. See "Sindibād-Nāme," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 435; Mas'ūdī, I, 162.

singer: *al-mughanni* (pl., *al-mughannīyūn*). A person, often a slave girl, who was trained to sing and was frequently attached to the court of a caliph or governor.

slap-taker. See *jesters*.

Sophists (al-Sūfiṣṭā'iyah). Scholars who denied reality. See Baghdādī (Halkin), pp. 172, n. 2, 219; Murtaḍā, p. 89.

soul: *al-naṣf*. See "Nafs," *Enc. Islam*, III, 827. The word is used for the human soul and also for the second emanation from the deity. See also Sprenger, pp. 1396 ff.

sources: *al-uṣūl* (s., *al-aṣl*). The word also means roots, origins, principles, fundamentals. It is used in a technical sense of the sources of the law, which al-Shāfi'ī determined as the Qur'ān, the sunnah, consensus of opinion, and analogy.

spelling: *al-hijā'*. See *satire* for the other meaning of this word.

star: *al-kawkab* (pl., *al-kawākib*). This can refer to the planets as well as the fixed stars. In *Al-Fihrist* when the form "seven stars" is used, it refers to the five known planets and the sun and the moon.

star predominant at birth: *al-katkhudā*. See Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1170; Wenrich, p. 293, n. 15.

stopping and starting. A phrase used by grammarians for marks above the line of script which indicate when one passage ends and another begins. The marks were useful for reading and chanting the Qur'ān. This phrase was a popular book title.

strange: *al-gharīb*. The strange forms in tribal poetry, the Qur'ān and

the Ḥadīth, which came from the vernacular expressions of the tribes.

subjects. This translation is sometimes used for *al-abwāb*, which means "doors" but is also used for sections and subjects of a book.

Ṣūfī (pl., *al-Ṣūfīyān* or *Sūfīyah*). The ascetic of medieval Islām. For the Ṣūfī system see "Taṣawwuf," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 681.

sultan: *al-sulṭān*. This word can be used for any ruler who controls the administration of his country, but in *Al-Fihrist* it usually refers to the caliph.

sunnah. The theory and practice of conventional Muslims, based on the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth.

Sunniite (*Sunni*). Member of the so-called orthodox sect of Islām, which upholds the authority of the historical caliphs, as well as the established legal and theological systems.

sūrah: form, picture, sometimes a constellation of the stars, or a chapter of the Qur'ān.

Sūrah of Praise: *Sūrat al-Ḥamd*. See *Fātiḥah*.

surname: *al-kunyaḥ*. A name which contains a relationship, such as *abū* (father), *umm* (mother), *ibn* (son), or *bint* (daughter).

ṭabā'ī' (s., *al-ṭabī'ah*): natures, temperaments, innate qualities. See Nādir, *Falsifat al-Mu'tazilah*, Part 2, pp. 74-86.

ṭabaqah (pl., *ṭabaqāt*): category, stratum, rank. It is used to designate one of the generations which followed the Prophet, or a group of poets, or some other classification.

tafsīr: commentary, explanation. Often used as the title for a commentary on the Qur'ān or some book about law or theology.

takht. A Persian word for board, used for the dust abacus or calculating board, similar to the Indian *pati*. See Datta, *History of Hindu Mathematics*, p. 129.

taubur: *al-ṭanbūr*. A stringed instrument used to accompany chanting and singing.

tashbīḥ: simile, allegory, comparison, similitude. The word was also used for anthropomorphism. See "Tashbīḥ," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 685.

tawallud. The word comes from the verb "to give birth" but is used as a metaphysical tenet concerning an action resulting from an agent working through an intermediary. See "Bishr b. Mu'tamir," *Enc. Islam*, I, 731; Nādir, *Système philosophique*, p. 198.

temperament. See *disposition*.

temporary marriage: *al-mut'ah*. This was the temporary marriage legalized by the Shī'ī law. See "Mut'a," *Enc. Islam*, III, 774.

Tha'libah. An unimportant sect. It was started by a man called *Tha'libah* ibn 'Amir by Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 147, and *Tha'libah* ibn Mashkān, by Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 102-4.

theologians. See *mutakallimūn*.

town (region): *al-balad* or *al-baladah* (pl., *al-bilād* or *al-buldān*).

traditions. (1) *Al-akhbār*, translated as historical traditions or historical accounts; (2) *al-āthār*, literally meaning traces. See also *Ḥadīth*.

training. See *adab*.

Tughuzghuz. The Arab name for certain tribes of central Asia. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, I, 37, calls it "l'une des tribus alors les plus importantes des Turcs, celle des Tagazgaz (Hwei-Hou) qui s'étendait au loin sur les deux flancs des monts Thian-chau." See also Mas'ūdī, I, 214, 288, 299-301, 358; IV, 38; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part 3, p. 1044; Fidā', *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, pp. ccclx, ccclxi; Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, II, 753; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I, 252, suggests that they were Uigurs. Cf. "Turks," *Enc. Brit.*, XXVII, 469, 471. Professor Herbert Franke of Munich suggested in a letter, dated Dec. 1, 1965, that one should read "Toghuzghuz throughout (Old Turk. *toquz* 'nine')." See also Pulleyblank, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXV, No. 2 (June 1965), 122 (left column, bottom). Miṣ'ar ibn Muḥallil, *Al-Risālah al-Thānīyah*, English Introduction, p. 15 (h.i.), identifies the Tughuzghuz as the Uyghurs, probably in their later habitat near Turfan, and the Ghuzz as being between Iritsh and the Volga. The so-called King of the Tughuzghuz was at the city of Kushān (Kao-tchang) east of Khurāsān, which they occupied in the mid-tenth century. Cf. Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 320.

'ulamū' (s., *al-'ālim*): the knowing. The religious and legal authorities of a Muslim community.

umarā'. See *emir*.

unusual anecdotes. See *rare forms*.

virtues: *al-faḍā'il* (s., *al-faḍīlah*). Excellent qualities, often ascribed to an Arab tribe, so as to give it political favor.

vizier: *al-wazīr* (pl., *al-wuzarā'*). The title of an officer who served the caliph or some important provincial ruler. The position was similar to that of a cabinet official in modern times.

Wāqifah (*al-Wāqifiyah*). A sect of the Khawārij. See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 110, 119; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, pp. 140, 192, 197.

warrāq (pl., *al-warrāqūn*). A man who copied manuscripts, or who dealt with manuscripts and stationary. If he owned his own bookshop he could often make it a center for scholars.

will; al-waṣīyah. This common word for a will was used for the commission of Allāh to the Prophet Muḥammad. The Shī'ah interpreted it to mean the special knowledge and divine right to rule, handed down from 'Alī to his successors. See "Waṣīya," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1132; Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, Part 1, p. 70.

yawm. See *ayyām*.

young man; al-ghulām (pl., *al-ghilmān*). (1) A slave boy or servant, often attached to a scholar from whom he received instruction. (2) An apprentice. (3) A farm hand, like the boys who cared for Babak's animals. (4) A boy used for homosexual purposes.

Zamzam. The famous well in the court of the Ka'bah at Makkah.

zandaqah: heresy.

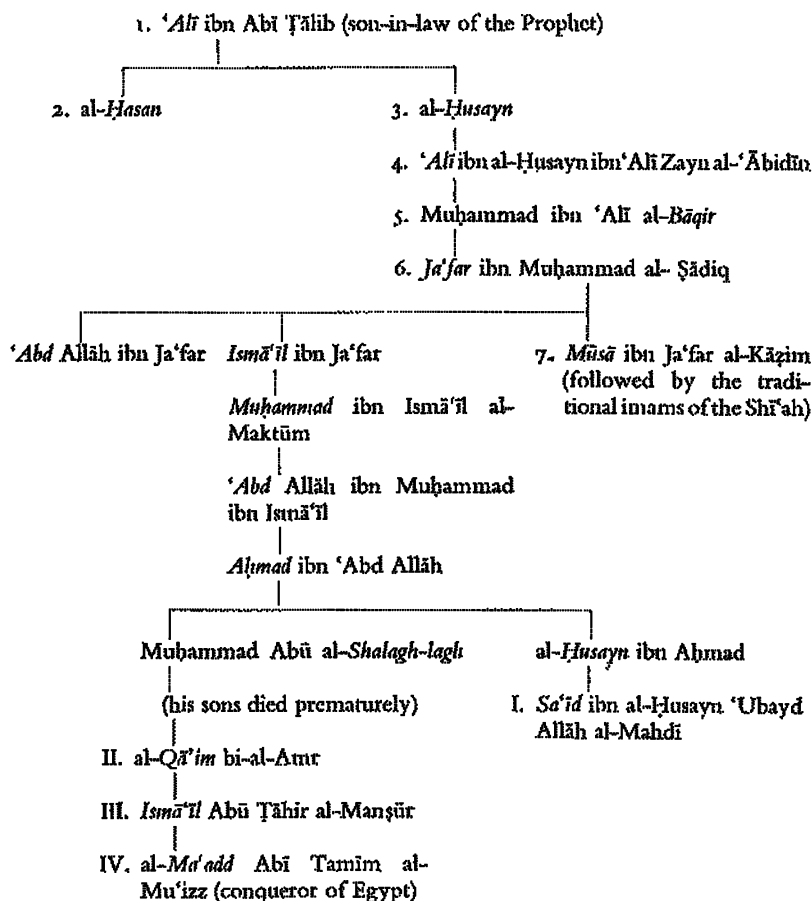
zandīq (*al-zindīq*, pl., *al-zanādiqah* or *al-zanādiq*). A general term for a heretic. During the ninth and tenth centuries, when the Zoroastrians and Manichaeus were feared as rebels, the word was as a rule used for sympathizers with these sects. See Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 372; "Zindīq," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1228.

Zanj. A group of slaves in southern 'Irāq, who A.D. 869 started a rebellion. They were led by 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Ṣāhib al-Zanj. See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 467-68; "Zandj," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1213.

Zaydiyyah. Followers of *Zayd*, who was the son of 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn, the fourth Shī'ī imam. Zayd revolted at al-Kūfah, A.D. 740, and was killed. See "Zaid b. 'Alī," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1193; "Zaidīya," *ibid.*, IV, 1196; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 34-6, 43, 53, 73; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 174; Mas'ūdī, V, 467; VI, 78, 101, 204.

Appendix

The Succession of the Imams Recognized by the Ismā'īliyah from 'Ali to the Establishment of the Fāṭimid Dynasty in Egypt



Arabic numbers identify the Shī'ī imams to the time of the seventh, when the Ismā'īliyah recognized a rival imam and separated from the traditional Shī'ah. Roman numbers identify the first four Fāṭimid caliphs, who established a rival caliphate in North Africa. See Chap. V, pp. 462, 465, n. 61.

Biographical Index

The first part of each name given in the Biographical Index is the part of the name that in the text is printed in italics. As a rule the name that is first listed in the index is the part of the man's name given in the text as a heading. If, however, the name in the heading does not seem to be well known there are exceptions to this rule. Although there is some cross referencing to surnames, nicknames, and locality names, it is impossible to give a complete system of cross referencing in an English index.

Some names occur so often that the page number in the text is not given each time the name appears. Examples of names of this sort are 'Alī, al-Rashīd, al-Ma'mūn, Thābit ibn Qurrah, al-Aṣma'i, Tha'lab, al-Kisā'i, Shaykh Abū Sa'īd al-Sirāfi, Iṣḥāq al-Mawṣilī, and al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad.

- 'Abādiyah (Ibn al-). An author known for his eloquent literary style. 275
- 'Abāḥ (al-). The nickname of al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm, an astrologer in the service of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). See Suter, VI (1892), 30. 654
- Abān. He transported oil to Baghdād. For his grandson, see *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt. For his village, al-Daskarah, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 575. 268
- Abān ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid ibn Lāḥiq al-Raqāshī. A poet at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who translated ancient fables, dying 815. See Iṣbahānī, Part XX, 73; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 167, l. 17. 359, 260, 390, 716
- Abān ibn Abī 'Ayyāsh. He gave refuge to Sulaym ibn Qays and quoted his book in the late 7th and early 8th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 902. 535
- Abān ibn Taghlib ibn Rabāḥ, Abū Sa'īd of al-Kūfah. He was a Shī'ī jurist and extremist, who died 758/759. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 598; Tūsi, p. 5, sect. 4; Ziriklī, Part I, 20. 536
- Abān ibn 'Uthmān, Abū Sa'īd. A son of 'Uthmān (caliph 644-656). See Mas'ūdī, IV, 252; V, 267, 384. 68
- Abān al-Lāḥiqī. See *Abān* ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid.
- Ābar ibn Shālikh. He was the elder son of Shelah. See Genesis 10: 24, 11: 10. 27
- 'Abbād (Abū) Jābir ibn Zayd al-Ṣabbāḥ al-'Askarī. A secretary of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). See Mas'ūdī, VII, 35; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1155. 131
- 'Abbād ibn 'Abbād al-Arsūfi. He was a conservative jurist, perhaps the same as Abū Mu'āwiyah al-Muhallabī who died 797/798. See Quraybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 256; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 104, l. 9. 546
- 'Abbād (Ibn Abī) Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn 'Isā. An astrologer, probably living at Baghdād in the 9th century. MS 1135 calls him Ibn 'Ayyād. See Qifā, p. 287; Suter, VI (1892), 67; X (1900), 48. 661

- 'Abbād ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū Jahḍan. A man of the Banū Tamīm who was military chief of al-Baṣrah, but died about 651, fighting in Afghanistan. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 211. 223
- 'Abbād (Ibn), Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād ibn al-'Abbās al-Talaqānī. Surnamed Abū al-Qāsim. He lived 938-995 and was a man of letters, who became the vizier of Mu'izz al-Dawlah. See Ziriklī, Part I, 312. 491
- 'Abbād ibn Kusayb. He was Abū al-Khansā' of the 'Anbar tribe who was an authority for Bedouin poetry and traditions. See Zubaydī, p. 177, note. 107
- 'Abbād ibn al-Mumazzaq. A poet probably at Baghdād in the late 8th and early 9th century. See Iṣbahānī *Aghānī*, Part XVII, 157. 362
- 'Abbād ibn Sulaymān al-Daymarī, Abū Sahl. An heretical scholar associated with the Mu'tazilah, probably in the late 9th or early 10th century. See Murtaḍā, p. 77; Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 101; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part II, 399, 420. 417-18, 424, 448
- 'Abbād ibn Ya'qūb al-Asadī. He was an authority of the Ḥadīth and teacher of al-Ṭabarī, in the middle 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 197. 563
- 'Abbās (al). The son and disciple of al-Kalbī (Muḥammad ibn Sā'ib). 205
- 'Abbās (Abū al-). See 'Abbās (Ibn al-) Abū al-'Abbās; 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz; al-'Saffāh; *Tha'lab*; *Thawābah*.
- 'Abbās (Abū al-). A pupil of al-Wāsiṭ and a theologian of secondary importance. The teacher died 935. 431
- 'Abbās (Abū al). Mentioned with a love story. 721
- 'Abbās (Abū al-) ibn al-Furāt. See Ibn al-Furāt.
- 'Abbās (Abū al-) Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Marzabān. A grammarian, translator, and historian, who lived near Baghdād, and died 921. See Ziriklī, Part VI, 348. 188
- 'Abbās (al-) ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār, Abū al-Faḍl. He was a secretary, who also composed poetry. 370
- 'Abbās (al-) ibn 'Abd al-Muttaḥib. He was a grandson of Hāshim and uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad. See "al-'Abbās." *Enc. Islāmī*, I, 9. 106, 221, 558
- 'Abbās (al-) ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad. A poet living during the late 8th or early 9th century. For his brothers, also poets, see *Raḡāshī*. 360
- 'Abbās (al-) ibn Abī al-Sha'li. A poet of minor importance. For the Sha'l tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 224, 328. 360
- 'Abbās (Ibn al-) Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh. A cousin of the Prophet, famous for his knowledge of Islām and the ancestor of the Banū al-'Abbās caliphs. See Hitti *Arabs*, p. 184. 52, 75, 82, 91, 221, 229, 245, 273, 509, 519, 558
- 'Abbās (al-) ibn al-Aḥnaf al-Hanafī, Abū al-Faḍl. He was a composer of erotic poetry, who died at Baghdād between 807 and 809. See Khalīkān, II, 7; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, VIII, 15; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 497. 290, 331, 360, 721, 722
- 'Abbās (al-) ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. He was one of the less important sons of the Caliph 'Alī, see Mas'ūdī, V, 145, 149, 150. 330
- 'Abbās (al-) ibn Bāghān ibn al-Rabī', Abū al-Rabī' an astrologer of secondary importance. MS 1934 spells the father's name Bāghār. See Suter VI (1892), 36, X (1900), 67. 663
- 'Abbās (al-) ibn al-Faḍl, Abū al-Faḍl al-Anṣārī al-Wāqifi. He was from al-Baṣrah but became a judge at al-Mawṣil. He was a scholar of poetry and the Qur'ān. He died 861. See Ziriklī, Part IV, 38. 78

- 'Abbās (al-) ibn al-Faḍl al-Fāsī, Abū Muḥammad. A secretary who wrote some poetry and essays. See Ḥājj Khalīfah, V, 136. 369
- 'Abbās (al-) ibn al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān, a Shī'ī jurist. For his father, see *Shadhān* (Ibn), who died 874 and was from Naysābūr. 557
- 'Abbās, al- ibn al-Ḥasan, Abū Aḥmad, the vizier of al-Muktafi (caliph 902-908) and a famous penman. See Khalīkān, II, 360, III, 218. 17, 360
- 'Abbās (al-) ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Abbāsī. A poet living in Syria in the late 7th and early 8th century, see Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XX, 172. 360
- 'Abbās (al-) ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Alawī. A wealthy descendant of the Caliph 'Alī, known for his preaching. He lived in Baghdād at the time of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). See Mas'ūdī, VII, 79. 274
- 'Abbās ibn al-Layth. He was a protégé of al-Mahdī, who was killed by Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn. See Mas'ūdī, VI, 422-23; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 801. 741
- 'Abbās (al-) ibn Ma'an. He was quoted by Iṣḥāq al-Mawṣilī, and was perhaps a brother of Zā'dah ibn Ma'an, in the late 8th and early 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 138, middle. 309
- 'Abbās (al-) ibn Mirdās al-Sulamī, Abū al-'Abbās. A poet who joined Islām, dying 639. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIII, 64; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 467; Tarmām, select., 22, 143, 144, 414. 346
- 'Abbās (al-) ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī. A brother of the caliphs al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr who was the governor of al-'Irāq 756-776. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 288; Mas'ūdī, VI, 266; IX, 64-65. For the genealogy, see *Hitti Arabs*, p. 289. 98, 234, 259, 274, 446
- 'Abbās (al-) ibn Sa'īd. See *Jawharī*.
- 'Abbas (al-) ibn 'Uṭbah ibn Abī Lahab. He was a poet of the Quraysh, whose more famous son, al-Faḍl, died 714. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IV, 176, 177; XV, 2; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 523. 346
- 'Abdah. An Arab girl loved by a poet. See al-Aḥwāṣ. 720
- 'Abdah. This was the nickname of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Sulaymān, the father of the genealogist whose name follows. 229
- 'Abdah (Ibn) Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Sulaymān ibn Ḥājib, Abū Bakr. He probably lived in the middle 9th century, being employed to write Arab genealogies. 229
- 'Abdakān (Ibn) Muḥammad. A secretary of the Ṭūlūn family, which ruled Egypt 868-905. He belonged to an Egyptian clan, perhaps not accurately transliterated. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Indices, p. 263, top. 301, 378
- 'Abd Allāh. See Ibn al-Muqaffā', also Ibn al-Zubayr
- 'Abd Allāh. An oil peddler from Ctesiphon, who emigrated to Ādharbayjān and was the father of Bābak. He died from a wound about 800. See Bābak. 818
- 'Abd Allāh. He was either a brother or son of the poet al-Mu'adhḥal ibn Ghaylān and himself a poet during the early 9th century. Compare Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XX, 74. 364
- 'Abd Allāh. A nephew of Abū al-Wizīr, a secretary and poet. See Abū al-Wizīr (either Aḥmad or 'Umar). 369
- 'Abd Allāh (Abū) ibn Ḥānī. He was the possessor of an ancient manuscript. Flügel omits Abū. 89
- 'Abd Allāh, Abū, ibn Muqlah, al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī. See al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Muqlah.
- 'Abd Allāh (Abū) ibn Rīzām. An author who refuted the ideas of the Ismā'īlīyah,

- probably in the 10th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1076; Quatremère, *Journal Asiatique*, August 1836, p. 117; Lewis, pp. 6-8. 462
- ‘Abd Allāh (Abū) al-Kūfī. He was appointed to high office 941 and later served as a vizier. See Khallikān, II, 477; Šābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, p. 343; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 270. 298
- ‘Abd Allāh, Abū Muḥammad. A relative of ibn Muqlah famous as a penman. 18
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-‘Abbās. See al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-‘Abbās ibn al-Ḥasan al-‘Alawī. A man famous as a preacher in the 9th century. For his famous father, see al-‘Abbās ibn al-Ḥasan. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, III, 620-24, 753. 274
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam al-Miṣrī, Abū Muḥammad. He lived in Egypt 767-829, and was a well-known Mālikī jurist. See Taghrī-Birdī, II, 211, 246, 320; Ziriklī, Part IV, p. 229. His sons were Muḥammad, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, and Sa’d. 495, 497-98
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī al-Ḥasan ibn Abī Rāfi‘, Abū Muḥammad. An astrologer of secondary importance. For his father, see Ibn Abī Rāfi‘. See Suter, X (1900), 51. 660
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Ishāq, Abū al-‘Abbās. He was a 10th century calligrapher. 17
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Ishāq. See al-Ḥaḍramī.
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī al-Shīṣ. A poet whose more famous father, Abū al-Shīṣ, died 811. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XV, 108; XVIII, 44, 54. 354
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, Abū Muḥammad. He was a late 10th century jurist, who probably lived at Baghdād. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 9, 30; Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, Suppl., I, 301. 498
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad. See Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī.
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Āmir ibn Sulaymān al-Ṭāʾī, Abū al-Qāsim. He was a Shīʿī jurist and author. See Tūṣī, p. 187, sect. 401. 542
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad (ibn Muḥammad) ibn Ḥanbal, Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān. He was a son of the great jurist and himself a jurist, who died 903. See Khallikān, I, 45; Rajab, 157-63; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, p. 130, 131. 554
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mughallas, Abū al-Ḥasan. A leading follower of the jurist Dāʾūd ibn ‘Alī. He lived at Baghdād, dying there 935/936. Flügel calls the name al-Mughallās. 532, 562
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf. A secretary and poet, whose father served as secretary to ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, governor of Khurāsān in the early 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1096. 368
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Aḥtam. A military and tax officer at al-Baṣrah, during the late 7th and early 8th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 76, 817, 1218, 1290, top, 1308-12. 273
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh. An uncle of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, who rebelled and was defeated, 753-754, but was later pardoned. See Khallikān, I, 432; Masʾūdī, VI, 73-77, 176-77, 183, 214-18. 259, 330
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Dāʾūd ibn al-Jarrāb. He was called Ibn al-‘Aranram and was a member of an illustrious family who lived during the 10th century. 324
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Āmir al-Ḥaḍramī. He was a man of importance in early Islām and the source of some anecdotes. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 2730, 2755, 3031, 3096, 3098, 3099. 223

- 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Kurayz. He was the general who conquered Fars, Sijistān, and Khurāsān, 650-651. He died 678/679. See *Khallikān*, I, 50, n. 3; *Balādhurī, Origins*, p. 490. 222
- 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ayyāsh ibn al-Rabī'ah, 'Ataqah al-Makhzūmī. He was born in Abyssinia, went to Syria and then to Makkah; a reader of the Qur'ān and quoter of traditions. See *Ṭabarī, Annales*, Part III, 2383. 68
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Ayyūb al-Taymī, Abū Muḥammad of al-Kūfah. A poet favored by the caliphs al-*Amīn* and al-*Ma'mūn*. He died 824/825. See *Khallikān*, IV, 227, 232, n. 15; *Iṣbahānī, Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 115. 360
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Bukayr ibn A'yan, Abū 'Alī al-Shaybānī. A Shī'ī scholar and author in the second half of the 8th century. See *Tūsī*, p. 188, sect. 405. 479, 536
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Dā'ūd. He belonged to the Muḥibrah school of theology. He may have been al-Khuraybī, who died 828/829. See *Qutaybah, Ma'ārif*, p. 260; *Yāqūt, Geog.*, II, 430. 450
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Dhakwān, Abū Zannād. He lived 684-748, and was an expert for the Ḥadīth and law at al-Madinah. See *Ziriklī*, Part IV, 217. 546
- 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl. A poet and friend of the family of Hārūn al-Rashīd; for his better-known brother, see *Iṣḥāq*. See *Iṣbahānī, Aghānī*, Part XIX, 72. 358
- 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥajjāj. See *Madīnī*.
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥammād ibn Marwān. A secretary who probably lived in the 10th century. 298
- 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan. See *Ghulām Zuhāl*.
- 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan, 690-762. He was a great grandson of 'Alī and imprisoned by the Caliph al-Manṣūr because of the revolt of his sons, *Muḥammad* and *Ibrāhīm*, 762/763. See *Ziriklī*, Part IV, 207; *Balādhurī, Origins*, p. 446. 118, 206, 347
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Hilāl al-Kūfī. He helped to develop a legal form of exorcism, probably during the late 9th or early 10th century. See *ZDMG*, Goeje, XX (1866), 487. 729
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Iṣḥāq ibn al-Faḍl ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān. A poet about whom al-Madā'inī wrote a book. 226
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Iṣḥāq ibn Sallām al-Makarī, abū al-'Abbās. He was a scholar of the middle 9th century. See *Mas'ūdī*, V, 381. 249
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far. A man about whom anecdotes were told. See *Iṣbahānī, Aghānī*, p. 434 of *Tables Alphabétiques*. *Ziriklī*, Part IV, 204. 722
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far. The son of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, the sixth Shī'ī imam. He may have been the true father of Muḥammad al-Makṭūm. See *Hamdānī, On the Genealogy of the Fātimid Caliphs*. 465
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭalib. He was born in 622 in Abyssinia, and went to al-Madinah, where he died 699/700. See *Khallikān*, III, 627, n. 27; *Nawawī*, p. 337. 188, 222, 328, 558
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Kathīr. See *Ibn Kathīr*.
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Khāqān. A man noted for his literary style, who was probably in the government service. 274
- 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. He was a Mu'tazilī. A theologian of secondary importance during the first half of the 10th century. 434
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Masrūr. A Christian apprentice of Abū Ma'shar, who became a capable astrologer. See *Qisṭī*, p. 220. 658

- 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd. He was a famous Companion of the Prophet from Makkah, a soldier and the director of finances at al-Kūfah. He died at al-Madīnah 653. See Mas'ūdī, IV, 256, 265, 279; V, 331, 375; Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 135, 143, 431, 432, 477. 53, 57
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāh. He was chiefly responsible for organizing the Ismā'īlī propaganda and was probably born before 700. He spent some time in Southern Persia and at al-Baṣrah, then at Salamīyah in Syria. See Niẓām al-Mulk, p. 269; Lewis, p. 54; Maqrīzī, *Imū'āz*, p. 50, and other books on the Ismā'īlīyah. 462, 464, 469, 470, 536
- 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'adhdhal. He was a poet of secondary importance; for his father see *Mu'adhdhal* ibn Ghaylān. 364
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Mu'āwīyah ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib. He left the court at Damascus, going to Persepolis and then Khurāsān, where he died about 748. See Khalīkān, I, 74; Mas'ūdī, VI, 41-42, 67-68. 325
- 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak, Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān. A jurist and poet, born 736, died at Hīt in Western 'Irāq 797/798. See Nawawī, p. 365; Sha'rānī, Part I, 50; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārij*, p. 256. 500, 552
- 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak al-Khayyāt. He was probably a poet living in the last half of the 7th century. Not to be confused with the jurist. Flügel gives the name as 'Abd al-Malik, but see Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part I, 163; Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, Part I, 272; II, 56. 357
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak al-Yazīdī. He was a 9th century poet. His father's name may have been Yahyā. See Yazīdī family. 361
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. See *Aḥwāṣ*.
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Baghawī, Abū al-Qāsim. He was nicknamed Ibn Bint Munī', and was a jurist, born 829/830, died 929/930. See Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part III, 338; Nawawī, p. 765. 561
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-'Atāhiyah. He was a poet of secondary importance during the middle 9th century. For his famous grandfather, see Abū al-'Atāhiyah. 355
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Shaybah Abū Bakr. He was at al-Kūfah, about 775-849, and was a jurist and authority for the Ḥadīth. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part X, 66, sect. 5185. 553
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Uyaynah. He was a court poet with al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn. See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 555; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 8; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 649-50; IV, 109. 361
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāh, Ibn al-'Aramram. He was the great grandson of the secretary of al-Musta'in (caliph 862-866). Compare 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad. 282
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah, Abū Ḥāshim, a descendant of the Caliph 'Alī, who lived in the late 7th and early 8th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2500. 382, 384
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Hishām al-Karmānī, a scholar who helped to correct *Kitāb al-'Ayn*, in the last half of the 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1974. 96
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il. One of the hidden Ismā'īlī imāms, whose father was Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il, called al-Maktūm. Glossary, Appendix
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Khayyāt. A poet living before and after 750,

- connected with the family of *Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām*. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 94. 364
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yazdād, Abū Ṣāliḥ. The son of a vizier and himself first secretary and then vizier of al-Musta'in. He was also a poet, who died 874/875. See Taghri-Birdī, Part III, 35; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1446, 1513, 1707. 368
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Makkī. A poet who cannot be accurately identified. 364
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-'Uṭbī. A poet called by the Tonk MS. al-Faq'asī. For his father, see 'Uṭbī. 365
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muṣ'ab. One of the Zubayr Family and father of the scholar Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī. He was a poet, who was executed 803. See Mas'ūdī, VI, 296-299; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 2743, 3072. 242, 357
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim, see Ibn Qutaybah.
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslimah ibn Qa'nab al-Qa'nabī al-Ḥarithī, Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān. A Mālikī jurist, who lived at al-Baṣrah and died 835/836. See Farḥūn, p. 131; Ziriklī, Part IV, 280; "Mālik B. Anas," *Enc. Islam*, III, 208. 494
- 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz. A son of the Caliph al-Mu'tazz, a poet, and the author of the first important work on rhetoric. He was caliph for one day, known as al-Murtaḍā, but killed 908. See Khalīkān, II, 41. 105, 162, 254, 257, 272, 280, 289, 741
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Nāfa' ibn Thābit. He was a great grandson of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. He died at al-Madīnah 771. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 643; II, 629; VII, 72. 244
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Naṣr al-Kātib. A secretary who wrote poetry. He may have been the army officer of Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1518, 1573, 1588, 1602. 368
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'id. A military officer attached to the first 'Abbāsīd caliphs. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1960. 822
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām ibn al-Ḥarith. He was a Jew who became a Muslim at the time of the Prophet and died at al-Madīnah 663/664. See Nawawī, p. 347. 42
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Ifkānī. He was a scholar who quoted the legal works of al-Muzanī, probably in the late 9th century. 522
- 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Samṭ (Siṃṭ), Abū al-Samṭ. A poet who probably lived during the first part of the 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1159. 354
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Shaddād. A master penman of the 'Abbāsīd period, perhaps the same as al-Ḥād al-Laythī. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 486, 487, 580. 13
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Shubrumah al-Ḍabbī, Abū Shubramah. A judge at al-Kūfah at the time of al-Manṣūr (caliph 754-775). See Nawawī, p. 347; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 238. 502
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Sufyān al-Mawṣilī. Shāfi'ī jurist, whose teacher died in Egypt 883/884. 519
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Isḥāq al-Sijistānī, Abū Bakr. He was called Ibn Abī Dā'ūd and was born in Sijistān about 844. He traveled extensively, becoming a great authority for the Ḥadīth and Qur'ān at Baghdad, dying 928/929. See Taghri-Birdī, Part III, 221-22; Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part III, 293; also Nawawī, p. 708, for his father. 559
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Tāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū al-'Abbās. He was the son of a governor

- under al-Ma'mūn, who became the autonomous ruler of Khurāsān, dying at Nishāpūr 844. See Khallikān, II, 49. 106, 147, 156, 256, 355, 511
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Tālib al-Kātib. A secretary who composed some poetry. 370
- 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-'Ā'ishī. He composed fifty pages of poetry. 365
- 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān. He was the generous and popular son of the second caliph, who died at Makkah 692/693, when 84 years old. See Sa'd (Ibn), Part IV, sect. 1, 105; Khallikān, I, 567, n. 1. 68, 91, 558
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Umayyah ibn Abī Umayyah. A poet whose grandfather died 613. 358
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb ibn Muslim, Abū Muḥammad. He was a Mālikī jurist in Egypt, 743-813, and perhaps one of Mālik's pupils. See Nawawī, p. 534, middle; Farhūn, p. 132; Ziriklī, Part IV, 289; "Mālik B. Anas," *Enc. Islam*, 208. 495-96
- 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Walīd al-'Adanī. He quoted the teachings of Sufyān ibn Sa'īd al-Thawrī, probably in the late 8th century. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 187. 546
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā. He was one of the *Barnak* Family, known for his interest in astronomy and science. 658
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sa'd, Abū Ghālib. A man of al-Anbār and a secretary of the Caliph Marwān II who was famous for his penmanship. He died 750. Compare 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sa'd. 257
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd. A secretary and poet, perhaps the same as the Ibādī scholar who lived at the time of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). See Mas'ūdī, V, 442-44; Askarī, Part I, 446; Khallikān, I, 642, 644. Compare Murtaḍā, p. 134, n. 5, p. 136, line 11. 368, 453
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd ibn Asad al-Qasrī, Abū Khālid. He was the father of three famous sons. See Khālid, *Asad and Ismā'il*. He was also an orator and influential man at the time of 'Abd al-Malik (caliph 685-705). See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 794, 817.
- 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. The rival caliph who rebelled against Yazīd, 681. See "'Abd Allāh," *Enc. Islam*, I, 33. 201, 273
- 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī. The father of 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī. 242
- 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī. See 'Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd.
- 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Asjadī al-Marīzī. A poet and grandson of *Ḥafṣuwayh*, probably in the late 9th or early 10th century. 297
- 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abān ibn Muḥammad, Abū Khālid. He was a jurist at al-Kūfah, who became judge of al-Wāsiṭ, dying 822. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part X, 442; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 195, 196, 1721; Ziriklī, Part IV, 135. 546
- 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh. A jurist from Iṣbahān who died at Baghdād 780. See Ziriklī, Part IV, 145. 234, 244
- 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Hāshimī, Abū al-Qāsim. He was Amīr of Makkah and leader of the pilgrimages, 716, 719. See Mas'ūdī, IX, 50. 244
- 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Aḥmad al-Iṣbahānī al-Kharazī, Abū al-Ḥasan. He was a jurist following the code of *Dā'ūd* and judge of East Baghdād, who died 1001. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part X, 466, sect. 5639; Shujā', VI, 429. 534
- 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Uthmān al-Qabīṣī, Abū al-Ṣaqr. A famous mathematician and

- astronomer of al-Mawṣil, favored by *Sayf* al-Dawlah (944-967). See Suter, X, 60; Sarton, I, 669; Qifī, p. 64, l. 7; Tūqān, p. 341. 635
- 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Yahyā ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Kinānī. A man of Makkah, who was an ascetic, and probably went to Baghdād during the first half of the 9th century. See Steiner, p. 78; compare Sha'rānī, Part I, 52, for 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abī Ruwād. 457
- 'Abd al-Ghaffār ibn 'Umar al-Anṣārī. A poet of early Islam. 359
- 'Abd al-Ḥakam al-Miṣrī. A scholar who died 777/778. For his son and grandson, see 'Abd Allāh and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh (ibn al-Ḥakam). See Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 39. 564
- 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. See al-Akhfash the Elder.
- 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, Abū l-Jāzim (Khāzim) al-Qāḍī. He was a Ḥanafī jurist, who served as judge at Damascus, al-Kūfah and the Karkh Quarter of Baghdād, in the late 9th and early 10th century. See Wafā', Part I, 296; Tabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2207, 2211-12, 2222; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 158. 19, 513
- 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Lāḥiq. A poet at the time of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). For his more famous brother, see *Abūn*. 359
- 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Lāḥiq. A poet of secondary importance. 359
- 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Sahl. A Mālikī jurist and judge, who lived probably in the last half of the 9th century. 497
- 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (ibn Wāsi') ibn Turk, Abū al-Faḍl. He was a mathematician probably during the last half of the 9th century. MS. 1934 calls him al-Ḥaṭṭī, MS 1135 al-Ḥabālī; Flügel, al-Khatalī. The name was probably either Jabālī or Jilī. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 179, 180; Suter, VI (1892), 37, 69; X (1900), 17. Sayilī, p. 12, Qifī, p. 230. 664
- 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yahyā ibn Sa'd al-Kātib. A teacher who became secretary to the last Umayyad caliph, dying 750. See Ziriklī, Part IV, 60. 257, 274, 583
- 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī. He was appointed governor of Khurāsān by al-Manṣūr about 757, but later was executed. See Khallikān, III, 408 note; Mas'ūdī, VI, 217; Tabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 2003, 2004; III, 134, 487. 224
- 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn 'Adī. A secretary of al-Manṣūr (caliph 754-775). Compare 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Adawī. See Tabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1928, 1929. 274, 275, 738
- 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Sa'id ibn Sulaymān ibn Nawfal ibn Musāḥiq. He was a scholar and poet, living before the middle of the 9th century. 244, 362
- 'Abd al-Karīm (ibn) Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. A secretary and tax authority, who died 883/884. 297
- 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Rūḥ. A man of al-Baṣrah and a pupil of Mu'annar ibn al-Ash'ath, in the late 8th and 9th century. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 233. 220
- 'Abd Khayr ibn Yazīd al-Khaywānī, Abū 'Umārah. He fought with 'Alī in the Battle of Siffīn and told how he wrote down the Qur'ānic revelations. See Tabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2419, 2529. 62
- 'Abd al-Khālīq ibn 'Abd al-Wāhid ibn al-Nu'mān. An unimportant poet, during the early 8th century. For his brother, see 'Abd al-Qadūs. 362
- 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was called al-Mājashūn for a kind of dye and was a Mālikī jurist who died 827/828. See "Mālik B. Anas," *Enc. Islam*, III, 208; Ziriklī, Part IV, 305. 495
- 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Juray. He was called Abū al-Walīd and Abū

- Khālīd and was a jurist and pioneer author at Makkah. He died 766/767. See Nawawī, p. 787; Khallikān, II, 116. 244, 547
- ‘Abd al-Malik ibn A‘yan. The son of an enfranchized slave and an 8th century Shī‘ī scholar. For his brothers, see *Zurārah* and *Humrān*. See Tūsi, p. 141, bottom. 536
- ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Ibrāhīm al-Juddī. He quoted *Sufyān al-Thawrī* and probably lived in the 8th century. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 41; III, 89. 546
- ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. The caliph at Damascus 685–705. 194, 223, 260, 267, 353, 383, 583, 768
- ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, Abū Ṭāhir al-Anṣārī. He was a jurist and judge at Baghdād, who died between 792 and 795. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part X, 408, sect. 5575. 547
- ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Šāliḥ, Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān. After misunderstandings he became a favorite of Hārūn al-Rashīd, dying at Raqqah about 812/813. See Khallikān, I, 316, n. 12; III, 665, 667, n. 30; IV, 302, 356, 437; Mas‘ūdī, VI, 302, 356, 437. 275
- ‘Abd Manāf. He was regarded as the great great-grandfather of the Prophet. See Hitri, *Arabs*, p. 111. 9
- ‘Abd al-Mubdī ibn ‘Abd al-Šanād. A poet living during the late 8th and early 9th century. For his brothers, see *Raqqāshī*. 360
- ‘Abd al-Mu‘min ibn al-Qāsim al-Anṣārī. A shī‘ī jurist and author, who died 764 at the age of 81. See Tūsi, p. 201, sect. 435; Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part IV, 76. 536
- ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ibn Idrīs ibn Sinān. An early historian who was born before 742 and died when nearly 100. See Qutaybah, *Ma‘ārif*, p. 261. 203
- ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim. He was the grandfather of the Prophet Muḥammad and a leader at Makkah. 9, 206, 213, 235, 237
- ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Rabī‘ah ibn al-Hārith ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. A kinsman of the Prophet, who went from al-Madinah to Damascus, dying 681/682. See Sa‘d (Ibn), Part IV, sect. 1, 39; Taghri-Birdī, Part I, 157. 558
- ‘Abd al-Qadūs ibn ‘Abd al-Wāhid ibn al-Nu‘mān. He was a poet of secondary importance, whose grandfather lived 623–684. See Qutaybah, *‘Uyūn*, Part II, 191; Zirikli, Part IX, 4. 362
- ‘Abd al-Qāwī ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-‘Atāhiyah, Abū Suwayd. He was the grandson of a great poet, but himself an unimportant one, in the middle 9th century. 355
- ‘Abd al-Rahmān. The brother of the Qur’ānic reader Ibn ‘Amir, or of one of his disciples. 65
- ‘Abd al-Rahmān (Abū). A Shāfi‘ī jurist. Flügel suggests he may be the same as al-Qazzāz. See Nawawī, p. 744. 524
- ‘Abd al-Rahmān, Abū Muḥammad. He was the son of a brother of al-Aḥmadī. He wrote on poetry, but was unimportant. 120–21
- ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī al-Zannād ‘Abd Allāh ibn Dhakwān. He was called Abū Muḥammad and was an authority for the Ḥadīth and a jurist at al-Madinah, but he died at Baghdād, 790/791. See Zirikli, Part IV, p. 84. 546
- ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam. A Mālikī jurist from Egypt, who died 870/871. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 888; Tabarī, *Taḥṣīr*, II, 129, sect. 1076; Tabarī, *Annales*, I, 111, 112, 415. 564

- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī Ḥammād of al-Kūfah. He was an authority and author devoted to the Qur'ān. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, 376. 62, 83
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī Laylā, Abū 'Isā. A Qur'ānic scholar, who wrote a history of the Prophet and died 702. 67
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Alḥmad al-Iṣbahānī, Abū Sa'id (Sa'd). He was a secretary of Ibn Abī al-Baḡhī, during the late 9th or early 10th century, and also a poet. 370
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Alī. See *Di'bīl*.
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Awf al-Zuhrī. He was an early convert to Islām, who went to Ethiopia, but later fought in the Prophet's battles. He was one of those appointed to choose the third caliph, dying at al-Madīnah 652/653. See Sa'd (Ibn), Part III, sect. 1, 87; Khallikān, III, 3, n. 3. 558
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn A'yān. A Shī'ī scholar, and the son of an enfranchised slave, living in the middle 8th century. For his brothers, see *Zurrah* and *Ḥunrān*. See Ṭūsī, p. 180, sect. 384. 536
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Faḍl. A poet of secondary importance, of the late 8th century, whose brother Iṣḥāq was well known. See Iṣbahānī, *Afghānī*, Part III, 183. 358
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥakam. He was a brother of *Marwān* (caliph 683-685). See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 3219; II, 194, 486; Mas'ūdī, V, 19, 200, 202. 722
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Ḥassān al-Asadī. He was probably a real person, but is mentioned in connection with a love story. 722
- 'Abd 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām, Abū Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī. He helped to transcribe the official canon of the Qur'ān. See Ziriklī, Part IV, 73. 48
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ḥassān ibn Thābit. A son of the Prophet's poet. He lived during the last half of the 7th century and was also a poet. See Khallikān, III, 347, 348, n. 20; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 159. 346, 226, 243, 357
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ḥurnuz. He was called both Abū Dā'ūd and al-A'raj, a Qur'ānic reader and authority for the Ḥadīth at al-Madīnah. He died in Alexandria 735. See Ziriklī, Part IV, 116. 87
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Isā ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ, Abū 'Ālī. He was a vizier of al-Muttaqqī (caliph 940-944) and brother of Alī ibn 'Isā. See Miskawayh, IV (I), 209(185), 378(336), 380(338); V (II), 18(18); Bowen, pp. 109, 336, 352. 282
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Isā al-Hamadhānī, Abū 'Alī. A poet and secretary of *Bakr* ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. He died 932. See Brockelmann, I, 127(133); Suppl. I, 195. 300, 370, 377
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ismā'īl. See *Waddāh* al-Yaman.
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad al-Ja'farī. A scholar and author belonging to a Shī'ī sect called al-Ja'fariyah, and living in the 10th century. 492
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Qāsim, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was probably a pupil of *Mālik*, living 750-806 and himself a jurist in Egypt. See Ṭaghīrī-Birdī, II, 137; Ziriklī, Part IV, 97. "Mālik B. Anas," *Enc. Islam*, II, 208. 495-96
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Sa'id. (1) A friend of the poet Jarīr; first half of the 8th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Afghānī*, Part VII, 55. (2) Author of a book, "White Hair and Dye," perhaps the same as No. 1. 377

- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Samurah ibn Ḥabīb ibn 'Abd Shams. A Companion of the Prophet. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 79; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 155. 222, 385
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Umar, Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣūfī. He was a great astronomer attached to 'Aḍud al-Dawlah (949-983) while he was at Shādhkūh in Jurjān. He lived about 903-986. See Sarton, I, 665; Nallino, 'Im al-Falak, p. 42. Suter, VI (1892), 74. "'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ṣūfī," *Enc. Islam*, I, 57. 669
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Wāqid. See *Wāqidī*.
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Zayd. An ascetic and a scholar of the Qur'ān at al-Baṣrah, time of al-Manṣūr (caliph 754-775). See Khallikān, III, 402. 81
- 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam. He was a conservative jurist, who died early in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (786-809). For his distinguished father, see Nawawī, p. 258. 546
- 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām, Abū Bakr. He was the traditionalist of al-San'a', who lived about 743-827. See Khallikān, II, 163; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 259; Taghri-Birdī, Part II, 143, l. 1, 202, l. 3. 203, 551
- 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Ḥassān al-Marūzī. A conservative jurist and judge, who died 825/826. See Taghri-Birdī, Part II, 191; Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part IV, 20. 546
- 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn al-Mu'adhhal, Abū al-Qāsim. A poet known for his satire, who lived at al-Baṣrah, dying 854/855. His father and his mother, al-Zarqā', were also writers of poetry. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XII, 57; Khallikān, I, 349, 354, n. 9. 294, 364
- 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Abd al-Majīd al-Thaqafī, Abū Muḥammad. He lived about 726-809, and was a scholar associated with al-Nazzām and other leaders. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 257; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 187; IV, 886. 392
- 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Alī. The secretary of Bilāl ibn Abī Burdah, who was judge of al-Baṣrah in the middle of the 8th century. 258, 274
- 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Amr al-Shalmaghānī, Abū al-Ḥusayn. He was a secretary who also composed poetry. For al-Shalmaghān, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 314. 369
- 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Aṭī al-Ijlī al-Khaffāf, Abū Naṣr. A jurist of al-Baṣrah, who went to Baghdād, dying between 204 and 206. See Baghdādī, *Khaṭīb*, Part XI, 21, sect. 5688. 551
- 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn al-Ṣabāḥ al-Madā'inī. A secretary who wrote some poetry. 366
- 'Abd al-Wāhid. See Abū Ṭāhir.
- 'Abd al-Wāhid ibn Zayd, Abū 'Ubaydah. A vendor of palm leaves, who became a preacher and ascetic at al-Baṣrah. He died 745 and was a disciple of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. See Kalābādhi, p. 12; Massignon, *Origines*, p. 192, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī al-Sarrāj, XXII (1914), 25, 322, 429. 456
- 'Abdān. An Ismā'īlī leader, and the brother-in-law of Hamdān Qarmat, during the late 9th and early 10th century. See Silvestre de Sacy, I, clxxxiv ff., Baghdādī (Halkin), pp. 110, 111, 112, with notes. 464, 468, 470, 472
- 'Abdān ibn Abī Ḥarb. A man who probably lived in the middle 9th century as al-Jāhiḡ addressed epistles to him. 409
- 'Abdūs (Ibn). See *Jahshiyārī*.
- 'Abdūs (Ibn) Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Kūfī. He was a grammarian of secondary importance, probably in the 10th century. See Ḥājj Khalīfah, index, No. 3273. 188

- 'Abdūsī (al-) Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḍarīr. He was a blind 10th century poet. Flügel adds to his name, Maṭbū'. 371
- 'Abd Wadd al-Jurhumī. He was probably a Pre-Islāmic genealogist. Flügel calls him 'Abdud, but the name must be for the pagan god Wadd. See Duryad, *Geneal.*, p. 68, bottom. 194
- 'Abd Yasū. See Ibn Bahrīz.
- Abel, son of Adam. 717, 784-86
- Abharī (al-). He was probably a 10th century secretary, perhaps Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Amr. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 106. Compare Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. 302
- 'Ābid (Ibn). An unimportant historian, unless he was the same as Ibn 'Ābid 'Umārah ibn Wathīmah, who died about 900. See Mas'ūdī, I, 11; Ḥājj Khalīfah, II, 105; Ziriklī, Part V, 194. 239
- Abiyūn al-Batriq. He was the first person in Islām to make an astrolabe of the planisphaerum or flat type. The name may be confused with that of Abū Yahyā al-Batriq, who may have helped al-Fazārī to introduce the astrolabe. The name may be for Apion. 644, 670
- Abjar (al-). 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Qāsim, Abū Ṭālib, also called Muḥammad. He was a poet and singer favored by al-Walīd (caliph 743-744). He died in Egypt. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 115. 309
- Ablīnus al-Najjār. An early mathematician of Alexandria, supposed to have written a book on which Euclid based his geometry. The name may be Apollonius, Pliny or Belinus. See Qiftī, p. 64, bottom; Cajori, p. 45; Heath, *Euclid's Elements*, I, 5 with n. 6; Wenrich, pp. 237-40. 635
- 'Abqar, a Pre-Islāmic hero and probably a poet too. See Ziriklī, Part IV, 339; Compare with 'Abqar in the bibliography. 720
- Abrahah. The Abyssinian viceroy in al-Yaman during the middle 6th century. See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 62, 64. 209
- Abrash, al-. See *Salām al-Abrash*.
- Abrash (al-). A master of penmanship during the early 'Abbāsid period. 12
- 'Absī (al-), 'Abd Allāh ibn Mūsā. He was a scholar and reader of the Qur'ān who died 828/829 and was criticized by Aḥmad ibn Ḥambal. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 426. 66, 81
- 'Absī (al-), Abū Di'āmah, called 'Alī ibn Yazīd and 'Alī ibn Burayd. He was a student of Bedouin poetry during the late 8th and early 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 129; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 907, 914. 104
- Abtīn, the father of the hero Ferīdūn. See Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, I, 144, 170 ff., IX, 53. 23
- Aḥzārī (al-). Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. A scribe, memorizer of traditions and perhaps a poet, who came from Persia to Baghdād, dying 974/975. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 90. 375
- Acron of Agrigentum. A physician of the 5th century B.C., said to have aided in stopping the plague at Athens, 473. See Sarton, I, 102; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 14-15; Gordon, p. 493. 675
- 'Adabbas (al-) al-Kinānī. An unimportant scholar of language and grammar, whose origin was among the tribes. 103
- Adam. The first man. 7, 23, 39, 42, 208, 217, 415, 717, 743, 784-86, 798
- Adam ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. A poet of secondary importance, accused of heresy. 357

- Adamī (al-), Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn (Ḥasan) ibn Muḥammad. He was an astronomer, whose name has been confused by numerous authors, perhaps mistaken for that of his son, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn. See Qifṣī, p. 282; Suter, VI (1892), 68; X (1900), 44; Steinschneider, ZDMG, XXIV (1870), 372. 663
- Adamī (al-), Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Uthmān. A pious Mu'tazilī scholar, probably living in the 9th century. See Murtaḍā, p. 58. 429
- 'Adawī (al-), Sālim ibn 'Abd Allāh. A grandson of the second caliph, famous for piety and knowledge of the Ḥadīth. He died at Makkah about 725. See Khallikān, I, 552. 316
- 'Addā' (al-) al-Ḥanafī al-Miṣrī. He was a poet of secondary importance, perhaps confused with al-'Addā' al-Muq'ad. See Durayd, *Genal.*, p. 235, bottom. 364
- Adham (abū) al-Kilābī. An unimportant tribal scholar of language. 103
- Adham (ibn). A secretary of Abū Nuḥjūm noted for good literary style. 274
- 'Adī ibn al-Riqā' (Raḡā') al-'Āmilī. His actual name was Abū Dā'ūd 'Adī ibn Zayd ibn Mālik. He was a poet of Damascus, who died 714. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VIII, 179; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 391. 346
- 'Adī ibn Waththāb al-Iyādī. An expert for the genealogy of the Iyād Tribe, during the late 7th or early 8th century. Flügel gives the name as 'Adī ibn Rūthāth. 206
- 'Adī ibn Zayd al-'Ibādī. A Christian from a noble tribe of al-Ḥīrah, who was an early 7th century poet. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part II, 18; Khallikān, I, 189, note; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 1016 ff; Mas'ūdī, II, 294; III, 205; IV, 85-86. 197, 208, 346
- 'Adlī, al-. A chess player at the court of al-Mutanawakil (caliph 847-861) and the author of the first Arabic book on chess. See Mas'ūdī, I, 161; Catra de Vaux, II, 127. 341
- 'Adnān. A legendary tribal ancestor. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 32. 129
- 'Adnān (Abū) al-Sulamī. A poet, probably in the late 8th and early 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part II, 51; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 539. 364
- 'Adnān, Abū, Ward ibn Ḥakīm, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd al-A'lā. A poet and scholar of al-Baṣrah. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulan*, p. 47. 99, 190
- 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, Fannā Khusrū. He was born at Iṣbahān 936, and controlled the 'Abbāsīd regime, 975-983. See Khallikān, II, 481; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 374; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 471; "'Aḍud al-Dawla," *Enc. Islam*, I, 143. 286, 341, 534, 585, 669
- Aedesius. A scholar from Cappadocia, who commented on Aristotle, lived at Constantinople, and retired to Pergamus in the first half of the 4th century A.D. See Qifṣī, p. 60; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 23. 614
- Aelianos, Claudius. An Italian scholar who lived at Rome and wrote on scientific subjects during the late 1st and early 2nd century. See Qifṣī, p. 65; Sartori, I, 326; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 28. 398
- Aeschines. He was the friend of Socrates, who became a teacher and philosopher of secondary importance. See Diogenes Laërtius, p. 79; Plato, *Dialogues* (Phaedo) I, 431; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 39. 623
- Aesculapius, the Greek patron of healing. See Pauly, I, 463; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 44. 594, 674, 691

- Aesculapius the Second. The teacher of Hippocrates in the 5th century B.C. Compare Herodicus and Order of Asclapiadae, in *Uṣaybi'ah*, Part I, 23; Qisfī, pp. 12, 13, 92, 93; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 46, bottom. 674-76
- 'Affān (Abū) al-Raqqī. A Mu'tazilī theologian attached to al-Nazzām, in the first half of the 9th century. See Murtaḍā, p. 78; Khayyāf, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), pp. 26, I, 4; 185, I, 1. 391
- Affār ibn Laqīf. A tribesman, noted for teaching from a dunghill. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 45. 96
- 'Āfiyah ibn Yazīd ibn Qays of al-Kūfah. He was appointed as judge of 'Askār al-Mahdī 777/778. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 485, 491, 529. 741
- 'Afrā' bint Mālik. An Arab girl. For her poet lover, see 'Urwah ibn Hizām. 719
- Agathodaemon. A legendary wise man. See Lippmann, p. 60, Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 10, 18, 177-78, 202, etc.; II, 180-83; III, 257 ff.; *Origines de l'Alchimie*, pp. 136, 255, bottom. 746, 849
- Aghanūn (Aghanūr in Flügel edition). He was probably either Agenor the father of Cadmus, or Echion, one of his five companions. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 3. 28
- Aghlab (Ibn al-). The name of members of the dynasty founded by Ibrāhīm ibn al-Aghlab in what today is Tunisia at the beginning of 9th century. The last member, Ziyād al-Allāh, was overthrown by the Fāṭimid revolution of 909. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 451. 38
- Aḥmad. A poet or hero of poetry, known for his love of *Dāḥak*. 719
- Aḥmad (Abū). See 'Abbās (al-) ibn al-Ḥasan; *Karnih*; *Karkhi*.
- Aḥmad (Abū) ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yazdād. He was a secretary who completed his father's history to the year 913; for his father, see Abū Ṣāliḥ. 271
- Aḥmad, Abū ibn al-Ḥallāb, a grammarian and editor of poetry, 10th century. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 238. 189
- Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh. The name ascribed to grandsons of Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il and of *Maymūn al-Qaddāb*. See footnotes given with the translation. 464
- Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Rashīd al-Kātib. A secretary and poet, perhaps the same as Aḥmad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh who was in charge of the police during the late 9th or early 10th century. See Ṣābi, *Wuzurā'*, p. 122. 370
- Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām. A protégé of Hārūn al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809), who translated Hebrew and Ṣābian books into Arabic. Compare 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām. 41-43
- Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sayf, Abū Bakr. He quoted the works of al-Shāfi'ī from an Egyptian jurist, who died 883/884. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 2441, note a; Flügel edition, note 2 for p. 211; Shīrāzī, Part II (Husaynī), p. 14. 177, 517, 519
- Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Nawbakhtī (Nūbakhtī), Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was a secretary who composed poetry. For spelling of Nawbakhtī, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 307, n. 3. 370
- Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. See Abū *Dulaf*.
- Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad. A poet of the late 8th and early 9th century. For his brother, see *Raqashī*. 360
- Aḥmad ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Barqī, Abū Ja'far. A ruan of al-Kūfah, who was a Shī'ī scholar and died about 887. For his father, see *Muḥammad ibn Khālid ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān*. See Ṭūsī, p. 37, sect. 74; Ziriklī, Part I, 194. 539

- Aḥmad ibn Abī Duwād (Du'ād). He was brought up in the provinces, becoming a judge, poet, and Mu'tazilī leader at the time of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833) but dispossessed by al-Mutawakkil, dying 854. See Khallikān, I, 61; Mas'ūdī, VII, 214-19; Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), pp. 224, 225; Jār Allāh, pp. 171, 181, 233 ff. 18, 124, 217, 227, 409-10, 411, 509, 734
- Aḥmad ibn Abī Fanan al-Kātib. A scribe or secretary, probably associated with the poet Ibn al-Rūmī. Fligel gives the father's name as Abū Qasr. 366
- Aḥmad ibn Abī Khālid al-Aḥwal. A secretary who was promoted to be a vizier by al-Ma'mūn. He died 825. See Khallikān, I, 20, n. 9, and p. 653; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1038, 1042, 1064, 1065, 1075. He may be the same as a 9th century penman. See Mas'ūdī, VII, 64. 12, 396
- Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Najm. A poet of the first half of the 9th century. His nickname is uncertain, probably Abū al-Zumayl. Compare Pellat, p. 158. 322
- Aḥmad ibn Abī Salamah. A poet and secretary, perhaps an uncle of the traditionalist Aḥmad ibn Salamah, who died 899. See Isma'il, Part I, 53. 367
- Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir, Abū al-Faḍl. He lived about 819-893 and was a man of Persian origin, who became a teacher, paper dealer, and author at Baghdād. See Khallikān, I, 291, note; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 320; IV, 870. 270, 273, 320, 724
- Aḥmad ibn Abī Uthmān, Abū Ja'far, al-Kātib. He was of secondary importance. 358, 367
- Aḥmad ibn al-'Alawiyah al-Iṣbahānī. A secretary who composed some poetry. 369
- Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Mādhara'i Abū 'Alī. A poet and probably a secretary from al-Mādhara'yā attached to the Ṭūlūn dynasty. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 381. 369
- Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Isā. A maker of scientific instruments, probably a son of a 9th century astrolabe manufacturer. 672
- Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Khiyār al-Kātib. A secretary who wrote poetry. The grandfather's name is taken from the Tonk MS. 369
- Aḥmad ibn 'Alī (ibn Qays) ibn al-Mukhtār. See Ibn Waḥshīyah.
- Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim. He was a court favorite and scholar at the time of al-Muntaṣir (caliph 861-862), called both Abū 'Isā and Abū al-Ḥasan. See Mas'ūdī, VII, 309; Tha'ālibī, Part II, 295. 316, 408, 695
- Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Rāzī, Abū Bakr. A Ḥanafī jurist and author of legal works, who died 980/981. See Wafā', Part I, 84; Ḥājj Khalīfah, V, 445. 514
- Aḥmad ibn Bishr ibn 'Āmir, Abū Ḥamid al-Marwarrūdhī. A Shāfi'ī jurist, who became judge of al-Baṣrah and died 972/973. See Shīrāzī, Part II (Ḥusaynī), 27; Nawawī, p. 692. Ḥājj Khalīfah, II, 430, 578; V, 460. 526
- Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥajjāj. (1) A scholar who died 938/939. See Taghri-Birdī, Part II, 237. (2) The father of a famous poet. See Khallikān, I, 448. 363
- Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥallāb. He edited the poetry of al-Nāwī in the late 10th century. The father's name may not be correctly spelled. 372
- Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdūn ibn Isma'il, Abū 'Abd Allāh. A poet and court favorite, probably during the last part of the 9th century, at Baghdād. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 660; III, 879. 316, 409
- Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, 780-855. The great defender of orthodoxy and the founder of the Ḥanbalī school of law who was persecuted by the caliphs al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'tasim. See Khallikān, Vol. I, 44. 82, 150, 151, 553, 554

- Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Mubārak al-Khazzāz. A Baghdād historian who died 872. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 715; Ziriklī, Part I, 104. 227, 202, 221
- Aḥmad ibn Iḥtīm, Abū Naṣr. A disciple and perhaps a nephew of al-Aṣmaʿī, called al-Bāhilī, who died 845/846. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 130; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 197, 198. 121
- Aḥmad ibn Hilāl al-Bakīl. See Ibn Hilāl.
- Aḥmad ibn Hishām al-Marwazī. He was an officer in the army of Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, who wrote poetry and was a friend of Ishāq al-Mawṣilī, dying 832/833. See Balādhuri, *Origins*, pp. 488-89; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 67; XVII, 147; Ṭabari, *Annales*, Part III, 799-800. 363
- Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bardhaʿī, Abū Saʿīd. The leading Ḥanafī jurist of al-ʿIrāq during his time. He was killed on the pilgrimage, 929/930. See Taghribī-Birdī, Part III, 226; Wafāʾ, Part I, 66. 513
- Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt. He was surnamed Abū Ṭālib and associated with the alchemists and workers of magic in the 10th century. 732
- Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū al-Ḥasan. A grammarian who taught *Thaʿlab*, probably between 830 and 840 at Baghdād. He was also known as a calligrapher. Compare Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl. 176
- Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAmmī, Abū Bishr. A Shīʿī scholar who died in the last half of the 10th century and was nicknamed for Murrah ibn Mālik ibn Zayd Manāh as explained in Ziriklī, Part VIII, 92; see also Ṭūsī, p. 21, sect. 37, bottom. 490
- Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Dāʿūd al-ʿAbartāʿī. A secretary and poet, probably from ʿAbartāʿ between Baghdād and al-Wāsiṭ. For this name, which is confused by Flügel, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 604. 101, 368
- Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl. See Ibn Ḥamdūn.
- Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Dāʿūd, Abū al-Ḥasan. He was a secretary and poet during the period of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī (754-785). See Ṭabari, *Annales*, Part III, 439, 597; ʿAskarī, Part I, 232; II, 219; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XII, 110. 176
- Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Farajī. A Shāfiʿī jurist and expert for the division of inheritance. 527
- Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Warrāq. A scribe and book dealer who wrote a book about spelling in the Qurʾān, and was perhaps a friend of the author of "Al-Fihrist." 80
- Aḥmad ibn ʿIsā ibn Shaykh. He was a general who took Mārdīn with its large treasure, 892/893, and died six years later. See Ṭabari, *Annales*, Part III, 2134, 2137; Taghribī-Birdī, III, 80, 116. 368, 482, 627
- Aḥmad ibn Ishāq. A converted Jew who contributed information about the Torah. 43
- Aḥmad ibn Ishāq al-Ḥarrānī. An astrolabe maker, probably a Ṣābīan living in the 9th century. 671
- Aḥmad ibn Ishāq al-Khārijī. A poet of secondary importance. 362
- Aḥmad ibn Ismāʿīl. See *Nasf al-Ḥaḥ*.
- Aḥmad ibn Isrāʾīl. He was from the region of al-Anbār and served in government positions and as vizier to al-Muʿtazz, dying 869. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 87, 866; IV, 381, 798; Ṭabari, *Annales*, Part III, 1694, 1706. 408

- Aḥmad ibn Ja'far. A 10th century worker of magic. 730
- Aḥmad ibn Jubayr ibn Naṣr. A mosque reader at Damascus, perhaps the man from Aleppo mentioned by Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 372. 67
- Aḥmad ibn Junayd al-Iskāfī. He was a military officer who helped to defeat Bābāk, 824/825. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1072, 1233; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 187. 512
- Aḥmad ibn Kānūl, Abū 'Abd Allāh. A secretary and poet, perhaps the judge who was born in Syria 848. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 270; III, 288, l. 16. 370
- Aḥmad ibn Khalaf. An astrolabe maker, middle 9th century. 671
- Aḥmad ibn Khālīd al-Mādhārā'i, Abū al-Ḥusayn. He was a secretary who wrote poetry. For his town, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 381. 370
- Aḥmad ibn Khālīd al-Ri'yāshī. A secretary who wrote poetry; perhaps he was Abū al-Wazīr, a high official during the time of al-Mu'taṣim and al-Mutawakkil (833–861). See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1179, 1335, 1368, 1378 ff. 368
- Aḥmad ibn al-Khaṣīb. He was a man to whom al-Jāhiz addressed an epistle, probably in the middle 9th century. 409
- Aḥmad ibn al-Mu'adhḡhal. A poet and Mu'tazilī scholar and a brother of the poet 'Abd al-Ṣamad. He originated at al-Baṣrah, and lived in the first half of the 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XII, 57, 69; Khallikān, I, 354, n. 9. 80, 82, 364
- Aḥmad ibn Mudabbir, whose true name was Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ('Ubayd) Allāh. He was a poet and government official, who worked in Palestine and Egypt, dying 883. Perhaps his father's name should be spelled al-Mudabbhar. See Khallikān, IV, 388; Maṣ'ūdī, VIII, 13. 270, 365, 367, 409
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. A 10th century poet from Antioch. His final name is not given correctly, it may be al-Baḡhī. 372
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Dīnawārī, Abū al-'Abbās (Abū al-Ḥasan). He was an ascetic who lived at Naysābūr, but died at Samarra 952/953. See Sha'rānī, Part I, 104; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 308. 461
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib. A mathematician at Baghdād, who wrote a book for Muḥammad ibn Mūsā, during the first half or middle 9th century. See Tūqān, p. 211; Suter, VI (1892), 38. 666
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kātib, Abū al-Faraj. An official in the government of *Rukn al-Dawlah* (Buwayh ruler 932–976) and a writer of essays. See Khallikān, III, 260. 378
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Naṣr al-Bazantī, Abū Ja'far. He was a Shī'ī scholar and author and a friend of the 8th Shī'ī Imām, al-Riḍā. He died 836. See Tūsī, p. 36, sect. 72; Ziriklī, Part I, 192. 537
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Dīlān. A man who composed popular stories, about 900 A.D. 724
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Furāt. See Ibn al-Furāt.
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥajjāj. See *Marwazī*.
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Hānū, Abū Bakr al-Athram. He was a jurist associated with Aḥmad ibn Hanbal. He died soon after 900. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 166; Baghdād (Khaṣīb), Part V, 110, sect. 2520; Ziriklī, Part I, 194. 554
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā al-Qummī, Abū Ja'far. He was a Shī'ī who wrote about medicine, probably about its legal aspects, in the middle of the 9th century. See Tūsī, p. 46, sect. 82. 541

- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Hamadhānī, Abū 'Abd Allāh, called Ibn al-Faḡlī. He was a man of letters who probably died 893/894. See Ḥājj Khalīfah, V, 510; Mas'ūdī, VIII, 209; see also Yāqūt, *Geog.*, index for many references. 337
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Kathīr. See *Faḡhānī*.
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mudabbir. See *Aḥmad* ibn al-Mudabbir.
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mutawakkil. He was a secretary and poet. Although he lived in Egypt, he may have been a grandson of al-Mutawakkil (caliph, 847-900). 370
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Salāmah al-Ṭahāwī, Abū Ja'far. He was a distinguished Egyptian jurist, who lived about 853-934. See *Wafā'*, Part I, 102; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 516; Taghri-Birdī, Part III, 239, 242, top. 506, 512, 513-14
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Šālīḥ. See *Manṣūrī* (al-).
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yahyā ibn Abī al-Baḡhl, Abū al-Ḥusayn. A secretary summoned from Persia to work for al-Muqtadir (caliph, 908-932). For the ancestor, see *Baghl*. 301
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib. A secretary and poet. The different texts give an unidentified name for the grandfather. 368
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭālaqānī, Abū Bakr. He was a secretary who wrote some poetry. For his town, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 491. 369
- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ushmūnī. A man who told a story about trying to open up the pyramid. The name probably comes from Ushmūn in Upper Egypt. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 283; Taghri-Birdī, Part I, 38; III, 196, note. 846
- Aḥmad ibn Mūsā. A Shāfi'ī scholar, probably of the late 9th century. For his brother, see *Ḥarūrī* al-Jawharī. 522
- Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Shākīr. A patron of science and translation at the time of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833); see Banū Mūsā. See also Qifṭī, pp. 315, 441-42; Sarton, I, 560-61; Tūḡān, pp. 187-94. 584, 637, 645, 646, 680
- Aḥmad ibn Najīb, Abū al-Ḥusayn. He was an unimportant author of a book on a religious subject. 376
- Aḥmad ibn al-Najīm. He was called by Flügel al-Munajjim and was a government secretary, who composed a small anthology of essays. 267
- Aḥmad ibn Naṣr. See *Abū Bakr*.
- Aḥmad ibn Sa'd al-Iṣbahānī al-Kātib, Abū al-Ḥasan. He was a secretary and author who died 961. See Ismā'īl, p. 63. 378
- Aḥmad ibn Sahl. See *Abū Zayd*, al-Balkhī.
- Aḥmad ibn Sahl. An unimportant grammarian omitted in the Beatty MS, perhaps the Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān, mentioned by Zubaydī, p. 225. 177
- Aḥmad ibn Sahl ibn Hāshim. He was a nobleman of Khurāsān, who served Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, but turned against him and died in prison at Bukhārā, 919. See "Aḥmad ibn Sahl," *Enc. Islam*, I, 190. 425
- Aḥmad ibn Sahl al-Ushnānī, Abū al-'Abbās. He taught the Qur'ān at Baghdād during the early 10th century. For his pupil, see Abū Ṭāhir, 'Abd al-Wāhid; for Ushnān, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 284. 73
- Aḥmad ibn Sa'id. (1) Aḥmad ibn Sa'id ibn 'Abd Allāh, Abū al-Ḥasan of Damascus, who died 918/919 and was a tutor of the sons of al-Mu'tazz' (caliph 866-869). (2) Aḥmad ibn Sa'id ibn Shāhūn of al-Baḡrah. He was a grammarian during the first part of the 9th century. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 133-34. 163

- Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd al-Bāhilī. A political leader, defeated during the reign of al-Mu'taṣim (caliph 833-842). He was perhaps Abū 'Amr, to whom al-Jāhiz addressed an epistle. See Pellat, p. 39. 408
- Aḥmad ibn Ṣalīḥ ibn Shīrẓād al-Kātib. He was a secretary and poet who served al-Musta'in (caliph 862-866) as vizier, but fled from al-Mu'tamid. See Mas'ūdī, VII, 324, 369; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1531, 1927. 369
- Aḥmad ibn Sayyār al-Jurjānī. A poet at the time of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVII, 31. 360
- Aḥmad ibn Shākīr. See Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Shākīr.
- Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān ibn Wahb, Abū al-Faḍl. A government official, who wrote some poetry. He was imprisoned 876/879. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1930. 369
- Aḥmad ibn Ṭāhir. (1) Aḥmad ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Najm, Abū 'Aḥd Allāh of Syria; (2) Aḥmad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad, Abū 'Alī, al-Farajīnī al-Qumsānī, of the late 9th and early 10th century. Both were scholars. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 560, bottom; III, 835; IV, 681. 327
- Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib, whose full name was Aḥmad ibn Muḥannad ibn Marwān ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī, Abū al-'Abbās. He was a pupil of al-Kindī, who became a well-known philosopher; executed by al-Mu'taḍid, 899/900. See Qifī, p. 77; Sarton, I, 597; Mas'ūdī, VIII, 179; Rosenthal, Aḥmad B. al-Ṭayyib, pp. 13-136. For "Sarakhsī," see Khallikān, II, 475. 326, 377-78, 599, 602, 626-28, 705, 742, 746-49
- Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, Abū al-'Abbās. He was born at Sāmarrā, 835, appointed as governor of Egypt, 868, became autonomous ruler of Egypt and Syria, dying at Cairo 884. See Khallikān, I, 20. 369, 512
- Aḥmad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ammār al-Thaqafī, Abū al-'Abbās. A Shī'ī secretary, who served as vizier to numerous caliphs, dying 926. See Ṣābi, *Wuzurā'*, p. 223; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VI, 157, bottom, also 158; Ziriklī, Part I, 160; Khallikān, III, 674, bottom. 325
- Aḥmad ibn 'Umar. See *Karābīsī*; also *Surayy*.
- Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn Muḥayr. See *Khaṣṣaf*.
- Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn Shabbah, Abū Ṭāhir. A poet of al-Baṣrah, who died about 976 and was the son of a well-known scholar. 246, 247
- Aḥmad ibn Umayyah ibn Abī Umayyah. He was a poet; for his grandfather who died 613, see *Umayyah*. 358
- Aḥmad ibn al-Wizīr. He was appointed judge of Sāmarrā 865 and was perhaps a son of Aḥmad ibn Khālīd. See Abū al-Wizīr. See also Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1534. 378
- Aḥmad ibn Yahyā ibn 'Alī ibn Yahyā ibn Abī Manṣūr al-Munajjim. He was Abū al-Ḥasan, a Mu'tazilī theologian and court employee at Baghdād, in the last half of the 9th century. See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 225; Khallikān, IV, 85. 314, 381, 408, 428, 566
- Aḥmad ibn Yazīd al-Muḥallabī. He was a friend of al-Šūfī during the late 9th and early 10th century. For his well-known father, see *Yazīd* ibn Muḥammad. 399
- Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, Abū Ja'far. An Egyptian mathematician and astrologer, who died about 912. See Qifī, p. 78; Sarton, I, 598; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L. (1896), 374. 275, 640

- Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, Abū Ja'far, al-Kātib. A government secretary and poet of al-Kūfah, who died during the reign of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). See Khallikān, I, 271, n. 12; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XX, 56; Taghri-Birdi, Part II, 206.
267, 269, 275, 276, 330, 363, 366-67, 378
- Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, Abū al-Jahm. A poet at the time of al-Mutawakkil (caliph 847-861), noted for his literary style.
367
- Aḥmad ibn Zayd al-Shurūṭī, Abū Zayd. An 'Irāqī jurist and author of legal books. See Wafā', Part I, 68; Ḥājj Khalīfah, IV, 45.
513
- Aḥmad ibn Zuhayr ibn Ḥarb ibn Abī Khaythamah, Abū Bakr. A Ḥaṇbalī jurist, who died at Baghdād 892/893. See Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part I, 174; Ziriklī, Part I, 123. Compare Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), IV, 165, sect. 1843.
93, 242, 300, 555
- Aḥmadī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ. A grammarian and penman, who was first at Baghdād and later in Egypt. Flügcl calls him al-Asadī; probably an error.
177
- Aḥmar (al-) Abū Zakariyā'. An unimportant tribal scholar of language and grammar.
103, 160
- Aḥmar (Ibn). He was a poet of early Islām. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 8, n. 3. Compare Ibn al-Aḥmar, mentioned by Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIII, 144, l. 12.
735
- Ahron (Ahran) al-Qass. A Christian physician of Alexandria, during the early period of Islām, who wrote treatises on medicine and alchemy in Syria. See Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 109, l. 15; Qifī, p. 80, l. 10; Gregorius, pp. 92, 112, top; Füch, *Ambix*, p. 120 (34).
698, 850-52
- Aḥwal (al-). (1) al-Muḥarrir. A scribe employed by the *Barnak* family and an authority for scripts; (2) Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Dīnār. A scholar and copyist of the middle 9th century. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 33; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 482. These two men may be the same person.
16, 174, 344, 347
- Aḥwaṣ (al-), 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. He was a poet exiled by 'Umar II to the Dahlak Island in the Red Sea, but later released. He died 723. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IV, 40; Khallikān, I, 526, n. 5; Ziriklī, Part IV, 257.
243, 311, 720
- Ahwāzī (al-), Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū Bakr. An author at the time of al-Muqtadir (caliph 908-932), who was interested in bees. See Tanūkhī, p. 84, l. 3.
339, 378
- 'Ā'idh ibn Abī 'Ā'idh. A reader of the Qur'ān, according to the system of *Ḥamzah*.
66
- 'Ā'ishah. The daughter of Abū Bakr and wife of the Prophet Muḥammad.
201, 203, 438
- 'Ā'ishah (Ibn). See Muḥammad ibn 'Ā'ishah.
- 'Ajjāj (al-) Abū Shāthā' 'Abd Allāh ibn Ru'bah. He was a man of al-Baṣrah, who was a master of rajaz verse. He died early in the 8th century. See Khallikān, I, 527; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 374. For his son, see Ru'bah.
252, 348
- Ajurri (al-). See Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Ubayd Allāh.
- 'Akawwak (al-). See 'Alī ibn Jabalah.
- Akhfash (al-), the Elder (al-Kabīr), Abū al-Khaṭṭāb 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. He was a

grammarian and teacher from al-Baṣrah during the latter part of the 8th century. See Khallikān, II, 244; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 35; Suyūfī, *Bughyat*, p. 296.

111, 112, 139

Akhfash (al-), the Middle (al-Awsat), Abū al-Ḥasan Sa'īd ibn Masa'dah al-Mujāshī'. He was a famous grammarian of al-Baṣrah, who made known the work of *Sibawayh*. He died 830/831. See Khallikān, I, 572.

76, 77, 79, 113, 114, 123, 126, 129, 137, 364

Akhfash (al-), the Younger (al-Aṣghar), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Sulaymān. He was a grammarian who traveled in Egypt, 900, visited Aleppo, and died at Baghdād, 927/928, in poverty. See Khallikān, II, 244.

139, 182

Akhnas ibn Sharīq al-Thaqafī. A man noted for withdrawing from helping the Prophet at the Battle of Badr. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 185; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 76, I, 2; Wāqidi (Jones), I, 44, 45, 200, 361; II, 624, 628.

230

Akhḡal (al-), Abū Mālik Ghiyāth ibn Ghawth. He was the famous Christian poet, at the court of 'Abd al-Malik (caliph 685-705). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VII, 169; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 301.

173, 348

Aklāt al-Yarābī. A man who gave information to Ibn al-Sikkīt about the dialects of Southern 'Irāq.

126

Akḥam ibn Sayfī. A Pre-Islāmic sage, who accepted Islām, and died about 630. See Zirikli, Part I, 344.

358

'Alā' (Abū al-). A pupil of the Mu'tazilī scholar Ibn al-Ikshīd, during the first half of the 10th century.

432

'Alā' (Abū al-) ibn Abī al-Ḥusayn Islāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Karnīb. He was a scholar of geometry, who went to Baghdād 959/960. See Qifī, pp. 169, I, 8; 288, I, 2; Suter, VI (1898), 59; X (1900), 49. For his brother, see *Karnīb*.

629, 649

'Alā' (al-) ibn 'Aṣīm al-Ghassānī. The author of some poetry.

363

'Alāqah ibn Karsham al-Kilābī. A scholar of Arabian genealogy and folklore, during the last half of the 7th century.

194

'Alawī (al-) al-Baṣrī. See 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, Ṣāhib al-Zanj.

'Alawī (al-) Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd Allāh. A descendant of 'Alī, who revolted against the 'Abbāsids and fled to Persia, dying 796. See Zirikli, Part IX, 190.

225

'Albā. An agent of Ziyādat Allāh ibn al-Aghlab, who brought a proposal of marriage from a Frankish queen to al-Muktafi (caliph 902-908).

38

Albinus. A philosopher of Smyrna, who was the principal teacher of *Galen* in his youth, about 145 A.D. See Pansy, I (1), 649; Gordon, p. 698; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 93.

680

Alexander of Aphrodisias. The most celebrated of the commentators on *Aristotle*, and director of the Lyceum during the late 2nd and early 3rd century A.D. See Qifī, p. 54; Sarton, I, 318; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 112.

599-609, 610, 614, 630, 681

Alexander the Great (Iskander Dhū al-Qarnayn), 356-323 B.C.

258, 574-75, 591, 595-96, 608, 693, 714, 737, 853

Alexander of Tralles (Alexandrus Trallianus), 525-605 A.D. He was a Byzantine physician, who traveled extensively, settling at Rome. See Qifī, p. 55; Sarton, I, 453; Wenrich, p. 290; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 126.

690, 849

Alexandrus. A patron of alchemy. Compare Alexander, Berthelot, *Origines*, pp. 131, 140, 144; Ruska (10), pp. 29, 32.

851

'Alī. See 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

- 'Alī (Abū). See *Muḥammad* ibn 'Alī ibn Muḡlah; also Ibn *Sawwār*.
- 'Alī (Abū) al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Naṣr. He wrote about the sequence of the Qur'ān. As the name is not in the Beatty MS, it may have been inserted later and may refer to the 12th century poet and scholar of this name. xvix, 83
- 'Alī (Abū) ibn Hammām al-Iskafī. A scribe or scholar, whose transcriptions are quoted in connection with Shī'ī jurists. 538, 540, 542
- 'Alī (Abū) ibn Zur'ah. A scholar who translated Greek scientific works. See Qifṭī, pp. 41, l. 19; 301, l. 20. 605
- 'Alī (Abū) al-Yamāmī, probably also called al-Ruhnū. He was a tribal scholar of language, late in the 9th and early 10th century. 104
- 'Alī al-Aswārī, Abū 'Alī. A Mu'tazilī scholar, who became attached to al-Naẓẓām, probably during the early 9th century. See Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 187, and n. 4; Murtaḍā, p. 72; Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, Nyberg, pp. 20, 183. 429
- 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Nawbakhtī (Nūbakhtī), Abū al-Ḥasan. He was a poet and secretary, who died in old age 939. For the spelling Nawbakhtī, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 307, n. 3. See also Ziriklī, Part V, 111. 370
- 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He was the grandfather of the first two 'Abbāsid caliphs and died 735. See Khallikān, II, 216; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 289. 221-22
- 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marzahān, Abū al-Ḥasan. He lived at Makkah and died about 900. He was a Qur'ān reader. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 247. 157
- 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad al-Dawlābī. A jurist, author, and disciple of al-Ṭabarī, in the middle 10th century. For Dawlāb (Dūlāb), see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 622. 565
- 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jarjārī, Abū al-Ḥasan. He was a secretary who composed some poetry. The Beatty and Touk MSS say he was blind. For his town, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 54. 369
- 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Karīm. A poet and secretary. Compare Abū al-Ḥasan. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 58, l. 5. 368
- 'Alī ibn Abī Kathīr, a man of secondary importance who wrote poetry. 263
- 'Alī ibn Abī al-Qāsim, Abū al-Ḥasan. An unimportant astrologer. For his father, see *Amāḡīr*. See Suter, VI (1892), 68; X (1900), 49. 662
- 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet's son-in-law, who became the fourth caliph (656-661). xvi, 62-63, 87, 436, 565
- 'Alī ibn Ādam of al-Kūfah. He and Manhalah, whom he loved, were the subjects of numerous poems. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIV, 51, 52. 720
- 'Alī ibn Aḥmad, see *Anṭakī*, al-.
- 'Alī ibn Aḥmad. A geometrician and maker of astrolabes, 9th century. See Suter, VI (1892), 41, 42; X (1900), 40. 671
- 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Sayyār al-Mādhara'i; 'Alī ibn Muḥammad in Flügel text. He was a secretary who wrote poetry. The name may be Sīr instead of Sayyār. For his town of origin, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 381. 370
- 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-'Imrānī. A mathematician and teacher from al-Mawṣil, who died 955/956. See Qifṭī, p. 233; Ṭūqān, p. 254; Sartou, I, 632, 669; Suter, VI (1892), 39; X (1900), 56. 635, 667
- 'Alī ibn 'Arūnār. A man of secondary importance, who criticized the poetry of Abū *Tammām* and was himself criticized by al-*Āmidī*. 340
- 'Alī ibn al-A'rābī. See Ibn al-A'rābī.

- 'Alī ibn al-'Aṣb, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Malḥī. He quoted the poems of Ibn al-Rūmī, learning them from *Mithqal*; his name is not in the Beatty MS. 366
- 'Alī ibn Ayyūb. He was the brother of the Mu'tazilī scholar al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb and perhaps, like him, a theologian. 433
- 'Alī ibn Bilāl ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Aḥmad al-Muhallabī, Abū al-Ḥasan. A Shī'ī jurist. See Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part IV, 208; Tūṣī, p. 234, sect. 505 (giving 'Alī ibn Hilāl); Shahrashūb, p. 59, sect. 445. 541
- 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd. An astrologer, probably during the 9th century. See Suter, VI (1892), 66; X (1900), 38. 659
- 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd. The secretary of *Zubaydah*, the queen of al-Rashīd (caliph, 786-809). He may be the same man as the 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd, who follows. 264, 715-16
- 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd. A writer of fables. 724
- 'Alī ibn al-Furāt. See Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Furāt.
- 'Alī ibn Ghurāb. A Shī'ī jurist and judge called 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who died 800. See Tūṣī, p. 226, sect. 489; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 117, 339. 536
- 'Alī ibn Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan al-Iṣbahānī. A 9th century scholar, who edited the poetry of Abū Nuwās and other poets. See Khallikān, 352. 353, 365
- 'Alī ibn Hārūn ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr al-Munajjim, Abū al-Ḥasan. He was a poet who lived from 890 to 963. See Khallikān, II, 313. 315-16
- 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Faḍḍāl. A learned Shī'ī scholar of the school of al-Kūfah, who wrote about many of the sciences. See Tūṣī, p. 216, sect. 469. 81
- 'Alī ibn Hishām. A poet living at the time of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833) and associated with Ishāq al-Mawṣilī. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 72, 103; VII, 25. 309
- 'Alī ibn Hishām. He was a general who fought in the Eastern provinces, executed by al-Ma'mūn, 832. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 190, 209, 213; Tabarī, *Annales*, see index for many references. 265, 363
- 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn. He married a descendant of Ibn Thawābah in the middle of the 9th century and was involved in a suit about property. 283-84
- 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn. An Egyptian secretary and poet. 368
- 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn. The postmaster of al-Sūs, who arrested al-Ḥallāj in 913. See Massignon, *Hallāj*, I, 229. 477
- 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, Abū al-Ḥasan. He was called Zayn al-'Ābidīn and was the fourth Shī'ī Imām, who died about 712. See Khallikān, II, 209; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. 485, 535, 539
- 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā ibn Bābawayh, Abū al-Ḥasan. A leading Shī'ī jurist at Qumm in the middle of the 10th century. For name Bābawayh, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 166; Tabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 1572; Ziriklī, Part V, 87. 487
- 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Qurashī. A man probably of the late 9th century who quoted the works of the grammarians. 150
- 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dahakī. A patron of the translating of scientific books. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 634. 588
- 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Qummī. A Shī'ī jurist. See Tūṣī, p. 209, sect. 451. 81, 540
- 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Mu'allā. He was a Shī'ī jurist and author. See Tūṣī, p. 209, sect. 450. MS 1934 has Ya'lā instead of Ma'allā. 536
- 'Alī ibn 'Isā. An apprentice of al-Marwarrūdī, who made astrolabes in the middle 9th century. Suter X (1900), 13. 671

- 'Alī ibn 'Isā al-Hāshimī. He was a great-grandson of al-Manṣūr (caliph 754-775). He died at Makkah, 852/853, while on the pilgrimage. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1414, 1419. 243
- 'Alī ibn 'Isā ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāh, Abū al-Ḥasan. He lived from 859 to 945 and was a famous vizier noted for his honesty and skill. He was dismissed and reappointed numerous times. See Bowen, *Life and Times of Ali ibn Isa*; "Ibn al-Djarrāh," *Enc. Islam*, II, 371; Miskawayh, VII, 13 of index for many references. 17, 77, 80, 281, 282, 286, 426, 474, 524, 772
- 'Alī ibn Ishāq. He was a poet or hero of poetry, known for his love of *Sunnah*. 720
- 'Alī ibn Ishāq al-Barmakī. He was an unimportant member of the famous *Barmak* Family, to whom *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān* dedicated a book, probably in the last half of the 8th century. 857
- 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl. See Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Ash'arī*.
- 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ḥarb. He edited a book of Ibn Durayd, *probably* during the first half of the 10th century. 134
- 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ishāq, Abū al-Ḥasan, 874-936. He lived at al-Baṣrah. He was at first a Mu'tazilī, but later orthodox. He was a prolific writer, who died at Baghdād. See Ziriklī, Part V, 69. 377
- 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl (ibn Šālih) ibn Mitham al-Tamimī. He was the first of the Imāmiyah to speak about theology. See Ṭūsī, p. 212, sect. 458; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 249, 254, 287, bottom. 437, 705
- 'Alī ibn Jabalah, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Anbārī. He was called al-'Akawwak and was a poet at the time of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 100; Khallikān, II, 290; Sarakhsī, p. 102. 363
- 'Alī ibn al-Jahm al-Sāmī, Abū al-Ḥasan. He was summoned to Baghdād by al-Ma'mūn and became the court poet, but was exiled to Khurāsān by al-Mutawakkil and killed by bandits 863. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 104; Khallikān, II, 294; Mas'ūdī, VII, 193, 249, 279. 331, 654
- 'Alī ibn al-Khalīl, Abū al-Ḥasan. A poet imprisoned by al-Mahdī for suspected heresy but restored by al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIII, 14; Khallikān, II, 466. 357, 804
- 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far. He was a leading authority for the Ḥadīth from al-Baṣrah. Al-Nadīm says he died at Sāmarrā, 871/872, but others give 848/849. See Nawawī, p. 443; Khallikān, II, 241, 242, n. 6; Ziriklī, Part V, 118. 556
- 'Alī ibn al-Mahdī. See *Kasrūwī*.
- 'Alī ibn al-Maṣṣīṣī. See *Maṣṣīṣī*.
- 'Alī ibn al-Mubārīk. A reader of the Qur'ān and pupil of al-Kisā'ī, called by the Beatty MS al-Lihyānī, for which name see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 353. 67
- 'Alī ibn al-Minghūrah. See *Athram*.
- 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, Abū Bakr al-Khurāsānī, al-Šūfī. He was called al-Sā'il al-'Alawī, a descendant of the Prophet, who wandered in the Eastern provinces and wrote on alchemy, probably during the 10th century. See Fück, *Ambix*, pp. 108, 141. 850, 866
- 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, Abū al-Ḥasan, called Ibn Abī Ja'far. He was probably a friend of the author of "Al-Fihrist," who told him an anecdote. 399
- 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-'Askarī, Abū al-Ḥasan al-'Alawī, called al-Ḥādī. He was the

- tenth Shī'i Imām, born at al-Madīnah, 829, lived at al-'Askar, died 868. See Khallikān, II, 214; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 342; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. 378, 483, 489, 542
- 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. See *Misrī*.
- 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Fayyāḍ, Abū al-Ḥasan. He was a secretary who composed an anthology of poetry. 370
- 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr. See *Bassām*.
- 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim. See Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Tunji.
- 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'd. He wrote a book on Byzantine agriculture. He was probably the son of Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, secretary of al-Wāqidi, who died 844/845. 377
- 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sadaqah. He was from al-Kūfah and quoted an anecdote about Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim, who lived from 773 to 838. 157
- 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd. See Ibn al-Kifī.
- 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, Ṣāhib al-Zanj, al-'Alawī al-Baṣrī. He claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet and was chief of the Zanj, who revolted. He was executed 883/884. See Khallikān, II, 11, n. 4; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 467; Mas'ūdī, VIII, 31-33, 57-61. 186, 279, 660
- 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Tustarī, Abū al-Qāsim. A secretary who wrote some poetry. The Tonk MS gives the final name clearly. 370
- 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Kāzim. See al-Riḍa.
- 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Qummī, Abū al-Ḥasan. He was a Ḥanafī jurist of al-'Irāq, who died 917/918. See Wafā', Part I, 380; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 177; Ziriklī, Part V, 178. 512-13
- 'Alī ibn Ra'ab, Abū al-Ḥasan of al-Kūfah. A Shī'i jurist and author, whose name is written incorrectly in MS 1934 and the Tonk MS. See Tūsi, p. 221, sect. 474. 536
- 'Alī ibn Rabal (Raban), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Sahl ibn Rabal al-Ṭabarī. He was the son of a Jewish doctor, who taught al-Rāzī at al-Rayy, later becoming a Muslim and physician at Sāmarrā. He died 861. See Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 308, 309 bottom; Qifī, p. 231; Mieli, pp. 71, 72, notes; Sarton, I, 574; Leclerc, I, 292. 696
- 'Alī ibn Rābatah. A patron of Thābit ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥabīb, during the late 8th or early 9th century. 157
- 'Alī ibn Rabī'ah al-Baṣrī. He was an unimportant grammarian. 176
- 'Alī ibn Razān ibn Sulaymān. A poet known for his son, Dī'bīl, the latter being born 765. See Khallikān, I, 570. 354
- 'Alī ibn Ruwaym. He was from al-Kūfah and a poet of secondary importance. 358
- 'Alī ibn Sa'id al-Uqlidsī. A skillful maker of scientific instruments, from a family evidently interested in mathematics and Euclid. Suter, Vol. X (1900), 229. 672
- 'Alī ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥayy. A theologian of the Zaydiyyah. For his father and brothers, see Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥayy. 444
- 'Alī ibn Ṣurad (Ṣard) al-Ḥarrānī. A maker of astrolabes and probably a Ṣābian from Ḥarrān in the late 9th or early 10th century. See Suter, Vol. VI (1892) 41. 671
- 'Alī ibn Thābit ibn Abī Thābit. A 9th century poet and the son of a disciple of Abū

- '*Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām*. See Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 225; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 147; XVI, 150. 174, 356, 804
- '*Alī ibn 'Ubaydah*, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Rayḥānī. He was a man of letters and the intimate of al-Ma'mūn. He died 834/835. See Ḥājj Khalīfah, V, 165; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1148; Taghri-Birdī, Part II, 231. 261, 366, 377
- '*Alī ibn Umayyah ibn Abī Umayyah*. A poet whose grandfather died 613, see Abū Umayyah. 358
- '*Alī ibn Yahyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr al-Munajjim*. The name is spelled Munajjim by Zirikli. He was an employee of Muḥammad ibn Iṣḥāq al-Muṣ'abī and al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān. He died 888. See Khallikān, II, 312; Zirikli, Part V, 184. 255, 313, 321, 682, 686, 742
- '*Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Mūsā*, Abū al-Ḥasan. He was born at al-Kūfah 741/742, taken to al-Madīnah for refuge, and returned home 750. He lived at Baghdād, and died 798/799, a fervent Shī'ī. See Fück, *Ambix*, p. 130; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 525, 549; Tūsī, p. 234, sect. 505; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 681. 543-44, 857
- '*Alī ibn Ya'qūb*. He copied the poetry of Aḥmad ibn 'Isā and was probably a scribe, perhaps a friend of al-Nadīm. Compare Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 582. 368
- '*Alī ibn Ya'qūb al-Raṣṣās*. A skillful maker of scientific instruments. 672
- '*Alī ibn Zayn*, the secretary of Māzyār ibn Qārīn, who died 839/840. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 284, l. 5. 741
- '*Alī ibn Ziyād al-Tamīmī*, Abū al-Ḥasan. He translated astronomical tables and other works from Persian into Arabic. 589
- '*Alī al-Rāzī*. (1) A Ḥanafī jurist, who lived at Baghdād during the first half of the 9th century. See Khallikān, I, 66. (2) 'Alī ibn Sa'īd ibn Bashīr, noted for his knowledge of the Ḥadīth. He died about 911. See Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part IV, 231; Taghri-Birdī, Part III, 179, 203, l. 13. 509
- '*Āliyah* (Abū al-) al-Ḥasan ibn Mālik al-Shāmī. A Syrian poet of the first half of the 9th century. See Khallikān, II, 126; IV, 584; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 692. 163, 365
- '*Allāf* (al-). See *Hudhayl*.
- '*Allāf* (ibn al-), Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad. He was a blind poet of Nahrawān near Baghdād and a scholar associated with al-Mu'taḍid. He died 930/931. See Khallikān, I, 398; Taghri-Birdī, Part III, 230. 371
- '*Allān*. He wrote a note in an old form of handwriting. Compare Ḥājj Khalīfah, III, 13, for mention of the early authority named 'Allān al-Qazwaynī of Makkah. 90
- '*Allān al-Shu'ūbī*. A Persian copyist in the royal library during the reigns of al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn (786-833). See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 66. For al-Shu'ūbīyah, see Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 279. 116, 230
- '*Alluwayh*, 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh, Abū al-Ḥasan. A singer at the courts of Hārūn al-Rashīd and his successors. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 74, 114; VI, 190. 206
- '*Alqamah* (Abū). A foolish person about whom amusing stories were told. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 10; compare Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VIII, 31, l. 6. 735
- '*Alqamah ibn 'Abadah*. He was a well-known Pre-Islāmic poet. See Zuhaydī *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 180; Qutaybah, *Ma'ānī*, index for many references. 109
- '*Alqamah ibn Qays al-Aswad*, Abū Shibl. He was an 'Irāqī jurist famous for piety and knowledge of the Ḥadīth. He died about 681. See Nawawī, p. 159; Sha'rānī, Part I, 25; Zirikli, Part V, 48. 456

- A'mā (Ibn al-), called al-Ḥarizī. A dualist theologian, who was called Ibn al-A'dā al-Ḥarīrī by Flügel. Compare the poet mentioned by Ḥājj Khalīfah, III, 243. 804
- Amād the Priest. He was a friend of the author of "Al-Fihrist," who gave him information about Persian legends. He is called a *mišbid*, signifying a priest of the Magians. 23, 25
- Amājūr (Ibn), 'Abd Allāh ibn Amājūr, Abū al-Qāsim of Farghānah. He was an astrologer who was active 885-933. See Qifī, p. 220; Sarton, I, 630; Nallino, 'Ilm al-Falak, p. 175, l. 9; Suter, VI (1892), 68; X (1900), 49. 662
- A'mash(al-), Abū Muḥammad Sulaymān ibn Mihrān. A man of al-Kūfah, famous as a scholar. He died about 765. See Khallikān, I, 587. 57, 69, 73, 502
- 'Amaythal (Abū al-) 'Abd Allāh ibn Khulayd. He was a man of Persian origin, brought up among the tribes, who became secretary and tutor to the family of 'Abd Allāh ibn Tāhir, ruler of Khurāsān. He died 853/854. See Khallikān, II, 55. 106, 363
- 'Amid (Ibn al-), Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh (ibn) al-Ḥusayn. He was a vizier of both *Mu'ayyad* and *Rukn al-Dawlah*. He was sent to Rayy and Iṣbahān about 946, and died 971. See Miskawayh, V (2), 313-16 (292-95); Taghri-Birdī, Part III, 312-13; IV, 60, 62, 127-28; Khallikān, II, 407. 297, 305, 578, 635
- Āmidī (al-), Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥasan ibn Bishr ibn Yaḥyā. A poet of al-Baṣrah, who died between 980 and 983. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (3), 54; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 67; Ḥājj Khalīfah, II, 384; V, 131, 464. 340
- Amīm ibn 'Amrān. An early poet known for his love of *Hind*. 719
- Amīn (al-), Muḥammad, the son of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd and *Zubaydah*. He quarrelled over the succession when his father died 809. See "Al-Amin," *Enc. Islām*, I, 327. 223, 254, 275, 508, 544
- Amīnah. She was the daughter of al-Walīd ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Ḥafṣah, and a poetess of the middle 8th century. 354
- 'Āmir (Abū). A scholar who served *Mu'ammār* ibn al-Ash'ath, learning from him in the late 8th and early 9th century. 220
- 'Āmir (Ibn) Abū 'Amrān 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir al-Yaḥsubī. One of the seven readers of the Qur'ān, who learned from the third caliph, dying at Damascus, 736. See note 7 to p. 29 of the Flügel edition of "Al-Fihrist." 65, 70, 79, 80
- 'Āmir ibn Ḥidrah (Ḥidlah). A man of the Būlān tribe and one of the first persons to develop Arabic writing. See Abbott, *Rise of the North Arabic Script*, p. 6. 7
- 'Āmir ibn Maṭar al-Laythī al-Shaybānī. An officer of early Islām who freed the father of the scholar *Ḥanmād*, Abū al-Qāsim. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 269, l. 7, 3143, ll. 7-8. 198
- 'Āmiriyah (al-) bint Ghutaṭf. An Arab girl. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 131. Compare *Rayyā*. 719
- 'Ammār. A poet or hero of poetry, known for his love of *Juml*. 719
- 'Ammār. A Christian theologian, refuted by the *Mu'tazilī*, Abū al-*Hudhayl*. 388
- 'Ammār (Ibn). He copied the compositions of the more recent poets and was possibly the same as the scholar who follows. 352-53
- 'Ammār (Ibn). See *Aḥmad* ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad.
- 'Ammār ibn Mu'āwiyah al-Dihlī al-'Abdī al-Kūfī. A Shī'ī jurist and expert for

- the Ḥadīth. See Ṭīṣī, p. 235, sect. 508; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 3188, 3434; II, 227. 191, 536
- ‘Amīnār ibn Sayf. The man to whom *Sufyān al-Thawrī* left his books when he died 777/778. The name may be meant for ‘Umārah ibn Yūsuf. See Qutaybah, *Ma‘ārif*, p. 250, l. 7. 545
- Ammonius son of Hermias. He studied and taught at Athens in the late 5th and early 6th century A.D. and was a commentator on works of philosophy and science. See Pauly, I, 870, sect. 11; Sarton, I, 421; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 146. 598, 601, 605, 610
- ‘Amr (Abū). See *Shaybānī*.
- ‘Amr (Abū) ibn al-‘Alā’, also called Zabbān. He was born at Makkah 689 and died at al-Kūfah shortly before 770. He was one of the seven readers of the Qur’ān and an eminent scholar. See Khallikān, II, 399. 63, 68, 70, 72-73, 78, 87, 90-93, 103, 109, 191, 231
- ‘Amr ibn Abī ‘Amr al-Shaybānī. A son of the grammarian, who made known his father’s works, and died 845/846. See Khallikān, I, 183; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 224. 150
- ‘Amr ibn ‘Ajlān, Dhū al-Kalb. He was an early Arabian poet. See Qutaybah, *Ma‘ānī*, pp. 492, 493, 840. 719
- ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ. He was the great general who conquered Egypt, dying about 663 when over 90 years old. See Sa‘d, *Ibn*, Part IV, sect. II, p. 2; ‘Amr B. al-‘Āṣ,” *Enc. Islam*, I, 334. 558-613
- ‘Amr ibn Baḥr. See *Jāhiz*.
- ‘Amr ibn al-Farḥ. He wrote or copied data about Greek medicine and was perhaps a younger son of *Faḥr* ibn Khāqān, who died 861. See Qifṭī, p. 261, l. 15; Ziriklī, Part V, 331. 688
- ‘Amr ibn Fāyid. See *Aswārī*.
- ‘Amr ibn al-Ḥashīm al-Kūfī. This is the name in the Flügel edition. Compare ‘Umar ibn al-Haytham. 81
- ‘Amr ibn Ḥuṣayn ibn Qays. A secretary of al-Mahdī (caliph 775-785) and of the vizier *Khālid* ibn Barīmak. See Khallikān, I, 597. 267
- ‘Amr ibn Ḥuwayy. He was a poet, probably of the last half of the 8th century. Flügel calls him Juzay al-Sukkārī and the Beatty MS, al-Sakūnī, but he was more likely al-Saksakī. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1797. 362
- ‘Amr ibn al-Inqāfir. A poet or hero of poetry. 720
- ‘Amr ibn al-Kirkirah. See Abū *Mālik*.
- ‘Amr ibn Ma‘dī Karib ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Zubaydī. A famous chief and poet, who became a Muslim. He died during the invasion of al-‘Irāq, 641/642. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIV, 25; Mas‘ūdī, III, 211; IV, 236; Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Part II, 193. For a different spelling, see Qutaybah, ‘*Uyūn al-Akhbār*, Part I, 127, l. 17; 129, l. 19. 209, 345
- ‘Amr ibn Mas‘adah ibn Sa‘īd, Abū al-Faḍl. A poet and penman, who was a vizier of al-Ma‘mūn (caliph 813-833). See Khallikān, II, 410; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 171; VI, 181; IX, 47, 98; XX, 49. 12, 269, 367
- ‘Amr (‘Umar) ibn Salīm (Sālim) ibn al-Ja‘abī, Abū Bakr. He was a Shī‘ī judge attached to *Sayf al-Dawlah*, who ruled North Syria 946-967. See Ṭīṣī, p. 239, sect. 523. 490
- ‘Amr ibn al-Naḍr ibn Ḥārithah al-Khurshub al-‘Iṣāmī. A 7th century tribal poet.

- See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVI, 20; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 177. For 'Iṣām, see Durayd, *Geneal*, p. 318. 360
- 'Amr ibn Qal' (Qila') Abū al-Qallamas. A descendant of the Nasā'ah of the Kinānah Tribe, who supervised observance of sacred months. The grandfather of al-Jāhiz became his client. See Mas'ūdī, V, 116; Pellat, p. 51; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 56. 397-98
- 'Amr ibn Sa'd al-Anṣārī. Probably a son of Sa'd ibn 'Ubayd al-Anṣārī, who was killed in the Battle of al-Qādisiyyah, 637. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 416. 224
- 'Amr ibn Sahl. He was mentioned in the title of a book by al-Madā'inī. The name may be intended for 'Amr ibn Suhayl. See Ziriklī, Part V, 247. 224
- 'Amr ibn Sa'd ibn al-'Āṣ. He rebelled against the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik and was killed about 689. See Sa'd (Ibn), Part V, 27, 168, 169; Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 247; Wāqidi (Jones), II, 845; III, 925, 932. 222, 224
- 'Amr ibn Sha's. A Pre-Islāmic poet, famous for his generosity. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part X, 63; Tammām, Rückert, select. 78; Mas'ūdī, IV, 223. 346
- 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd, Abū 'Uthmān, 699-761. A pupil of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, whose separation from his master was sometimes said to be the reason for the name al-Mu'tazilah. See Steiner, pp. 49-51; "Amr B. 'Ubayd," *Enc. Islam*, I, 336; Nādir, *Système philosophique*, pp. 4, 9, 17, 19, 21, 112. 381-82, 385, 386, 390
- 'Amr ibn 'Utbah. A nephew of Mu'āwiyah (caliph 661-680). See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 90. 266
- 'Amr ibn Zayd al-Ṭā'ī. He was a poet or hero of poetry, known for his love of *Laylā*. 720
- 'Amr ibn al-Zubayr. He opposed his brother, 'Abd Allāh, who had him exposed and killed at the Ka'bah. See Mas'ūdī, V, 176. 222-23
- 'Amr al-Khārikī, a poet at the time of al-Ma'nūn (caliph 813-833) coming from Khārik in the Persian Gulf. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 34; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 388. 362
- 'Amr al-Warrāq. An unimportant poet. 360
- 'Amrīs ibn Ṭaybā. He was headman of the Ṣābians of Ḥarrān during the first half of the 9th century. 768
- Anas ibn Abī Shaykh. He was noted for his literary style and was a companion of Ja'far ibn Yahyā of the Barmak family, but executed 794/795. See Mas'ūdī, VI, 366; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVII, 33; XXI, 108. 275
- Anas ibn Mālik, Abū Ḥamzah al-Anṣārī. He was a servant of the Prophet, soldier in the Muslim army, and an important source of tradition. He died at al-Baṣrah 711/712. See Khallikān, II, 587 and note; Nawawī, p. 165. 455
- Anaxilaus of Larissa. A Pythagorean mathematician of the period of Augustus. See Pauly, I, 965; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 165. 619
- Anaximenes of Miletus. A philosopher who died about 528 B.C. See Pauly, I, 966; Sarton, I, 73; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 166; Diogenes Laërtius, p. 57. 676
- Anbārī (al-). See Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim.
- Anbārī (al-), 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad, Abū Ṭalib. A metaphysician of al-Wāsiṭ, where he died 967. See Ziriklī, Part IV, 190. 375
- Anbārī (Ibn al-), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim. He was a pupil of Tha'lab, famous for his memory and scholarship. See Khallikān, III, 53-55, where it gives his dates as 885-940, but other authorities differ.

- 'Anbas (Abū al-). Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī al-'Anbas. A man of al-Kūfah, who was judge of al-Saymarah near al-Baṣrah, court poet of al-Mutawakkil and al-Mu'tamid, and student of astrology. He died 888 or earlier. See Mas'ūdī, VII, 202-204; Qifṭī, p. 410; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 442, 443; Suter, VI (1892), 66. 332-33, 336, 658-59, 864
- 'Anbasah ibn Ma'dān, Abū al-Aswad al-Fahrī (Mahrī). He was called "al-Fil," because of his father's elephant. He studied grammar with Abū al-Aswad al-Du'ālī. See Khallikān, IV, 288, 290 note. 90-91
- Andromachus the Elder of Crete. A physician to Nero, A.D. 54-68. See Sarton, I, 261; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 173.
- Anebos. A so-called Egyptian prophet of the 3rd century A.D., who had disputations with Porphyry and about whose theories al-Rāzī wrote. See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 500; Porphyry, *Lettera ad Anebo*. 705
- Anṣārī (al-), Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik. An associate of the Prophet who went to live in a village of the Anṣār near al-Baṣrah and possessed the Qur'ānic MS of Ubayy ibn Ka'b. 58
- Antākī (al-), Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Mujtabā. A mathematician attached to 'Aḍud al-Dawlah (ruled 975-983). He died at Baghdād 977/978. See Qifṭī, p. 234; Tūqān, p. 255; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 396; Suter, VI (1892), 75; X (1900), 63. 635, 670
- Antoninus Pius (Titus). The great Roman Emperor, A.D. 138-161. 639, 775
- Antyllus. An eminent physician of the late 3rd or 4th century A.D. See Sarton, I, 280; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 218. 679
- Anūshirwān (Noshirwān) Chosroes I (Khusrah), King of Persia, 531-579. See, Firdawsī *Shahnamah*, IX, 167 ff. for references; Sykes, pp. 487 ff.; Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 379 ff. 64, 208, 260, 575, 716, 739-40, 817
- Apollonius al-Najjār. See *Abfinus*.
- Apollonius of Perga. He was born 262 B.C., lived at Alexandria, and wrote his great work on conics and other books. See Heath, *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, p. 352; Sarton, I, 173; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 241. 630, 637-38, 646, 649
- Apollonius of Tyan (Tyanaeus). He was a semi-legendary philosopher, mathematician, and ascetic, who was born about 4 B.C. See Mas'ūdī, IV, 94; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 242; Sarton, I, 320 top. 733, 849, 861
- 'Aqīl (Abū). A transcriber of the Qur'ān. 12
- 'Aqīl ibn abī Tālib, Abū Yazīd. One of the family of Abū Tālib who was taken captive at Badr but ransomed. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 102; Nawawī, p. 426; Mas'ūdī, IV, 271, 290; V, 89-93, which calls him Okail. 205, 463-64
- 'Aqīl ibn Bilāl ibn Jarīr. A grandson of the poet Jarīr and himself a poet during the 8th century. See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 284; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 91, l. 11. 349
- 'Aqīl ibn 'Ullafah. A noted poet at al-Madīnah, during the first part of the 8th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XI, 85. 312
- A'rābī (Ibn al-), Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn Ziyād. He was born about 760 and died at Sāmarrā 846. A man famous for a knowledge of rare expressions. See Khallikān, III, 23. 90, 151, 152, 156, 161, 163, 190-91, 234, 248, 344-46
- A'rābī (Ibn al-) Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-A'rābī al-Shaybānī. He was an astrologer at al-Kūfah. See Suter, X (1900), 7. 659
- A'raj (al-). See Abū Mālīk.

- 'Aramram (Ibn al-), Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā. He was a nephew of the vizier 'Alī ibn 'Isā, a tax expert, and a man of letters in the first half of the 10th century. See Šābi, *Wuzurā*, pp. 257-58; Bowen, pp. 34, 38, 68, 259. 842
- Aras al-Qass. See *Ahron al-Qass*.
- Archalaus. A philosopher interested in alchemy. See Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 175, 187; III, 27; compare Smith, *GRBM*, I, 263. 849
- Archigenes of Apameia. He was a leading medical authority and surgeon at Rome during the reign of Trajan (98-117). See Qifī, p. 73; Sarton, I, 280; Gordon, p. 681; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 268. 680, 689, 859
- Archimedes (Arshamidas). The famous genius of Syracuse, 287-212 B.C. See Sarton, I, 169; Pauly, I, Part 2, 1449; Qifī, p. 66. 619, 634, 636, 638, 669, 672
- Ardashīr ibn Bābak. The founder of the Sāsānian Dynasty and King of Persia, 226-241. See Firdawsī, *Shahnamah*, VI, 210 ff.; Sykes, I, 424; Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 63. 247, 260, 276, 575, 718, 738, 740-41, 775, 801
- Ardawāt (Bahrām Artabānus). The last Parthian king. See Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, VI, 213-26; Sykes, I, 416 ff. 718
- Areteus. A distinguished physician of the 2nd century; perhaps a teacher of Galen. See Pauly, I, Part 2, 1505; Gordon, p. 685; Sarton, I, 307. 680
- Aristarchus of Alexandria. He lived 310-230 B.C., and came from Samos, to become a pioneer astronomer at Alexandria. See Qifī, p. 70; Sarton, I, 156; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 291. Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, 107, n. 6. 644
- Ariston. He was born at Julis in Ceos and became head of the Peripatetic School, 230 B.C. See Qifī, p. 59; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 310, sect. 3. 613
- Aristotle. He was called Aristāṭālīs and similar names in Arabic. The great philosopher, 384-322 B.C. 18, 258, 441, 583-84, 591, 594-607, 609-16, 629, 683, 736, 749-50, 844, 859
- Aristoxenus of Tarentum. He was born 350 B.C. and was a pupil of Aristotle and a philosopher known for his music. See Sarton, I, 142; Suter, VI (1892), 56; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 344; Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, 74. 644
- Arius ibn Stephanus ibn Vitellius al-Rūmī, called al-Rashīd. He was interested in charms and probably a Byzantine. 728, 733
- 'Arjī (al-), 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān. A grandson of the third caliph, who lived at Makkah and wrote love poetry. See Khallikān, I, 267, n. 3; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part I, 153. 243, 328
- Armenius. The Greek name for the father of Zoroaster. See Bidez, Part II, 160 top. Compare *Zoroaster*.
- 'Arzāf (al-) ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Miṣrī. He was called by Flügel "al-Furāt" and was a poet of secondary importance. 364
- Arrajānī (al-). See *Rāhawīyah*.
- Artaxerxes I (Longimanus), King of Persia 465-425 B.C. See Firdawsī *Shahnama*, V, 281, note. He should not be confused with Bahmān Ardshīr. 594, 677
- Artemidorus of Ephesus, Daldianus. He lived at Rome at the time of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius and was famous for his book on dreams. See Pauly, I, 1790; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 373, sect. 4. 614, 742
- 'Arūbah (Abū). See al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad.
- 'Arūbah (Ibn Abī), Sa'īd ibn Mihrān, Abū al-Naḍr. A conservative jurist who died

- 773/774. He lived at al-Baṣrah and was noted for remembering the Ḥadīth. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 254; Ziriklī, Part III, 155. Compare Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 565. 549
- 'Arūḍī (al-), Abū Bakr. He composed fifty pages of poetry. 363
- 'Arūḍī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan. He was the tutor of al-Rāḍī (caliph 934-940), an author, poet, and perhaps also a vizier. See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 320, 323, 328, 340. 77
- 'Arūḍī (al-), Abū Muḥammad. He was named Barzakh or Nazrah and lived about 800, being known for his book on prosody. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 366. 138, 158
- Arwā. A woman known for her wise sayings. 741
- 'Arzānī (al-), Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh. A poet of Ḥaḍramawt, who was at al-Kūfah about 696-772. See Ziriklī, Part VII, 139. For his descendants, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 639. 741
- 'Āṣ (Abū al-). A son of Umayyah and grandfather of 'Uthmān (caliph 683-685). He died an unbeliever at Badr, 624. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 189; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 78. 222
- 'Āṣ (al-) ibn Hishām. A well-known man of early Islām. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 1295, 1339. 64
- 'Āṣ (al-) ibn Umayyah. Compare above.
- Asad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, Abū Mundhir. He was born at Damascus, but lived in Khurāsān when his brother Khālīd was governor there. He died 738. A street in al-Kūfah was named for him. See Ziriklī, Part I, 291; Balādhūrī, *Origins*, p. 445; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Indices, p. 33. 222, 225
- As'ad al-Minzanī. He was a poet of secondary importance, known for his love of Laylā and perhaps the uncle of Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā, during the late 5th century. See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, pp. 59, 60 bottom, 61. 719
- Aṣamm (al-), Abū Bakr. An apprentice of Mu'ammār ibn al-Ash'ath, who began as a Mu'tazilī but was repudiated because of his ideas about the Caliph 'Alī. He was an author, who died 815/816. See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 119, 170. 75, 76, 220, 358, 391, 414, 415
- Aṣamm (al-) al-Naysābūrī. He was Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Yūsuf, Abū al-'Abhās. He lived 861-958 and was a Persian jurist who followed al-Shāfi'ī in his teaching and travelled extensively. See Khallikān, I, 607; IV, 396, 397, n. 6; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 317-18. 519, 522
- Ā'sar (al-), Dimyānah Ibn al-Ḥajjām. A bookhinder. 18
- Aṣbagh (al-) ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Sālim al-Sijistānī. He translated the book "Sind-bādh," probably from Persian into Arabic. 717
- Aṣbagh (Ibn Abī), Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, Abū al-'Abhās. He was prominent during the first quarter of the 10th century, as a secretary and high official. See Šābi, *Wuzurā'*, pp. 50, 87, 152. 279
- Asclepiades of Bithynia. Born at Prussa 124 B.C. He was the first important foreign physician in Rome. See Sarton, I, 214; Gordon, p. 629; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 381. See also "descendants of Aesculapius." 594
- Asfandiyādh (Isfandiyādh or Asfandiyār). He was the king who championed Zoroaster as a prophet. See Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 116-17; Firdawsī, *Shahnamah*, IX, 155 ff. 716
- A'shā (al-). A Qur'ānic reader; probably a disciple of Abū Bakr ibn Mujāhid, during the late 9th and early 10th century. 73

- A'shā. He was named Bāhilah 'Āmir ibn al-Ḥārith and was a poet who lived just before Islām. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 52; XIV, 39; Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, p. 130. 345
- A'shā (al-) al-Kābir, Maymūn ibn Qays, Abū Baṣīr. A poet who at the end of his life joined the Prophet, dying at al-Yamāmah. See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 135; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VIII, 77. 164, 166, 173, 345
- Ashajj (al-) Abū Sa'īd 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'īd al-Kindī. He came from al-Kūfah and wrote about the Qur'ān. He died 871. See Ziriklī, Part IV, 222. 76, 263
- 'Ashām (Ibn). He was called al-Kilābī and was an authority for historical traditions in the late 8th or early 9th century, at al-Kūfah. Flügel calls him Ghannām. He was also called Ibn Ghashām or 'Ashshām. 240
- 'Ashannaq ibn 'Abd Allāh. (1) A leader of early Islām. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 2324, 2497; (2) al-Dabbī, who wrote some poetry. 363
- Ash'arī (al-). See Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Mūsā, also Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā and Abū Mūsā.
- Ash'arī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl ibn Abī Bisr of al-Baṣrah. He was born 873/874 and died before middle of the 10th century. He renounced the Mu'tazilī doctrines and developed the orthodox system of theology. See Khallikān, II, 227. 433, 450, 451
- Ash'ath (Ibn al-), 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad. He subdued Afghanistan but later revolted against the governor of al-'Irāq and was killed 701/702. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1070-77; Mas'ūdī, V, 302-305, 339-40, 355-56 201, 202, 382, 582
- Ash'atī (Ibn al-) 'Azīz ibn al-Faḍl. An unimportant scholar who wrote about Makkah. 250
- Ash'ath (al-) ibn Qays, Abū Muḥammad. A chief of Kindah, who left Ḥaḍramawt and took part in Muslim campaigns. He died 661. He was also a poet. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIV, 6, 39, 142; Ziriklī, Part I, 333. 244
- Ashhab ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Dā'ūd, Abū 'Amr. He lived in Egypt, 762-819, and was a Mālikī jurist. See Taghribī-Birdī, II, 175-76; Ziriklī, Part I, 335. 495
- Ashja', Muḥammad ibn 'Imrān al-Sulamī. He was an Arabian poet, patronized by the Barmak viziers and Hārūn al-Rashīd. He died about 811. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVII, 30; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 562. 356
- Ashja'ī (al-), 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān of al-Kūfah. He became a reliable expert for the Ḥadīth, who died at Baghdād 798. See Ziriklī, Part IV, 349. 546
- Ashnās, a leading general under al-Mu'taṣim, who died 844/845. See Khallikān, I, 600; n. 6; II, 53; Mas'ūdī, VII, 122, 133, 135; VIII, 201. 268
- Ashtar (al-), Mālik, the general in charge of the army of 'Alī at the Battle of Shīfīn, 657, and later governor of Egypt. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 254, 358. 201
- Ashyah (Ibn al-). See Mūsā ibn al-Ashyah.
- 'Aṣidah (Abū) Aḥmad ibn 'Ubayd (Allāh) ibn Nāṣih, Abū Ja'far, of al-Kūfah. The tutor to the sons of al-Mutawakkil (caliph 847-861). He died 886/887. See Zubaydī, p. 224; Suyūfī, *Bughyat*, p. 144; Khallikān, IV, 300, n. 4. 160, 161, 165
- 'Āsim. See Jaḥdārī.
- 'Āsim (Abū) al-Aslāmī. A poet of secondary importance. 358
- 'Āsim al-Aḥwal. A judge at al-Madā'in, who died 760. 94

- 'Āṣim ibn Bahdalālī, Abī Bakr ibn al-Najūd Bahdalālī. A protégé of the Jadhīmah Tribe who was one of the Seven Readers of the Qur'ān. He died at al-Kūfah 745/746. See Khallikān, II, 1. 64-65, 70, 73
- 'Āṣim ibn Muḥammad al-Antākī, Abū al-Mu'taṣim. A 10th century poet of North Syria, acquainted with the author of "Al-Aghānī." He died 967. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XII, 147, 148. 372
- 'Āṣim ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib, Abū 'Alī. A secretary who composed poetry. 370
- 'Āṣim ibn Thābit, one of the Anṣār and an early Islāmic poet. See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 330; Jumahī, p. 529; Marzubānī, p. 271. 721
- 'Āṣiyah ibn 'Alī al-Sulamī. A poet of the middle 8th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 160; Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Part II, 237. 359
- 'Askarī (al-). See al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad.
- Aslam ibn Sidrah, one of the Būlān (Bawlān) Tribe and one of the first persons to develop Arabic writing. See Abbott, *North Arabic Script*, p. 6. 7
- Asmā'. An Arab girl loved by Sa'd and the subject of poetry. 719
- Asmā' bint 'Awf. See *Muraqqish* al-Akbār, her poet lover. 719
- Asmā' ibn Khārijah al-Fazārī of al-Kūfah. A tribal chief who died 686. See Mas'ūdī, V, 331, 332; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Tables Alphabétiques, p. 223; Ziriklī, Part I, 299. 722
- Asmā'. The sister of 'Alī ibn 'Isā, the vizier. 282
- Aṣma'ī, al-, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Qurayb. He was born at al-Baṣrah 739 and died there between 828 and 833. He became the great philologist and grammarian at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd. See Khallikān, II, 123. 119, 345-48, 361
- Aspasius, a Greek philosopher of the late 1st or early 2nd century who wrote commentaries on Aristotle's works. See Smith, *GRBM*, I, 387. 263
- Aswad (al-). See *Alqamah* ibn Qays, also Abū Mu'awiyah.
- Aswad (Abū al-). See *Du'all*.
- Aswārī (al-), Abū 'Alī 'Amr ibn Fāyid. A Mu'tazilī theologian of al-Baṣrah, who died shortly after 816. Compare 'Alī al-Aswārī. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part II, 388; Jār Allāh, p. 140. 390
- Aswārī (al-), Abū Yūnus Sinsawayh. A Christian who helped to introduce discussions about predestination into Islām. He probably gave his name to the Asāwirah sect of the Mu'tazilah. See Jār Allāh, pp. 26, 140. 381
- 'Aṣā' ibn Aḥmad al-Madīnī. He composed some poetry. 364
- 'Aṣā' ibn Maysarah. See *Khurāsānī*.
- 'Ara' ibn Yasār (Yassār). A protégé of the Prophet's wife Maymūnah and an authority on the Ḥadīth. He died about 713. 62, 81
- 'Aṣā' al-Sulamī (Sulaymī) of al-Baṣrah. He was a man known for piety and asceticism. He died in 739. Compare 'Aṣā' ibn Abī Rabaḥ. See Sha'rānī, Part I, 34. See also Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Miẓān*, Part IV, 173. 456
- 'Atāhiyah (Abū al-), Abū Ishāq Ismā'il ibn al-Qāsim. A man of al-Kūfah, who became a famous poet at Baghdād during the reigns of al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd, living about 748-828. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 126; Khallikān, I, 202. 151, 206, 315, 321, 325, 352, 355, 721
- 'Aṭawī (al-), Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Atīyah. He was a secretary, theologian, and poet, who went to Sāmarrā at the time of al-Mu'tasim (caliph 833-842). See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 687; Iṣbahānī,

- Aghānī*, Part XX, 58. For the sect of al-ʿAṭawīyah, see Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 88; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 138. 368, 449
- Athram (al-). See *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad ibn Hānī.
- Athram (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥīrah. An apprentice or disciple of al-*Aṣmaʿī*, who lived at Baghdād and died between 844 and 846. See Khallikān, II, 568, n. 3; Ziriklī, Part V, 175. 122, 123, 190, 191, 244
- ʿĀtikah. A protégé of al-*Mahdī* who became the wife of al-*Muʿallā* ibn Ayyūb, probably at the end of the 8th century. 156
- ʿAtīq (Ibn Abī). A poet and patron of singing in the late 7th and early 8th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part I, 20, 41, 43, 44; IV, 48; XI, 38; XVI, 19; Thaʿlab, *Majālis*, p. 241. 222, 324
- ʿAṭāb (Ibn), Rabīʿ. He was called Abū ʿAṭāb by Flügel and was a scholar who answered questions about things obscure. 208
- ʿAttābī (al-), Kulthūm ibn ʿAmr, Abū ʿAmr. A secretary, skilled penman, poet, and scholar from Syria, accused of heresy. He fled to al-Yaman and later joined Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn. He died 835. See Khallikān, III, 99; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XII, 2-10; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 160; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 212. 18, 20, 228, 265, 275, 321, 360, 389, 391, 724, 741
- ʿAṭṭār (Ibn al-). A man who composed popular stories, probably in the late 9th or early 10th century. 724
- Autolycus of Pitane. An astronomer and mathematician, living about 300 B.C. See Sartou, I, 141; Qifī, p. 73; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 337; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 447. 640
- ʿAwādhīl (Ibn Abī al-). A secretary of secondary importance, probably of the 10th century. 300, 377
- ʿAwānah (Abū) al-Waḍḍāḥ ibn Khālid. A traditionalist and Qurʾānic reader who died at al-Baṣrah 792. See Ziriklī, Part IX, 133. 69
- ʿAwānah ibn al-Ḥakam ibn ʿIyād, Abū al-Ḥakam. He was a scholar of al-Kūfah, who died between 764 and 774. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 93; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Indices, p. 428, for references. 197
- Aʿwar (al-) Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad. A scholar of the Qurʾān and Ḥadīth, who died about 821. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 149. 81
- ʿAwf ibn Muḥallim, Abū al-Minhāl al-Khuzāʿī. He was a poet attached to Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, governor of Khurāsān, and his son. He died 835. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XI, 5; XVIII, 191; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 230; IV, 333, 709; Khallikān, II, 54, n. 10. 363
- ʿAwjāʾ (Ibn Abī al-) al-Salamī. He was a theologian influenced by Manichaean ideas and belief in a form of transmigration. His name may have been al-Nuʿmān. See Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 224. 804
- ʿAwn (Abī) Aḥmad ibn al-Najm ibn Hilāl. A secretary, theologian, and poet, who was probably at Baghdād during the first half of the 9th century. See Khallikān, I, 436. For his son, see *Ibrāhīm* ibn Abī ʿAwn. 323, 409
- ʿAwwāmī (al-), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm. A judge and grammarian; a friend of the author of "Al-Fihrist." He died soon after 961. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 269. 187
- ʿAwwāqī (al-). A 10th century scholar of al-Baṣrah, interested in science. Flügel gives the name as al-ʿUqī, from al-ʿUq near al-Baṣrah, whereas MS 1934 has al-ʿAwwāqī from a tribe in that locality. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 746, 747. 633

- Awzā'i, al-, Abū 'Amr 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Amr. He was born at Ba'labakk, 747, and died at Bayrūt 774-776. He was the founder of a legal system in early Islām. See *Khallikān*, II, 84. 90, 456, 550, 579
- A'yan (Ibn). A secretary, probably not to be confused with the general *Harthamah* ibn A'yan. 274
- A'yan ibn Sunsum (Sunbus). He was probably a parish priest in the Byzantine territory, who was enslaved and emancipated. For his sons, who were Shī'i scholars, see 'Abd al-Malik, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Bukayr*, *Ḥumrān* and *Zurārah*. See *Ṭūsī*, p. 141, sect. 295 and bottom. 537
- Aybak (Ibn), Khalil Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Safadī. He was a leading historian who died at Damascus 1363. See *Ziriklī*, Part II, 364. xxi
- 'Aynā' (Abū al-) Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim. A blind poet famous for satire. He lived at Baghdād but died at al-Baṣrah 895/896. See *Mas'ūdī*, VIII, 120-25; *Khallikān*, III, 56. 115, 120, 266, 269, 273, 386
- 'Ayyāsh (Ibn). He wrote on the Qur'ān. Compare his name with the name which follows. 81
- 'Ayyāshī (al-) Abū al-Naḍr Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ayyāsh of Samarqand. He was a member of the Imāmiyah, probably in the 9th century. See *Ṭūsī*, p. 317, sect. 290 and footnotes. 81, 482-87
- Ayyūb. A scholar who translated the astronomical tables of *Ptolemy* and other works for *Khalid* ibn Yaḥyā ibn Barmak, in the late 8th or early 9th century. 587
- Ayyūb ibn al-Qāsim al-Raqqī. He translated the "Isagoge" and other books from Syriac into Arabic. 588
- Ayyūb ibn Tanūm. A Qur'ānic reader according to the method of Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥārith. 66
- Ayyūb al-Ruḥāwī al-Abrash, Job of Edessa. He was a scholar who translated scientific books. See *Sarton*, I, 574. 587
- Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (Sikhtiyānī), Abū Bakr ibn al-Tanūmah, Kaysān. He moved to al-Baṣrah selling dyed leather (sakhūyāh). He became a learned ascetic who died 748/749. See *Khallikān*, II, 588, n. 6; *Qutaybah*, *Ma'ārif*, p. 238; 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī al-Sarrāj, XXII (1914), 322. 456
- 'Azāqir (Ibn Abī al-). See *Shalmaghānī*.
- Azdī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh. He wrote a book about allegorical and metaphysical subjects. 377
- Azdī (al-), Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. An unimportant grammarian of al-Baṣrah, probably of the 10th century. 185
- Azhar (Abū al-). A poet and grandson of a famous poet, al-Faḍl ibn Qudāmah, who lived near al-Kūfah in the late 7th and early 8th century. See *Qutaybah*, *Shī'r*, p. 381, l. 16, for the grandfather. 347
- Azhar (Ibn Abī al-), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Mazīd. He came from Busanj, near Timidh on the Oxus, and was a grammarian and historical traditionalist during the last half of the 9th and first part of the 10th century. He probably died at Baghdād. 323-24
- Azhar (Ibn al-), Ja'far ibn Abī Muḥammad. He lived about 815-893 and was an authority on historical tradition. see *Mas'ūdī*, VII, 379. 248
- 'Aziz (al-). See *Nizār*, the 5th Fātimid caliph.
- Azraq (al-), 'Uthmān ibn 'Amr. He was one of the ruling family of Ghassān at the

- time of the Prophet and a descendant of the king of Ma'rib. See Mas'ūdī, III, 378-91 for the king. 245
- Azraqī (al-) Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was an authority on the history and geography of Makkah. He died about 865. Compare Ziriklī, Part VII, 93 top, and n. 2. See also "Al-Azraqī," *Enc. Islam*, I, 542. 245
- 'Azzah bint Jamīl. An Arab girl; for her poet lover, see *Kuthayyir*. 719
- 'Azzat al-Maylā'. A famous singer of the Ḥijāz, who died about 733. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVI, 13; Ziriklī, Part V, 23; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part III, 275. 309, 324
- Bāb He was taken prisoner by 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Samurāh when he invaded Kābul. He was the grandfather of 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd. 385
- Bābak (Pāpak) al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Khurramī. The famous leader of the revolt in Ādharbayjān, who was executed by al-Mu'taṣim 838. See Niẓām al-Mulk, p. 292; Mas'ūdī, VII, 123-32; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1015, 1171 ff., 1186 ff., 1301 ff.; "Bābek," *Enc. Islam*, I, 547; Brown, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 323; Wright, *Muslim World*, XXXVIII, No. 1 (January 1948), 43-59; No. 2 (April 1948), 124-31. 469, 818-22
- Bābak ibn Bahrām. A disciple of one of the heretical leaders of the Ṣābiyans of Southern 'Irāq. 812
- Bābawayh (Ibn). See 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā.
- Babbah the Indian. He developed a system of incantations for India. 733
- Babbaghā' (al-), Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Wahid (Wāhid) ibn Naṣr al-Makhzūmī al-Shāmī. He was called "The Parrot" and was a secretary and poet from Nišābīn, who served Sayf al-Dawlah and went from al-Mawṣil to Baghdād, where he died 1007/1008. See Khallikān, II, 147; Tha'libī, Part I, 173; II, 45, 158. 373, 378
- Bādawī (al-). See *Marqas* the Jacobite.
- Badhinjānah, Muḥammad ibn Alī al-Kātib. A secretary and poet from al-Baṣrah, who was with the army 865/866. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1557. 369
- Badīhī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ('Alī) ibn Muḥammad. He was a man of letters and court companion, who died in Egypt 990. See Ziriklī, Part V, 143. 372
- Badr, Ghulām al-Mu'taḍid, Abū al-Najm al-Mu'taḍidī. He was a young favorite of the caliph, who became governor of Fars about 900. See Qifṭī, p. 77; Mas'ūdī, VIII, 144, 179; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2154-61. 328, 627
- Bādrūghūghīyā. He wrote about the extraction of water. Qifṭī, p. 100, says that he was Indian or Greek. The name suggests Peter Georgius. Nallino, 'Im al-Falak, p. 61, suggests the name is a book title, "Hydragogia." 643
- Baghawī (al-). See 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz.
- Baghawī (al-), Abū al-'Abbās. He was a man who joined in discussions with the Christians at Baghdād, probably in the late 9th or early 10th century. For his town, Bagh or Baghshūr in Khurāsān, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 694. 448-49
- Baghl (Ibn Abī al-). The name means the Son of the Father of the Mule. Four members of the family were prominent: (1) Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā. (2) His brother Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā, both leading politicians at the time of Ibn al-Furāt (855-924). See Miskawayh, IV (1), 23-24 (21), 46 (42), 93 (84); Tanūkhī, p. 183. (3) Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā. (4) Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, who was active in Persia. See Ṣābī, pp. 51, 84, 124, 291-99, 304, 367, 382. 370

- Bāh, Muḥammad ibn Ghālib ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ghālib al-Iṣbahānī. He was Abū 'Abd Allāh, a poet and scholar, and chief of the secretariat of Al-Muktafi (caliph 902-908), but executed soon afterwards. He was called "Bāh" because of a verse. See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 215; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 891. 49, 299, 369, 378
- Bahdalī (al-) 'Amr ibn 'Āmir, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb. He was a poet and scholar, probably of the middle 8th century. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 50; Qutaybah, *Ūyūn*, Part X, 68. 102, 362
- Bāhūlī (al-), Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad. He was a pupil of al-Ash'arī, who died 933. See Khalīkān, II, 655; III, 397, n. 8; Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 211. 181
- Bāhīlī (al-), Abū 'Umar Muḥammad ibn 'Umar. He was a judge and theologian of al-Baṣrah during the late 9th and early 10th century. See Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part V, 320. 178, 181, 428
- Bahīr al-Rāhib (the Monk). He was Ba'hīrā, who lived in a monastery of the Syrian Ḥawrān and was said to have given information to Abū Talīb and the young Muḥammad. See "Bāhīrā," *Enc. Islam*, I, 576. 42
- Bahrām. The name of kings of Persia; the First, 271-275, Second, 275-282, Third, 283. See Sykes, I, 438-41; Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, VI, 307-14. 714, 716, 775, 794, 802
- Bahrām Chūbīn VI. He is also called Cobin, King of Persia, 590-596. See Sykes, I, 518; Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, IX, 170-73 for references. 716, 737
- Bahrām Gūr, King of Persia, 420-439. See Sykes, I, 466; Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, IX, 221, for references. 711, 737
- Bahrām ibn Mardān Shāh. A priest of Nīsābūr, who translated Persian works into Arabic. See Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 205; Iḥāj Khalīfah, IV, 14, has Marwān Shāh. 589
- Bahrīz (Ibn) 'Abd Yasū, Abū Sa'id. He was the abbot of a monastery during the late 10th century. See Wright, *Short History*, p. 234. 46, 599
- Baḥshal Aslam ibn Sahl al-Wāsiṭī. He was surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan and wrote a history of Wāsiṭ. See Ḥāj Khalīfah, II, 156; index No. 1775; Ṭaghri-Birdī, Part III, 158; Ismā'il, p. 206. Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 5, l. 10; 173, l. 7; 814, l. 14. 377
- Bakhtārī (Abū al-) Wabḥ ibn Wabḥ. A jurist appointed by al-Rashīd as judge at Baghdād and later in charge of the judiciary and finances at al-Madīnah. His mother married Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, the Sixth Shī'ī Imām. See Khalīkān, III, 673. 219
- Bakhtīshū' ibn Jibrīl ibn Bakhtīshū' Abū Jibrīl. The famous Nestorian physician, who served the 'Abbāsīd caliphs from the time of al-Rashīd to that of al-Mutawakkil. See Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 138; Qifī, p. 102; Gregorius, pp. 131, 143; Leclerc, I, 102. 697
- Bakkār ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muṣā'b, a judge at al-Madīnah during the reign of al-Rashīd (786-809). He was opposed to the family of 'Alī. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 616-20. 219
- Bakkār ibn Aḥmad ibn Bakkār. He was Abū 'Isā, a reader of the Qur'ān and author at Baghdād, who died 963. 84
- Bakkār ibn Rabāḥ. A poet who wrote an elegy when the Caliph al-Mahdī died, 785. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 526. 244
- Bakr (Abū). The first caliph, 632-34, called al-Ṣādiq. 47, 224, 393, 452, 486

Bakr (Abū). See *Durayd*, also *Rāzī*.

Bakr (Abū) Aḥmad ibn Naṣr. A transcriber of the Qur'ān during the last half of the 10th century. 12

Bakr (Abū) al-Ḥalaqānī. A Mu'tazilī scholar of secondary importance who lived in the late 9th and early 10th century. 427

Bakr (Abū) ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Uways. A jurist who studied law as a pupil of *Mālik*. See "Mālik ibn Anas," *Enc. Islam*, III, 208. 495

Bakr (Abū) ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. A descendant of the second caliph, who quoted a letter written by *Mālik* ibn Anas to *al-Rashīd*. 494

Bakr (Abū) ibn Abī Shaybah of al-Kūfah. He was an authority for the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth and famous for his memory. He died before the middle of the 9th century. See Mas'ūdī, VII, 211; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, index for date and references. 76

Bakr (Abū) ibn Abī al-Thalj. See *Muḥammad* ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Thalj.

Bakr (Abū) ibn Ayyāsh. He was called Muḥammad, Sha'bah, and Sālim and was a reader of the Qur'ān of al-Kūfah. He died 808. See Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 14, note. 65, 80

Bakr (Abū) ibn al-Ikhshīd. See *Ikhshīd*.

Bakr (Abū) ibn Mujaḥid. See *Mujaḥid*.

Bakr (Abū) ibn Rā'iq. A high official under al-Rāḍī (caliph 934-940). See Šābī, *Wuzurā'*, p. 360. 319

Bakr, Abū, ibn al-Warrāq. He wrote about the obscure in the Qur'ān. Abū Bakr al-Warrāq is mentioned and may be an error, meant for this name. 77

Bakr, Abū, al-Qaṣṣāl. He was Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl al-Shāshī, a Shāfi'ī jurist, who died 947/948, known especially in the Trans-Oxus region. See Shirāzī, p. 91; Part II (Husaynī), p. 27; Nawawī, p. 772; Khallikān, II, 605. 527

Bakr ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abī Dulaf. He was a poet, secretary, and government official, who died in Ṭabaristān 898/899. See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 195, 210; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2155; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 113. 300, 370

Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb. He lived in the last half of the 9th century at al-Madīnah and passed on a tradition about the Qur'ān. 49

Bakr ibn al-Fayḍ ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Tanūmī. He probably came from al-Baṣrah. He was noted for his literary style. 275

Bakr ibn al-Naṭṭāh, Abū Wā'il. A tribal poet, who served as an officer under al-Ma'mūn, until he died about 808. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVII, 153; Khallikān, IV, 231, n. 1. 321, 360

Bakr ibn Ṣurad. The secretary of the general, Yazīd ibn Mazyad, last part of the 8th century. See Yazīd ibn Mazyad. 277

Bakr ibn ukht 'Abd al-Wahīd ibn Ziyād. He was the founder of the heretical Bakrīyah sect. See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 38, 41; Baghdādī (Halkin), pp. 15-16, 169, 225. 415

Bakrī (al-). A genealogist and Christian scholar of the early period of Islām. See Qutaybah *Ma'ārif*, p. 265; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 698. 193

Bakrī (al-), Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Abī Ghassān. A grammarian of secondary importance who probably lived in the 10th century. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 236. 187

Bakūs (Ibn). See *Ibrāhīm* ibn Bakūs.

- Balādhurī (al-), Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Yahyā ibn Jābir. A scholar of Baghdād, who became a famous historian. He died 892. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 388; Balādhurī, p. 6. 247, 368, 589
- Balawī (al-) 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. His name may be perhaps better spelled Ballawī, from the Ballī Tribe. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 322; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 51, l. 14. He was a Shī'ī preacher, author, and jurist. See Tūsi, p. 194, sect. 419. 480
- Balkhī (al-), Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad. He was the chief of the Ka'bī group of the Mu'tazilah. He lived at Baghdād but died in Balkh, about 930. See Baghdādī (Khaṣīb), Part IX, 384; Murtaḍā, p. 88; Ziriklī, Part IV, 189. 76, 425, 426-29, 433, 435, 705
- Balkhī (Abū al-Ṭayyib). A Mu'tazilī scholar of secondary importance, who probably lived until the 10th century. 429
- Balkhī (Al-) Abū Yahyā. He was a jurist who wrote about the looting of female slaves during the 10th century. 568
- Balkhī (al-), Abū Zayd, Aḥmad ibn Sahl. He learned from al-Kindī and became a scholar of philosophy and geography under the patronage of the ruler of Balkh. He died 934. See Sarton, I, 631; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 141. 77, 78, 83, 114, 138, 302, 303, 381, 384, 385, 411, 419, 603, 817, 824
- Balkhī (al-), 'Alī ibn Shahīd. A roaming scholar, perhaps the person with whom al-Rāzī studied philosophy. See Uṣaybi'ah, index, and also Part I, 311, top, 319, bottom, 320, l. 10. Compare with Shahīd ibn al-Ḥusayn, who was probably his father or a relative. 702
- Balkhī (al-), Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl ibn al-'Abbās, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was a Šūfī scholar from Balkh, who was well known in Khurāsān. He died at Samarqand 931. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 231, l. 10; Ziriklī, Part VII, 221. 345
- Bānah (Ibn) 'Amr ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn Rashīd. The son of a government official, but named for his mother. He was a musician, poet, and favorite of al-Mutawakkil. He died about 891. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIV, 52; Sarakhsī, p. 97; Khallikān, II, 414. 317-18
- Bandanījī (al-), al-'Imād ibn Kāmil. A legal authority from the mountains of Persian 'Irāq. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 745. 171, 377
- Bandanījī (al-), al-Yamān ibn Abī al-Yamān, Abū Bishr. He was born in Persia 815/816, went to Baghdād, and died 897. He was a poet, scholar, and author. See Suyūfī, *Bughyat*, p. 420; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 304; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 446. 180
- Bānūjah (Bānūqah, Bānūkah). The daughter of al-Mahdī (caliph 775-785). See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 193; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XXI, 120. 721
- Bāqil al-Hindī. An Indian who wrote about snakes. Uṣaybi'ah, Part II, 186, l. 2, gives this name, whereas Flügel has Nāqil. 743
- Bāqir (al-) Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī. He was the fifth Shī'ī Imām, who lived at al-Madīnah 676-731 and was noted for his learning. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442; Khallikān, II, 579. 75, 444, 537
- Barbar al-Jarmī. A 10th century scholar to whom a disciple of al-Ṭabarī addressed a letter. The Tonk MS gives Jarmī clearly. 565
- Barbarī (al-). See Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh.
- Bardawayh. A grammarian of secondary importance who probably lived during the 10th century. 189

Bardawayh, Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Yūsuf. A grammarian from Iṣbahān, who died 965. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 175; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 156. The name may be Barzawayh. 189

Bardesanes. See *Dayān*.

Bardha'i (al-). See Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn, also Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh.

Bardha'i (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He came from Adharbayjān to Baghdād, where he was known as a Mu'tazilī scholar. 424, 500

Barjalī (al-), al-Ḥasan ibn Ja'far. A scholar of literature and the Qur'ān of secondary importance. The name may be al-Burjūlī. 83

Barmak Family. See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 294-96.

104, 264, 265, 658, 804, 827, 854, 856
Barmakī (al-). The secretary of an officer in the government of Mu'izz al-Dawlah (915-967) who wrote poetry and jests. For the officer, see Abū Ja'far ibn 'Abbāsah. 337

Barnhādān (Ibn al-). He took part in the funeral service of *Nafṣuwayh*, 935. The name may not be properly spelled as the texts are not clear. 179

Barqī (al-). See Muḥammad ibn Khālid.

Barzālī (Abū). See al-Faḥl ibn Muḥammad.

Bashshār (Ibn), Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān. The secretary of the vizier Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Kūfī, in the late 10th century. See Šābi, *Wuzurā'*, p. 386; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 372, 844. 298

Bashshār ibn Burd, Abū al-Mu'ādh. A blind poet of al-Baṣrah, who went to Baghdād and was put to death when about ninety, 783/784. He was called "al-Mura'ath." See Khallikān, I, 254; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 19.

289, 314-15, 322, 352, 383, 804
Basil (Basīl). (1) A bishop who translated scientific works. (2) A translator of scientific books under the patronage of Ṭāhir ibn Ḥusayn, the governor of Khurāsān, 820. See Qifṭī, p. 39, l. 7; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 204. 587, 588, 603

Baṣīr (Abū al-). A poet living at the end of the 8th century. He was probably the father of Abū 'Alī al-Baṣīr. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 110; XVII, 38.

361
Baṣīr (al-) Abū 'Alī. A poet living at the time of al-Mu'tazz (caliph, 866-869). See Mas'ūdī, VII, 328, 346, 378. 269, 273, 314, 367, 378

Baṣrī (Al-). See al-Ḥusayn, ibn 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm.

Bassām (Ibn), 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr ibn Maṣṣūr. A satirical poet of Baghdād, who was appointed director of posts and intelligence in Syria by al-Mu'taḍid. He died 914-916. See Khallikān, II, 301; Mas'ūdī, VIII, 208, 256, 267, 271; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 318. 328, 369

Baṭṭā (Ibn). A man for whom an Egyptian wrote a book about slaves. 744

Baṭrīq (al-). See *Abīyūn* al-Baṭrīq.

Baṭrīq (al-) Abū Yahyā ibn al-Baṭrīq. He was employed by al-Maṣṣūr to translate foreign scientific works. He died about 800. See Qifṭī, p. 242, l. 10; Sarton, I, 537; Ḥājj Khalīfah, III, 97; Suter, X (1900), 4. 586, 650, 743

Baṭrīq (Ibn al-) Abū Zakariyā' Yahyā. He worked with al-Ḥasan ibn Salīl translating Greek books on science, in the first half of the 9th century. He was also called Yuhannā. See Qifṭī, p. 131, l. 9; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 205; O'Leary, *Greek Science*, p. 159; Ḥājj Khalīfah, III, 95. 584, 586, 593, 603, 605, 685, 690

- Battānī (al-), Muḥammad ibn Jābir ibn Siyān, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Raqqī. He was a Ṣābian astrologer from Harrān, who compiled important tables. He died 929/930. He was called Albatēnius in Europe. See Qifṭī, p. 280; Khallikān, II, 317; Sartou, I, 602; Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, 175. 640
- Baydhaq (al-), Muḥammad. He is called by Flügel al-Muhallabī and was a poet at the time of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XII, 20; XVIII, 116. 364
- Baydūn al-Khādim. A 9th century poet attached to the palace. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1474, 1475. 362
- Bayhas (Abū) Ḥayṣim ibn Jābir. Founder of the heretical Bayhasiyyah sect. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 139; "Abū Baihas," *Enc. Islam*, I, 80; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 110. 452
- Bayhas, Na'ānuh. He was one of the Fīzarāh branch of the Dubyān Tribe and was remembered for becoming foolish when his six brothers were killed. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 40; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 227; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 118, 714. 208
- Bazanṭī (al-). See Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Naṣr.
- Bāzyār (Ibn al-), Aḥmad ibn Naṣr ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū 'Alī. He was descended from the falconer (Bāzyār or Bāziyār) of al-Mu'taḍid. He was a companion of Sayf al-Dawlah in the middle of the 10th century. See Miskawayh, IV (1), 86 (77), 102-103 (92-93), 257 (229); Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 760; Ṣābī, *Wuzurā'*, pp. 46, 47. 288
- Bāzyār (Ibn al-) Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar. He was a pupil of Ḥabash and became a well-known 9th century astronomer. See Qifṭī, p. 286; Suter, VI (1892), 30, 64; X (1900), 16. 654, 657
- Bazzāz, al-. See Ḥafs ibn Sulaymān.
- Benjamin Nahawāndī. A Jewish scholar in Persia during the late 8th and early 9th century. See Sartou, I, 550. 630
- Bihāfrīd ibn Māhrwadīn. A Zoroastrian leader who organized a new sect in the Naysābūr region of Persia, during the middle 8th century. See Bīrūnī, *Chronologie Orientalischer*, p. 210, l. 10; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 283; Baghdādī (Halkin), pp. 220-21; "Bih'āfrīd," *Enc. Islam*, I, 716. 822
- Bilāl (Ibn). See 'Alī ibn Bilāl.
- Bilāl ibn Abī Burdah al-Ash'arī, Abū Mūsā. He was a judge and governor of al-Baṣrah. His father died 721/722; for his grandfather, see Abū Mūsā, al-Ash'arī. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 136, 203; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 174, 646; Ziriklī, Part II, 49. 258, 274, 275
- Bilāl ibn Jarīr, Abū Zāfir. A son of the great poet Jarīr. He lived before and after 700, being buried at Rijlatā. He was also a poet. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 37; bottom; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 284; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 755, l. 15. 348
- Bilāl al-Khārījī. A rebel of minor importance during the early Islāmic period. 201
- Bilqīs. The famous queen of Arabia, known as the Queen of Sheba. See "Bilqīs," *Enc. Islam*, I, 270; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 576-84; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, p. 596, l. 17; III, 115, l. 12; 812, l. 5. 852
- Bishr (Abū). See Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-'Ammī; also Maṭū ibn Yūnus.
- Bishr (Ibn Abī). See Ash'arī.
- Bishr ibn Abī Bishārah. He was noted for his literary style and was probably a government secretary. 275

- Bishr ibn Abī Khāzim. He was called Bishr ibn Hāzim by the Beatty MS. He was a tribal poet during the second half of the 6th century. See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 145; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVI, 98; Aṣma'ī, *Fuḥūlat al-Shu'arā'*, p. 27. 346
- Bishr ibn Ghīyāth. See *Marīṣī*.
- Bishr ibn al-Ḥārith, Abū Naṣr. He was born in Persia about 767, became an ascetic, was called al-Ḥāfī, and died at Baghdād 841/842. See Khallikān, I, 257; 'Aṭṭār, p. 97; 'Alī ibn 'Urūmān, XVII (1911), p. 105. 456
- Bishr ibn Khālīd. A 9th century Mu'tazilī theologian. See Murtaḍā, p. 42. 429
- Bishr ibn Marwān. A well-known poet. See Quraybah, *Shi'r*, p. 345; Jumahī, p. 429; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 129, l. 14. 722
- Bishr ibn Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, the ninth son of Marwān (caliph 683-685). He was the weak governor of al-'Irāq, who died at al-Baṣrah 694. See Mas'ūdī, V, 208, 254, 266, 343. 222, 720, 722
- Bishr ibn Mu'adh al-'Uqdī. An authority for the Ḥadīth, who taught al-Ṭabarī in the middle of the 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 23 bottom; 76; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, I, 297, sect. 352. 563
- Bishr ibn al-Mughīrah. He was a poet; for his brother, see al-Muḥallab ibn Abī Ṣufrah. See also Tammām, Ruckert, p. 78. 721
- Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir, Abū Sahl. A Mu'tazilī theologian and poet, who died 825/826. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 65; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 162; Mas'ūdī, VI, 373. 83, 357, 390, 391, 393-95, 429, 717
- Bishr ibn al-Walīd al-Kindī, Abū al-Walīd. He was appointed judge at Baghdād, 823, but was persecuted by al-Mu'tasim for refusing to declare the Qur'ān created. He died 852/853. See Khallikān, IV, 285, n. 5; Wafā', Part I, 166; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1067, 1121, 1126, 1130, 1132; Mas'ūdī, VII, 288. 394, 503
- Bishr ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī, Abū Dīyā al-Naṣībī. A poet and man of Naṣībūn, probably in the late 9th century. 327
- Biwarasp. A legendary hero of Persia, called in the Beatty MS Bīwārasb. The name means biwar (10,000) and asb (horse). The father's name was Mardāsbut. "Al-Fihrist" gives Wandāsab. See Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, I, 135. 22
- Bryson (Brusōn). He was a scholar and author of the Christian era, who wrote a well-known book on household management. See Plessner, pp. 3-9, 144; Pauly, Part I, (2), 2508. 630, 739
- Būbāsh ibn al-Ḥasan, Abū al-Qāsim. He was called Bīnāsh in the Tonk MS and was a Shī'ī scholar, who was a friend of the author of "Al-Fihrist." 492-93
- Buddha. The Indian holy man, called in Arabic al-Budd, about 560-480 B.C. 124, 717, 824, 831-32
- Buhlūl (Umm al). See *Qarībāh*.
- Buḥturī (al-) al-Walīd ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā, Abū 'Ubādah, 820-897. He was a famous Syrian poet at the court of al-Mutawakkil and editor of an anthology (Ḥamāsah). See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 226; Khallikān, III, 657; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 167. 320, 321, 327, 331-32, 340, 365, 374
- Bukayr ibn A'yan, Abū Jahm. The son of an enfranchised slave, who became a Shī'ī scholar in the middle of the 8th century. For his brother, see Zurārah. See also Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part II, 61; Ṭūsī, p. 141 bottom, and 142 top. 536, 537
- Bukhārī (al-), Muḥammad ibn Isma'īl ibn Mughīrah, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He lived

- 810-870 and was the greatest compiler of the Ḥadīth and author of *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. See Khallikān, II, 594. 555
- Bukht-Naṣar. The Arabic name for both Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonassar, the Babylonian kings. See "Bukht-Naṣar," *Enc. Islam*, I, 784; Athīr, Part I, 182 ff. 644
- Bundār ibn Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh. A leading scholar of the Imāmiyah group of the Shī'ah and one of their jurists. See Tūsil, p. 70, sect. 135. 543
- Būnī (al-). He was an alchemist, probably of the 10th century. The name must come from al-Bawan in Afghanistan or al-Būnah in North Africa. For the town, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 764. 850
- Būqī (al-). At first he was called al-Ḥusayn and later 'Abd al-Ṣamad. He was a maker of astrolabes, in the late 10th century. 672
- Burghūth. He was Muḥammad ibn 'Isā, the founder of a heretical sect. He probably lived in the late 8th or early 9th century. See Murtadā, p. 46; Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 11; Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), pp. 133-34. 397, 412-13, 427, 430
- Burjānī (al-), Abū 'Alī. A man of secondary importance, probably of the 10th century, and interested in scholarship. For Burjān, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 548. 332
- Burjulānī (al-), Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn. He came from near Wāsiṭ and was a scholar and ascetic, who lived at Baghdād. He died 852/853. See Massignon, *Origines Lexiques*, pp. 54, 131, 209 bottom; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 550. 458
- Bushī (al-), Abū al-Qāsim. He was a secretary and author, who probably lived in the 10th century. The name may be meant for Bushī, and he may be Ya'qūb Abū al-Qāsim. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 629, or he may have come from Bust. See *ibid.*, I, 612, and Khallikān, I, 477. 304
- Bustī (al-). He was perhaps Ḥamad ibn Muḥammad, Abū Sulaymān. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 612, I, 11. 500
- Buṭayn (al-) ibn Umayyah al-Ḥimṣī. A poet who accompanied 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir to Egypt about 826. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1090. 360
- Buthaynah. An Arab girl; for her poet lover, see Jamīl ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ma'mar. 719
- Buwayṭī (al-), Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Yahyā. He was one of the principal pupils of al-Shāf'ī, summoned from Cairo to Baghdād by al-Wāthiq. As he refused to declare the Qur'an created he died in prison, 846. See Khallikān, IV, 394; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 32, n. 3. MS 1934 calls him Abū Yūsuf. 521-22
- Būzjānī (al-). See Abū al-Wafā'. 719
- Buzurjmīhr ibn Bakhtakān. He was the vizier of Chosroes I Anushirwān, who was king of Persia 531-578. He was also a wise man. See Firdawsī, *Shahnameh*, VII, 287 ff.; IX, 167; Mas'ūdī, II, 206, 224; VII, 164; Sykes, I, 498; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, II, 279, 281; "Buzurjmīhr," *Enc. Islam*, I, 809. 20, 641, 715, 739
- Buzurmihr. A man who probably lived during the last half of the 8th century and founded a schism of the Manichaeans. 793
- Cadmus. He was the son of Agenor, the legendary founder of Thebes, called Qatmus in MS 1135. See Smith, *GRBM*, I, 524. 28

- Cain. The son of Adam. 784-86
- Callisthenes. A freedman of Lucullus during the 1st century B.C. He was known for his interest in drugs and charms. See Smith, *GRBM*, I, 576. 732
- Caraka (Charaka) of Kashmir. An Indian medical authority and the physician of King Kanishka during the first half of the 2nd century A.D. See Jolly, p. 16; Sarton, I, 284; Leclerc, I, 285. 710
- Cassius Felix. The author of a medical compendium based on Galen. He lived during the first half of the 5th century A.D. See Sarton, I, 392; Uşaybī'ah, Part I, 103. 689
- Cheops. Builder of the great pyramid. 845, 852
- Chosroes I. See *Anūshīrwān*.
- Chosroes II. King of Persia 590-628. He was known as al-Kistrā or Khosru Parvis. See Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, pp. 493-505. 243
- Christianus Philosophus. A scholar interested in alchemy. See Ruska (6), p. 25; Berthelot, *Origine de l'Alchimie*, pp. 99, 121, 203. 852
- Chynes. He was a scholar interested in alchemy, probably of the 1st century A.D. See Sarton, I, 238; Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 210, 236; III, 91, 168, 171, 180, 181; Berthelot, *Origines de l'Alchimie*, p. 167 ff. 849
- Cleopatra. She was the wife of Ptolemy, an Egyptian queen interested in alchemy. See Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 132, 174 ff., 182 ff., 235; II, 25, 289; III, 278; Berthelot, *Origines de l'Alchimie*, pp. 64, 78, 118, 129, 173; Ruska (6), p. 7; Lippmann, p. 51. 852
- Constantine the Great (Qusṭanṭīn al-Akbar). Emperor, 306-337. 580
- Constantine VI. The Emperor at Constantinople, 780-797; a young ruler, who paid tribute to Hārūn al-Rashīd. 264
- Crates. He was called the "Heavenly" and known for his interest in alchemy. See Fück, *Ambix*, p. 122; Ruska (10), p. 59; Sarton, I, 495; Lippmann, p. 359; Berthelot, *Chimie au Moyen Age*, III, 1. 851
- Criton (Aqrītūn). A popular physician attached to the imperial court at Rome, who wrote a book on cosmetics. See Qifṭī, p. 55; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 895. 690
- Ḍabbah ibn Miḥṣin al-'Anazī. A member of the expedition of Abū Mūsā north of al-Ahwāz, 644. 224
- Ḍabbās, al-. A disciple of al-Hallāj who, after being in prison, helped the police to find his master. See Massignon, *Hallāj*, I, 227, 240. 477
- Ḍabbī (al-). See Abū al-'Abbās al-Mufaḍḍal.
- Ḍabbi (al-) Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān ibn Yaḥyā. A scholar of secondary importance who wrote on the Qur'ān. 79
- Ḍabbī (al-), Abī al-Tayyib ibn Salamāt. Perhaps meant for Muḥammad ibn al-Mufaḍḍal. A noted Shaffī scholar of Baghdād who died 920. See Khallikān, II, 610. 525
- Ḍābī ibn al-Hārith al-Burjūmī. He died in prison at the time of 'Uthmān (caliph 644-656). See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 134; Ishāq, *Life of Muḥammad*, p. 739. 223
- Ḍabīlī (al-). A leader of the Ismā'īlī in the 2nd half of the 10th century. For Ḍabīl, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 549 top. 473
- Ḍabīlī, Abū Sa'īd. A pupil of Ibn al-Anbarī during the early 10th century. 166
- Ḍādīsho' (Ḍādīshū'). A man who translated scientific works for a provincial governor

- during the reign of al-Rashīd (786-809). For the spelling of his name, see Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, index. 588
- Daffāfah (Abū) Aḥmad ibn Maṣṣūr al-Baṣrī. He composed some poetry. 336
- Daghfal ibn Ḥanzalah. A contemporary of the Prophet, who joined *Mu'awiyah* and was known as the first genealogist of Islām. He was killed during the second half of the 7th century. See Khallikān, II, 513, 514; Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 210, 211; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 265. 193, 194
- Dāḥah. An Arab girl loved by Aḥmad. She may be the famous singer of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, who was later at the court in Baghdād. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XI, 17. 719
- Dahakī (Ibn al-). He corrected the scientific translations of his father. See 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dahakī. 588
- Dahbal (Abū) Wahb ibn Zama'ī al-Jumālī. He was known for his noble birth, generosity, and fondness of poetry and singing. He went from Makkah to Damascus at the time of *Mu'awiyah* (caliph 661-680). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VI, 154. 243
- Ḍaḥḥāk (al-) Ibn 'Ajlān. A scribe and skillful penman of the early 'Abbāsīd period. 12
- Ḍaḥḥāk (al-) (Zahhāk) ibn Qayy (Kai). He was the legendary ruler overthrown and bound by Farīdūn. See Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, I, 135-66; Mas'ūdī, II, 113; III, 251; IV, 56. Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 293. 573
- Ḍaḥḥāk (al-) ibn Makhliḍ ibn Sinān al-Shaybānī, Abū 'Āsim al-Nabīl. He lived 740-828 and was a traditionalist, who went from al-Baṣrah to Baghdād. See Mas'ūdī, VII, 93; Ziriklī, Part III, 310; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 1606, 1799. 643
- Ḍaḥḥāk (al-) ibn Muṣālim. A man who taught a school at al-Kūfah for charity. He died in the early 8th century. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 415; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 254. 75
- Ḍaḥḥāk (al-) ibn Qays al-Filxī. A famous officer who joined the revolt of Ibn al-Zubayr, who was defeated at the Battle of Marj Rāhiṭ, 684. See Mas'ūdī, V, 198-204; Ziriklī, Part III, 309. 208
- Ḍaḥḥāk al-Khārījī. A rebel at the time of *Marwān* (caliph 683-685). See Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 328. 202
- Dāhir (Zāhir). A legendary hero. See Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, IV, 148. 577
- Dahmaj ibn Muḥarrar, Naṣr ibn Qu'ayn al-Naṣrī. A Bedouin scholar quoted by an early 10th century author. Flügel gives Muḍar and the Beatty MS, Qu'ayn. For this name, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ānī*, II, p. 898. 100, 191
- Dahn (Ibn). The superintendent of the Bimāristān (hospital) under the *Barmak* family. He translated Indian books into Arabic, in the late 8th and early 9th century. See Flügel, *ZDMG*, XI, (1857), 151. 590, 710
- Dā'i (al-) ilā Allāh. See al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan. 590, 710
- Dā'i (al-) ilā al-Ḥaqq. See al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd; also *Muhammad* ibn Zayd. 590, 710
- Da'laj ibn Aḥmad al-Sajazī, Abū Muḥammad. A wealthy mufti of Baghdād, who died 962 and was famous for learning and charity. See Khallikān, I, 9, n. 5 Ziriklī, Part III, 18. 95
- Dallāl (al-), Abū Yazīd Nāfidh. A famous singer at al-Madīnalī, who lived during the reigns of 'Abd al-Malik and his successors, 685-717. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IV, 59. 309

- Darnādh Abū Ghassān. See *Raḡf* ibn Salamah.
- Dāmaghānī (al-), Abū Ja'far. He wrote a history of the Daylamīyah, probably referring to the dynasty of Buwayh. 377
- Ḍamḍam (Abū) al-Madīnī. He was a man of early Islām about whom amusing anecdotes were told. See Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, Part III, 282, l. 7; Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 7, n. 7. 735
- Ḍamḍam (Ibn) al-Kilābī. He was also called Abū 'Uthmān Sa'id ibn Ḍamḍam, and was a poet attached to a vizier of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 50. 102, 364
- Ḍamrah ibn Ḍamrah ibn Jābir al-Nahshali. A Pre-Islāmic poet who was quoted by later writers. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 563; IV, 49. Qutaybah, *Ma'ānī*, p. 1005; Fleischer, *ZDMG*, XII, 63; Ziriklī, Part III, 311. 118
- Ḍamrī (al-). He was probably the Pre-Islāmic poet called Shiqqah. See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 405. Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part X, 26. Compare Ḍamrah ibn Ḍamrah. 362
- Danānīr. She was a slave girl of Muḥammad ibn Kunāsah. She became a poetess and was set free by her master before she died early in the 9th century. See Kaḥḥalah, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part I, 415. 362
- Dandānī (al-), 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī, Abū 'Alī. An astrologer, probably from Dandānah near Wāsiṭ. See Qifṭī, p. 221; Suter, X (1900), 30. See also Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 611. 663, 710
- Daniel. The Hebrew prophet. 737
- Danqashī (al-). A poet connected with Eastern Arabia. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 902. 359
- Dārā ibn Dārāb, Darius III, Codomanus, King of Persia 336-331 B.C. His father Dārāb (Dārā) was said to be the true father of Alexander the Great. See Sykes, I, 249, 280, 423; "Dārā," *Enc. Islam*, I, 920; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 117; Firdawsi, *Shahnama*, VI, 29-59. 265, 574
- Darānī (al-), Abū Sulaymān 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad. A man of Damascus who was an ascetic and author of the earliest known treatises on mysticism. He was largely responsible for the doctrine of al-ma'rifah. He died soon after 820. See Khallikān, II, 88; 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān, XVII (1911), 112; 'Aḥḥār, p. 164. 456
- Dāraqutnī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Umar. He was named for Dār al-Qutn in Baghdād, where he lived, except for a time in Egypt. He was born 919 and died 995, being an authority for the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth. See Ziriklī, Part V, 130. 78
- Dārī' al-Rāhib. A Christian monk who translated scientific books. The spelling of the name is uncertain. 587
- Dārimī (al-) al-Madīnī. A poet of early Islām about whom amusing stories were told. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 8, n. 2; compare Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part II, 178. 358, 735
- Ḍarīr (al-). See *Hishām* ibn Mu'āwiyah; also Muḥammad ibn Sa'dān.
- Ḍarīr (al-) Abū 'Uthmān Sa'id ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. A Qur'ānic reader and teacher of the 10th century. 73
- Darius III. See *Dārā* ibn Dārāb.
- Dasufī. A man largely influenced by dualism. For the name, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 575. 812

- Dā'ūd. David, the Jewish king. 43
- Dā'ūd. A metaphysician of the Khawārij, who wrote epistles. 433
- Dā'ūd (Abū). See *Ḥammām* ibn 'Abd al-Malik; also *Sulaymān* ibn al-Ash'ath.
- Dā'ūd ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥumayd ibn Qaḥṭabah. An important man of the middle 9th century and a patron of translating Persian books. For his translators, see *Mūsā* and *Yūsuf*, sons of Khālid; and for his distinguished grandfather, who died 776/777, see Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, I, 8, 18, 35. 589
- Dā'ūd (Ibn Abī). See 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān.
- Dā'ūd (Ibn Abī) Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad. A man of Damascus who went to Baghdād before 833, was appointed as a judge by al-Mu'taṣim and vizier by al-Mutawakkil. He died in disgrace 854. See Khallikān, I, 61. 402, 409, 430
- Dā'ūd ibn Abī Dhanbar. A Mālikī jurist. 495
- Dā'ūd ibn Abī Hind, Abū Bakr. A scholar who wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān and was an authority for the Ḥadīth. He died 756/757. See Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 17, note. 75
- Dā'ūd ibn Abī Ṭibah (Ṭayyibah). A man of secondary importance interested in the Qur'ān. 79
- Dā'ūd ibn Abī Zayd, Abū Sulaymān. He was called Zanakān, and was a Shī'ī traditionalist of Naysābūr in the 9th century. His name is confused by Flügel. See Tūsī, p. 126, sect. 273. 488
- Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī (ibn Dā'ūd) ibn Khalaf, Abū Sulaymān. He lived from 815 to 883 and was a man of Persian origin, born at al-Kūfah, but a Shāfi'ī jurist and popular teacher at Baghdād. He was the founder of the Zāhiriyyah school of jurists. See Khallikān, I, 501; Nawawī, p. 236; Shirāzī, p. 76. 82, 179, 431, 523-34, 563, 568
- Dā'ūd ibn Farqad. He was Abū Zayd of al-Kūfah and a Shī'ī jurist. See Tūsī, p. 130, sect. 279. 536
- Dā'ūd ibn Ismā'īl ibn Dā'ūd. A poet of secondary importance who lived in the late 9th century. For his brothers, see *Ḥamdūn* and *Ibrāhīm*. 365
- Dā'ūd ibn Jahwar. A secretary who composed an anthology of poetry. Flügel gives the father's name as Jamhūr. 367
- Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ, Abū Aṣṣām. He was the secretary of al-Musta'in (caliph 862-866) and the grandfather of the famous vizier, 'Alī ibn 'Isā. See Bowen, pp. 33, 34; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 618. 280
- Dā'ūd ibn Salm. He was called al-Aswad and al-Adlam and was a poet of al-Madinah who died about 750. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 135; Ziriklī, Part III, 8. 357
- Dā'ūd ibn Razīn al-Wāsiṭī. A poet of the middle 8th century. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 42, 43. 360
- Dā'ūd ibn 'Umar ibn Hubayrah. He took part in the war of 'Abd Allāh ibn Mu'āwiyah, during the rule of Marwān II (caliph 744-750). See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 3. 259
- Dā'ūd al-Ṭā'i, Abū Sulaymān ibn Nuṣayr. He was a disciple of Abū Ḥanīfah, who became a jurist and ascetic and died 781/782. See Aṭṭār, p. 161; 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān, XVII (1911), 109; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 257. 456
- Dawraqī, al-, Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm; Abū Yūsuf. He lived 782-866 and was a member of a family of ascetics in Khūzistān. He became a scholar in al-'Irāq. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 619; Ziriklī, Part IX, 253. 76

Daydān (Dandān). See *Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn*.

Dayṣān (Ibn). He was called Bardesanes. He lived 154-222. He was born near Urfa, became a Christian in 179 and then supported Gnostic heresies with a dualism between light and darkness. See Shahrastānī (*Haarbrücker*), Part I, 293; "Syrian Christians," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, XII, 169; "Ibn Daṣṣān," *Enc. Islam*, II, 370; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 462. 776, 805-806

Demetrius Phalereus. A statesman and philosopher who lived about 345-283 B.C. He headed the Athenian administration, fled to Alexandria, helped to develop the great library, and was exiled. See Smith, *GRBM*, I, 969, No. 28. In *al-Fihrist* he is called Zamīrah. 576

Democritus of Abdera. He lived about 460-370 B.C. and was an atomic philosopher who traveled extensively and was greatly honored. See Sarton, I, 89; Qiftī, p. 181; Diogenes Laërtius, p. 390; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 974. 612, 676

Democritus (Pseudo). A 1st century writer on alchemy. See Sarton, I, 238; Lippmann, pp. 27, 327; Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 5, 92, 201, 202; II, 159, 35; III, 343, 384; Berthelot, *Origines de l'Alchimie*, 142. 844, 849, 852, 859

Dhakwā. See *Zakū*.

Dhakwān (Abū) al-Qāsim ibn Ismā'īl. A scholar of minor importance interested in the "Book" of *Sībawayh*. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 275. 130

Dhālfā' (al-). A slave girl, singer, and poetess, purchased by Sulaymān (caliph 715-717). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part I, 115; VII, 131; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lam al-Nisā'*, Part I, 427. 361

Dhamārī (al-), Yahyā ibn al-Ḥārith. He came from Dhamār (Dhimār in al-Yaman) and was interested in collecting passages of the Qur'ān. He became a Syrian. He died about 762. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 709; II, 722. The name is spelled according to the Beatty MS. 62, 65, 66, 80, 81

Dhuhl (Abū) Aḥmad ibn Abī Dhuhl. A reader of the Qur'ān, who probably lived in the late 8th century. 63, 67

Dhī al-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Thawabān ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū Fayḍ (Fayyād). He was a famous mystic of Nubian stock, who lived in Egypt and died 859/860. See Iḥlājār, *Lisān al-Miẓān*, II, 437; Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part VIII, 393; Ruska (10), pp. 56, 90; "Dhū'l-Nūn," *Enc. Islam*, I, 963. 850, 862, 865

Dhū al-Riyāsatayn. See al-Faḍl ibn Sahl.

Dhū al-Rummah, Ghaylān ibn 'Uqbah. A poet of desert life in the late 7th and 8th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVI, 110; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 333. 174, 309, 311, 312, 347, 720

Diadochus Proclus. See *Proclus*.

Dī'āmāh (Abū). See 'Absī.

Dī'bīl ('Abd al-Raḥmān) ibn 'Alī ibn Razīn ibn Sulaymān, Abū 'Alī al-Khuzā'i. He was a poet of Baghdād famous for his satire. He lived from 765 to 861. See Khallikān, I, 507; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 29; Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part VIII, 382; Yāqūt, *Irsḥād*, VI (4), 193. 98, 108, 216, 321, 354

Dilān (Ibn). See Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Dilān.

Dimās (Abū). He was called by Flügel Abū Dimāsh and was a scholar and author. 177

Dimashqī (al-). See *Umayy*.

Dimashqī (al-), Abū 'Uthmān Sa'id ibn Ya'qūb of Damascus. He went to Baghdād, where he was a supervisor of hospitals and translator of Greek scientific books.

- He was active in the first half of the 10th century. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 587, where it says that the majority give the name as Dimashq, though Dimishq is also used. See Qifī, p. 409; Sarton, I, 631; Flügel, *Arabis Scriptorum*, p. 19. 441, 588, 600-602, 604, 634, 700
- Dimashqī (al-) ibn Abī Zay'ah. A Syrian poet who probably died about 900. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 695. 372
- Dimashqī (al-) al-Qāsim ibn al-Khalīl. A Mu'tazilī scholar of the first half of the 9th century. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 206; Jār Allāh, p. 98; Nādir, *Système philosophique*, pp. 81, 83; Khayyāt, *Intisār* (Nyberg), pp. 84-86.
- Diṣnānī (al-). An associate of al-Ash'arī during the late 9th and early 10th century. For the name, see Mas'ūdī, VIII, 282, 429. 451
- Dīnār (Ibn) al-Hamdānī. A Shāfi'ī jurist, known for his book on contracts. 526
- Dīnawarī (al-), Abū Ḥanīfah Aḥmad ibn Dā'ūd. For spelling of his name, see Khallikān, I, 625; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 714. He was a scholar of Persian origin and encyclopedic knowledge, who died about 895. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 123. 79, 147, 172, 178, 191
- Dīnawarī (al-), 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām. A scholar who wrote about unusual forms in the Ḥadīth. 191
- Diocles Carystius. He was a nephew of Hippocrates and his leading pupil, who lived during the 4th century B.C. See Sarton, I, 121; Gordon, p. 546; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 1011. 676
- Diophantus. An Alexandrian Greek of the second half of the 3rd century, who was a great authority on algebra. See Qifī, p. 288, l. 9; Sarton, I, 336; Wenrich, p. 272; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 350. 642, 668, 695
- Dioscorides of Anazarba. A botanist and physician of Cilicia in the 1st century, who compiled a great study of medical simples, gathered on military expeditions. See Qifī, p. 183; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 1051; Sarton, I, 258; Wenrich, p. 215; Gordon, p. 635. 679, 690
- Dioscorus. He was a priest of the Serapeion at Alexandria interested in alchemy during the 4th century. See Fück, *Ambix*, p. 122; Lippmann, p. 96; Berthelot, *Origines de l'Alchimie*, pp. 78, 129, 156; Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 175, 187; II, 57, 432; III, 60 ff., 195; Sarton, I, 388. 851
- Ḍirār ibn 'Amr, Abū 'Amr. He founded the heretical Darāriyah sect, probably during the early 9th century. The Beatty MS gives Ḍirār, though other authorities have Darāh. See Mas'ūdī, III, 107; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 32, 35; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 94. 357, 388, 391, 415, 416-17
- Ḍirār ibn Ṣurad, Abū Na'im. He was a man of al-Kūfah; a scholar of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, who died about 843. He was not regarded as reliable. See Nawawī, p. 322. 79
- Dīrbās. He lived at Makkah during an early period; a student of reading the Qur'ān by a system of his own. 68
- Dithār (Abū) al-Faq'asī. A nomadic scholar of language. 104, 112
- Diymartī (al-), Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad. He came from Diymart near Iṣbahān and was a 10th century grammarian. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 381; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 198. For Diymart, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 713. 188, 300
- Domitian. The Roman Emperor, A.D. 81-96. 638
- Dorotheus of Sidon. He wrote on astrology, but little is known about him. See

- Qisfī, p. 184; Suter, VI, 53; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 1068, No. 7; Flügel, *ZDMG*, I (1895), 628; 24 (1870), 380; 50 (1896), 339; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, XXIV (1870), 380; I (1896), 339. 575, 641
- Dracon.** A son of *Hippocrates*, who was physician to the wife of *Alexander* the Great and the father of *Hippocrates* IV during the early 4th century B.C. See Gordon, p. 541; Smith, *GRBM*, I, 1072; II, 483. 678, 691
- Du'ālī (al-),** Abū al-Aswad Zālim ibn 'Amr ibn Sufyān. He lived about 605-688 and was a loyal supporter of 'Alī as well as being a poet and supposed originator of Arabic grammar. See Khallikān, I, 662. 87, 88, 90-91, 196, 346
- Dubays,** Muḥammad ibn Yazid. A pupil of al-Kindī in the 9th century who experimented with dyes and other chemical substances. See Flügel, *Ambix*, p. 141 (73). 867
- Duhmān (Abū al-)** al-Ghilābī, a poet of al-Baṣrah in the second half of the 8th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIX, 151. 362
- Dukkānī (Ibn al-).** A merchant of Baghdād called after a village near Hamadhān. He was famous as a gambler, and he wrote a book about women. See Tawūkhī, p. 93. 736
- Dulaf (Ibn Abī) Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz.** He was a leading general and official under al-Mu'taḍid. He died 893. See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 139, 140, 143; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 74. 469-70
- Dulaf (Abū) al-Qāsim ibn 'Isā al-'Ijlī.** A general under al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taḍin, famous for his generosity, his knowledge of music, and use of Bedouin dialects. He died at Baghdād, 840/841. See Khallikān, II, 502; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 243-44. 19, 114, 255, 363
- Dulaf (Abū) al-Yanbū'ī, Mis'ar ibn Muḥalhil al-Khazrajī.** He was a poet sent on a mission to India, 942. He died in the late 10th century. See Tha'ālabī, III, 178; Mis'ar ibn Muḥalhil (his books in the bibliography); Yule, *Cathay*, I, 244; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 618; III, 445, I, 12; "Mis'ar B. Muḥalhil," *Enc. Islam*, III. 519, 829-30, 840
- Dulāwah (Abū) Zand ibn al-Jawn.** A poet of al-Kūfah, associated with the first 'Abhāsīd caliphs. He died 778. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 120; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 487; Khallikān, I, 534. 314, 356
- Dumaynah (Ibn al-), 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ubayd Allāh.** A tribal poet who led a life of passion and adventure. He died 747. Dumaynah was his mother. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XV, 151; Tamunām, (Rückert), selections 450, 471, 497, 551, 560, 563; Ziriklī, Part IV, 237. 244, 322
- Dūmī, Abū Aḥmad 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Za'farānī.** A 10th century grammarian. Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 225, calls him 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far. 183
- Dunyā (Ibn Abī al-), Abū Bakr 'Ubayd ('Abd) Allāh ibn Muḥammad.** He lived 823-894, and was an ascetic, a scholar, and the tutor of the children of the caliphs al-Mu'taḍid and al-Mu'taḥfi. See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 209-10; Massignon, *Origines lexiques*, 113 note, 130, 209; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, p. 86. 458
- Duqāq.** A girl singer attached to a daughter of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). Her son by Yahyā ibn al-Rab'ī'ah was named Aḥmad. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XI, 98; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part I, 413. 720
- Duqaysh (Abū al-)** al-Qanānī al-Ghanawī. A tribal scholar. 103
- Durayd (Ibn), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan.** He lived from 837 to 934 and

was the great scholar of al-Baṣrah, who spent some time at Baghdād and also visited Persia. See Khallikān, III, 37.

78, 94, 96, 126, 133, 134-35, 137, 169, 180, 182, 190-91

Durayd ibn al-Ṣimmaḥ. A tribal hero and poet during the period just before Islām.

See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 470; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 2. 345

Duraydī (al-), Abū al-Ḥusayn. He was probably both a servant and a pupil of Ibn Durayd. He may be the same as 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Duraydī. See Zubaydī, p. 202. 133, 134

Durays ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn A'yan. A Shī'ī scholar of the last half of the 8th century.

His well-known uncle was Zurārah. See Ṭūsī, p. 141 bottom. 537

Dūrī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh. An unimportant scholar who wrote about the virtues of the Qur'ān. 81

Dūrī (al-), Abū 'Umar 'Umar Ḥafṣ ibn al-'Aziz ibn Suhbār. He came from the Dūr Quarter on the East Bank of Baghdād and became a popular teacher at Sāmarrā. He died 861. See Khallikān, 401, n. 1. 79, 80-82

Durustūyah (ibn), Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far. A man of Fars, he became a leading scholar at al-Baṣrah. He lived from about 871 to 958. The Beatty MS gives the name as Darasutūyah. Khallikān, II, 24, says, "According to as-Samānī, the word is pronounced Durustūya, but Ibn Mākūla says in his *Kitāb al-Aḥwāl* that Darastawāh is the true pronunciation." Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 127, gives Ibn Darastawayh. 77-78, 94-95, 130, 135, 137, 142, 164, 190

Duwād (Ibn Abī). See Aḥmad ibn Abī Duwād.

Empedocles. A disciple of Pythagoras, who lived 490-430 B.C. and founded the Sicilian school of medicine. See Sarton, I, 87; Gordon, pp. 488-92; Diogenes Laërtius, p. 359. 676

Enoch. See *Ikhnikh*.

Epaphroditus, M. Mettius, of Chaeroneia. A Greek scholar who began as a slave in Egypt, but became a freedman in Rome, about the time of Nero. See Pauly, III, 160; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 160. 612

Erasistratus. He was born near Cos, 304 B.C., and became the founder of physiology at the Museum in Alexandria. See Qifṭī, p. 94, l. 5; Sarton, I, 159; Gordon, p. 598. 678

Erasistratus the Second. He was probably a medical authority of Sicyon, in the 1st century. He was called the "Analogist," and wrote a commentary on one of the works of Hippocrates. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 44; Diels, *Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen* (1906), 36. 679, 684

Euclid of Alexandria. The great mathematician of the reign of Ptolemy I (323-283 B.C.). See Qifṭī, p. 62; Heath, *Euclid's Elements*, I, 1; Heath, *History of Greek Mathematics*, I, 354. 19, 586, 619, 634-37, 640, 642, 647, 649, 666, 862

Eudemus. (1) of Rhodes. A pupil of Aristotle who was active 320 B.C. and an authority on mathematics and the history of science. See Qifṭī, p. 59; Pauly, III, 261; Sarton, I, 140. (2) An acquaintance of Galen in the 2nd century. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 77, sect. 4. 614

Eugenius. A Greek who wrote on alchemy, probably in the 4th century. See Lippmann, p. 69; Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 62, 175-78, 188; II, 39; III, 40 with note 4; Berthelot, *Origines de l'alchimie*, pp. 131, 176. 852

Eunapius. He was a friend or the father of the 4th century physician Oribasius. 688
 Eustathius. (1) A translator of scientific works. See Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 204; Leclerc,
 I, 186; Qifṭī, pp. 40, I. 20, 42, I. 2, 94, I. 5. (2) A well-known 4th century
 medical authority. For these names, see also Smūh, GRBM, II, 120-22.

587, 604, 606, 688, 691, 849

Eutocius. A geometrician and commentator on Apollonius; born at Ascalon,
 A.D. 480. See Qifṭī, p. 73; Heath, *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, pp. 352-53;
 Sarton, I, 427; Pauly, III, 319. 637, 638, 640

Eve. The first woman, in Arabic Ḥawwā.

784-86

Faḍālah ibn 'Ubayd al-Anṣārī. He was one of the men of al-Madīnah, who became
 a Muslim and took part in the attack against Cyprus under Mu'āwiyah. See
 Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 237. 65

Faḍāl (Ibn). See al-Ḥasan ibn Alī ibn Faḍāl.

Faḍl (Abū al-) Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. He was known as 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, a
 government secretary, who wrote about the Banū al-'Abbās caliphs. 237

Faḍl (al-) ibn al-'Abbās ibn Ja'far al-Khuzā'ī. A poet living at Baghdād, in the late
 8th and early 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 35. Flügel calls
 him al-Farāghī; almost certainly an error. 361

Faḍl (al-) ibn Abī Ishāq. He took part in the funeral service of al-Aṣma'ī at al-
 Baṣrah, 828/829. In the Beatty MS the *Abī* is clearly written. See Ṭabarī,
Annales, Part III, 1891. 120

Faḍl (al-) ibn Abī Sahl ibn Nawbakht, Abū Sahl. He was the famous physician and
 astronomer at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He died 815. See Qifṭī, p. 255;
 Sarton, I, 531, also 521, 524; Suter, VI (1892), 28, 62; X (1900), 5.

572-73, 575, 651

Faḍl (al-) ibn Dukayn, Abū Nu'aym. A jurist who died 834. See Quaybah,
Ma'arif, p. 301, where his name is included with members of the Ghulāt. See
 also Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 32, 231, 235. 549

Faḍl (al-) ibn Ḥātim. See *Nayrizī*.

Faḍl (al-) ibn Ismā'īl ibn Šālih al-Ḥāshimī. He composed some poetry. 364

Faḍl (al-) ibn Marwān ibn Māsarjis, Abū al-'Abbās. A man of Christian origin,
 who was a secretary and high official from the time of al-Ma'mūn to al-Mu'taṣim.
 He died 864 at the age of 93. See Shujā', VI (5) 301 (383), 398 (370); Khallikān,
 II, 476. The grandfather's name is spelled in different ways and may come from
 Mār Sergius. 278

Faḍl (al-) ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Turk ibn Wāsi', Abū Barzah. A
 mathematician, who probably died about 910. See Qifṭī, p. 254; Tūqān, p.
 206; Suter, VI (1892), 69; X (1900), 40. The sequence of ancestors is probably
 confused. 664

Faḍl (al-) ibn Nawbakht, Abū Sahl. See al-Faḍl ibn Abī Sahl.

Faḍl (al-) ibn al-Rabī' ibn Yūnus. A chamberlain and vizier to al-Rashīd and a sup-
 porter of al-Amin, who lived about 757-824. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 115,
 121, 143, 185; "al-Faḍl," *Enc. Islam*, II, 36; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 487-90,
 and Indices, p. 585, for his nickname, Maymūn ibn Maymūn. 366, 516, 741

Faḍl (al-) ibn Sahl, Abū al-'Abbās. He was called Dhū al-Ri'āsitayn because he was
 both vizier and army commander under al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). He was
 also a famous calligrapher. See Khallikān, II, 472. 16, 267-68, 313, 367, 804

- Fādl (al-) ibn Sahl ibn al-Faql, Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī. A worker of illicit magic who also wrote about it. 731
- Faql (al-) ibn Shādhān. See Ibn Shādhān.
- Faql al-Shā'irah. The poetess daughter of an Arabian slave woman, trained at al-Baṣrah and given as a present to al-Mutawakkil (caliph 847-861). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XXI, 176; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part IV, 171. The Beatty MS has al-Shā'ir, apparently an error. 362
- Faql (al-) ibn Yaḥyā. A secretary, who became governor of Armenia, in the early 'Abbāsid period. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, 330. 158, 274
- Faql (al-) ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd ibn Barmak. He lived from 765 to 808 and was a provincial governor and later a vizier of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He was imprisoned with his father, 803. See Khallikān, II, 459; for the Barmak family, see "Barmakids," *Enc. Islam*, I, 633-66; Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 294-96. 266, 277, 366
- Fahd (Abū al-) al-Baṣrī. He studied with al-Zajjāj and an associate of al-Mubarrad, a grammarian of the late 9th and early 10th century. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 375; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 129. 185
- Fākīhī (al-), Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn al-'Abbās. A scholar of historical traditions at Makkah, who died 885. See Ziriklī, Part VI, 252. 240
- Faq'as (Abū al-) Lizā'iz. He was a tribal language scholar of minor importance. "Lizā'iz" means "breastbones" and may be wrong, as the text is not clear. Compare Abū al-Faq'as Lizāz, who died at Sāmarrā about 871. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1873. 103, 112
- Faq'asī (al-), Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Asadī. An expert for the colloquialisms and traditions of the Banū Asad Tribe, who lived at the time of al-Manṣūr (caliph, 754-775) and died 825. See Ziriklī, Part VII, 126. 107, 108, 361
- Faqīh (Ibn al-). See ibn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq.
- Fārābī (al-), Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, Abū Naṣr. He was the distinguished philosopher and scholar of Greek learning, who lived at Baghdād but died at Damascus, 950/951, when 80 years old. See Qifṭī, p. 277; Sarton, I, 628; Khallikān, III, 307. 599-602, 629, 631
- Faraj (Abū al-). A 10th century transcriber of the Qur'ān, who used the Kūfic script and was a friend of Ibn Shanabūdh. 12, 85
- Faraj (Abū al-) ibn Najālāh. A government official still active in 870. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1442, 1443, 1446, 1790; Pellat, p. 55. 407-408
- Faraj (Abū al-) 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, al-Iṣbahānī. He lived about 897-969. He was brought up at Iṣbahān and became a leading scholar at Baghdād and the author of the famous work, *Al-Aghānī*. See Khallikān, II, 249; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 149-68. xv, 251, 310, 315
- Farazdaq (al-), Hammām ibn Ghālib. He was the great poet of the period of the Banū Umayyah. He was born at al-Baṣrah, 640, and died between 728 and 732. See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 289; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VIII, 186. 91, 222, 226, 235, 289, 348
- Farghānī (al-), Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Kathīr (Alfraganus). He was one of the leading astronomers at the court of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). MS 1934 and Flügel omit "Aḥmad ibn." See Qifṭī, p. 78; Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, 170; Sarton, I, 567; Suter, VI (1892), 67; X (1900), 18. 660

- Farḥī (al-). An 'Irāqī jurist who wrote about contracts, probably in the 10th century. The name may be al-Farḥī. 514
- Fāris (Ibn). A grammarian who wrote a book, *al-Ḥamāsah*. 176
- Fārisī (al-), Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ghaffār. He lived from 901 to 987 and was a grammarian of the school of al-Baṣrah. He went to Baghdād and later served in the courts of Sayf al-Dawlah at Aleppo and 'Aḍud al-Dawlah at Shīrāz. See Khallikān, I, 379. 139, 140
- Farqad al-Sabakhī, ibn Ya'qūb. An early Ṣūfī of the region of al-Baṣrah, who died before the middle of the 8th century. See 'Abd al-Qādir, XXII (1962), 322. Flügel and Massignon call him al-Sinjī, but MS 1934 and Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 30, give al-Sabakhī. Compare with name which follows. 456
- Farqad al-Sanjī, (al-Sinjī). A mystic and disciple of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who died 748/749. See Massignon, *Origines du Lexique*, pp. 53, 131, 167, 191. For his town, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 161. MS 1934 gives al-Sanjī. 455
- Farrā' (al-), Abū Zakariyā' Yahyā ibn Ziyād. A Persian of Daylam, who was the principal pupil of al-Kisā'i and himself an eminent scholar, dying at the age of sixty in 822. See Zubaydī, *Tabaqāt*, p. 143; Suyūṭī, *Bughyāt*, p. 411. 76, 79, 114, 141, 145, 146-49, 158-59, 163, 165, 236
- Farrās ibn Ghannū ibn Tha'labah. A scholar who was interested in tribal history and lore. Compare Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 463. 52
- Farrās ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī, Abū al-Rabī'. He was an astrolabe maker, probably of the late 9th or early 10th century. 671
- Far'īn, Abū Kandar ibn Jaḥdar. A man about whom Abū al-'Anbas al-Ṣaymarī wrote a book. Both Flügel and the Tonk MS give different forms of the name. 333
- Farwah ibn Ḥunayḍah (Ḥamīṣah) al-Asadī. A satirical poet of the middle of the 9th century. See Ishāhānī, *Aghānī*, Part XX, 183, 184, 187. 365
- Fās (Fā's) ibn al-Hā'ik. He was the subject of a book by Abū al-'Anbas al-Ṣaymarī. 333
- Faṭḥ (Abū al-) Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Hamadhānī. He was called Ibn al-Nahwī and was a grammarian of Baghdād who died 981/982. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyāt*, p. 28. 94, 126, 318, 516
- Faṭḥ (al-) ibn Khāqān ibn Aḥmad. A man of royal birth and the adopted brother of al-Mutawakkil. He was a scholar with a large library; killed at Samarrā 861/862. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 116; Mas'ūdī, VII, 220, 272; Khallikān II, 455. 161, 235, 255, 313, 324, 398
- Faṭḥ al-Mawṣilī, Abū Naṣr ibn Sa'īd. A Mamlūk slave, who became an ascetic, dying 835. See 'Aṭṭār, p. 183; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 235 top. 456, 461
- Fāṭimah. Daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad and wife of 'Alī. 443-44, 459, 465, 565
- Fāṭimah bint al-Mundhir. A daughter of al-Mundhir ibn al-Zubayr, who died 692 and was a brother of the rebel 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. For her husband, see *Hishām ibn 'Urwah*. 200
- Fāṭimah (Ibn Abī). A transcriber of the Qur'ān. 12
- Faṭūḥ ibn Maḥmūd ibn Marwān ibn Abī Janūb. An unimportant poet of the Abū Ḥafṣah family, last half of the 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1467, note e. The name is not clearly written in the Beatty MS. 354

- Fawz. An Arab girl. For her poet lover, see al-'Abbās, ibn al-Aḥnaf. See also Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 518; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part IV, 181. 721
- Fayḍ (al-) ibn Abī Šāliḥ, Abū Ja'far. He was the son of a Christian, who became a secretary and poet and finally a vizier at the time of al-Mahdī (caliph 775-785). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XII, 176; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 841. 266, 366
- Fayyūmī (al-), Sa'īd, or Sa'diyā. He was better known as Saadia ben Joseph, of the Egyptian Fayyūm, who lived 892 to 942. His title was Gaon (director) of the Academy of Sura and one of the greatest Hebrew scholars of medieval times. See Sarton, I, 627. 44
- Fazārah. A Negro who worked for 'Amr ibn Qal' (Qil') and was an ancestor of al-Jāhīz. 398
- Fazārī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm. A man of al-Kūfah, who was a grammarian, poet, and copyist, and a pupil of al-Aḥna'ī in the latter part of the 8th or early 9th century. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 4; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 268. 175
- Fazārī (al-), Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥabīb. A famous astronomer and the first person of Islām to make an astrolabe. See Qifī, p. 57; Sarton, I, 530; Suter, VI (1892), 27, 61; X (1900), 4; Nallino, *Ilm al-Falak*, pp. 147-48. 649, 671
- Fazārī (al-), Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm. A poet of secondary importance during the latter part of the 8th century and a brother of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Fazārī. 363
- Feridūn. The Persian hero who chained al-Daḥḥāk. His father was Abūn and his mother Faranūk. His ancestor al-Kayāt is given as Anqayān in the Beatty MS. See Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 115; Firdawsi, *Shahnama*, I, 135. 23
- Find (Qand) Abū Ayād. A freedman associated with numerous poets of early Islām. He was also a singer, marriage broker, and procurer from al-Madīnah. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVI, 60 bottom, 61; Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 8, n. 7. 735
- Firūz (Peruz). He was the brother of Shāpūr I, King of Persia, 241-272. He introduced *Mānī* to the king. 776
- Firyābī (al-), Abū Bakr Ja'far ibn Muḥammad. He was called al-Asghar (Younger), and lived from 822 to 913. He was a judge and authority for the Ḥadīth. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part VII, 199, sect. 3665; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 888, 930; Ziriklī, Part II, 123. The name is mentioned in connection with both Firyāb and Firyāb. 83, 558
- Firyābī (al-) al-Kabīr (The Elder), Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqid, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was a jurist and author, who studied at al-Kūfah and died at Caesarea, 827/828. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 204; Ziriklī, Part VIII, 20; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 930. 552
- Fustuqah Šāliḥ al-Karāfi. He wrote a book about unusual forms in the Ḥadīth. The texts do not make the name certain; it may be for *Fustuqah*. 190
- Fudayk (Abū). A leader of the Khawārij rebels at the time of Ibn al-Zubayr. See Mas'ūdī, V, 230; "Kharidjites," *Enc. Islam*, II, 906. 202
- Fuḍayl (Ibn) Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn. A secretary of Persian origin, who wrote about Pre-Islāmic religion, probably in the early 10th century. 273
- Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyād, Abū 'Alī. He was a highwayman of Khurāsān, who was converted,

studied at al-Kūfah, and became a celebrated mystic. He died at Makkah, 803. See Khallikān, II, 478; 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān, XVII (1911), 97; 'Aṭṭār, p. 69.

Fuḍayl ibn Zubayr al-Risān. A scholar of the Zaydiyyah, associated with the fifth Shī'ī Imām in the early 8th century. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 179.

Furāt (Ibn al-), Abū al-'Abhās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. A brother of the notorious vizier, and a famous penman, sectetary, poet, and scholar, who died 904. See Khallikān, II, 358; Šābī, *Wuzurā'*, pp. 12, 86, 148, 189, 199, 238.

Furāt (Ibn al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad. He lived from 855 to 924 and was the ambitious politician, who served al-Mu'taḍid and al-Muqtadir as vizier, but suffered many reverses. See Miskawayh, IV (1), 8 ff.; Khallikān, II, 355.

Fustuḡah. A pupil of al-Karābisī. He was named Muḥammad ibn 'Alī and lived in the 9th century.

Fuṭūī (al-), Hishām ibn 'Amr al-Shaybānī. He was close to the Mu'tazilah but differed with them on numerous points. He was probably active during the first half of the 9th century. See Murādā, pp. 61, 77, 90; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker) Part I, 74; Khayyār, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), pp. 57-61, 125-26, 169-70, 192; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 165.

Futuḡ (Patecius, also called Fātiq and Patek), the father of Mānī. See Puech, p. 35; Burkitt, (*Religion of the Manichees*), p. 21; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 157.

Galen (Galenus). He was the great medical authority who lived from A.D. 129 to 199. There was also the Pseudo-Galen, some of whose books were translated into Arabic. See Sarton, I, 301; II, 832; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 207.

Gallus Trebonianus. He was the Roman Emperor, 251-254. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 229.

Gayumarth (Gayo Marena). The Zoroastrian Adam, called al-Gil Shāh from Persian *gil* (clay). See Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 112; Firdawsī, *Shahname*, I, 118.

Germanus. He was the Patriarch of Constantinople 715-730. He was also an author, opponent of the iconoclasts, and a man probably interested in alchemy. He died 740. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 264.

Ghaḍīrī (al-), Dā'ūd ibn Salm (Salām). He was an Arab of early Islām about whom amusing anecdotes were told. For his tribe and life, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 278, I, 17; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 139-40; Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 7, n. 4.

Ghalafā' (Ibn) Ma'd Karab ibn al-Hārith. A poet of minor importance. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VIII, 65, I, 11. The name is also written Ma'addī Karab.

Ghālīb ibn Aḥmad al-Faṭīn. A secretary who wrote some poetry.

Ghālīb ibn 'Uthmān al-Ḥamadhānī. A poet of secondary importance.

Ghallābī (al-) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Zakariyā' ibn Dīnār. He was an Egyptian who quoted historical traditions. He died between 903 and 910. See Mas'ūdī, I, 11, 12; VIII, 433; Ziriklī, Part VI, 364.

- Ghanr (al-) ibn Mālik. He was either a poet or a hero who was the subject of poetry, known for his love of *Qabūl*. 720
- Ghanawī (al-), Abū Khālid. He wrote about the genealogy of the Ghanī Tribe, probably in the middle of the 9th century. 229
- Ghanawī (al-), Abū Sawwār. An authority for Arabic words during the first half of the 9th century. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 494; II, 66; Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 47. 98, 124
- Ghanīyah Umm al-Ḥumārīs. A woman scholar of Bedouin dialects, whose origin was among the tribes. 103
- Gharīd (al-), Abū Yazīd 'Abd al-Malik. A great musician and singer, who lived at Makkah and died 714. See Khallikān, II, 374, n. 4; Ishahānī, *Aghānī*, Part II, 128. 309, 324
- Ghassān ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Madīnī. The secretary of Ja'far ibn Sulaymān, who was governor of al-Madīnah under al-Manṣūr (caliph 754-775). Compare Tabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 1868, 1976. 274, 277
- Ghassān ibn 'Ubayd al-Mawṣilī. A conservative jurist, following Sufyān al-Thawrī in the late 8th century. See Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part IV, 418. 546
- Ghassānī (al-) Abū Muḥammad. An unimportant poet. 363
- Ghaylān ibn Marwān, Abū Marwān. He was a man of Damascus, a member of the Qadāriyah group within the Murji'ah sect, and one of the first secretaries to use good Arabic. He was exposed by Hishām (caliph 724-743) because of his heresy. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 244; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 160; "al-Murjī'a," *Enc. Islam*, III, 734. 257, 274, 388
- Ghaythah Umm al-Haytham. A woman language scholar of tribal origin. 103
- Ghazawān (Abū al-) al-Qurashī. The author of an epistle on pardon. 378
- Ghazzāl ibn Khālid. A reader of the Qur'ān, who used the method of Yahyā ibn al-Hārith. 66
- Ghiyāth. An active propagandist of the Ismā'īliyah in Khurāsān, during the middle of the 9th century. See Niẓām al-Mulk, p. 271 ff. 468
- Ghulām al-Abharī. See Abū Ja'far ibn Muḥammad.
- Ghulām Khalīl, Abū 'Abd Allāh, 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. A man of al-Baṣrah who went to Baghdād as an ascetic. He was accused of hypocrisy and of persuading the caliph to persecute fellow Šūfīs. He died 888/889. See Massignon, *Origines du Lexique*, p. 101; 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān, XVII (1911), 137, 190. 460
- Ghulām Zuhūr, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan. An astronomer at Baghdād who died 986/987. See Qifī, p. 224, who calls him 'Ubayd Allāh. See also Suter, VI (1892), 74; X (1900), 63. 669
- Ghuryūbah al-Sadūsī, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn Sufyān, Abū Muḥammad. Flügel gives the name as Ghanwayh; the Beatty MS does not indicate it accurately. He was a scholar of history, who lived into the first part of the 9th century. 240
- Glaucus. A physician associated with Galen, see Smith, *GRBM*, II, 276, sect. 3. 680, 682
- Gnosidicus. The father of Hippocrates I and grandfather of the famous medical authority. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 279, 482. 691-92
- Gregorius (Saint), Bishop of Nyssa. He was born at Caesarea about A.D. 331 and

- played an important part in the councils of Constantinople, 361 and 394. See Pauly, III, 965; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 313. 641
- Gushtāsp son of Luhrāsp. He was better called Vishtāspa or Hystaspis. The king converted by Zoroaster. In the Beatty MS the name is given as Qustāsb. 23, 24, 797
- Ḥabābah. A concubine loved by Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik (caliph 720-724). See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 331; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part I, 232. 719
- Ḥabash ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was also known as Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Marwazī al-Ḥāsib and was a mathematician and astronomer in Baghdād. He was active at the time of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833), but lived to be over 100 years old. See Qiftī, p. 170; Suter, VI (1892), 29, 63; X (1900), 12; Nallino, *Ilm al-Falak*, pp. 175, 188, 248-49. 653, 654
- Ḥabash (Ibn) Abū Ja'far ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh. A 9th century astronomer, who was the son of the last-mentioned scholar. See Suter, VI (1892), 30; X (1900), 27. 654
- Ḥabashī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was a pupil of the Mu'tazilī scholar Ibn al-Ikhshīd during the first half of the 10th century. See Murtadā, p. 110. 432
- Ḥabīb al-'Aṣṭār. A perfume dealer known for his book about perfumes. 742
- Ḥabīb ibn al-Bahriz. A bishop of al-Mawṣil who translated books on science for al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). 587
- Ḥabīb ibn al-Najm, Abū al-Najm. A man noted for his literary style, living at the time of al-Mahdī (caliph 775-785). 275
- Ḥabrah (Abū) Naḥshal ibn Zayd. A Bedouin scholar, probably of the 7th century, at al-Ḥīrah. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 48. 100
- Haddāb al-Hujaymī. An unimportant language scholar of tribal origin. 103
- Ḥaddād (al-). Note 6 to p. 37 of the Flügel edition suggests he was Abū 'Ubaydah al-Ḥaddād, called 'Abd al-Wahīd ibn Waṣṣ al-Sadūsī of al-Baṣrah. 81
- Ḥaddād (Ibn al-), Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far, Abū Bakr. He was an Egyptian jurist and judge, who was a disciple of al-Ṭabarī, living from 878 to 955. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 32; Ziriklī, Part VI, 201. 567
- Hādī (al-). See 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, Abū al-Ḥasan; see also Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn. 201, 223, 277
- Hādī (al-). The 'Abbāsīd caliph, 785-786. 201, 223, 277
- Ḥadīdah (Ibn). A transcriber of the Qur'ān. The name may be Ibn Ḥudaydah. See Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, II, 1717. 12
- Ḥādīrah (al-). Qutbah ibn Aws ibn Muḥsin. A Pre-Islāmic poet, who composed verses about tribal life. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 82; Muḥaddal, *Muḥaddaliyāt*, p. 41. The name may be al-Ḥuwaydirah. 346
- Ḥaḍramī (al-) 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Ishāq. A man of al-Baṣrah, who was a Qur'ān reader, in the first part of the 8th century. See Khallikān, II, 419; IV, 288. 68, 91-93
- Ḥaḍramī (al-). A scholar who composed a book on the Ḥadīth with Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid. Compare 'Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān. 190
- Ḥaḍramī (al-), Abū Mālik. A Shī'ī scholar and shaykh of the Rāfiḍīyah. He held that the will of Allāh is an external act. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 71. 442
- Ḥaḍramī (al-), Abū Muḥammad Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq. He was a scholar of al-Baṣrah and reader of the Qur'ān, who died 820. See Khallikān, IV, 287. 68, 79, 168
- Ḥaḍramī (Ibn al-). A transcriber of the Qur'ān. 12

- Hadrian. The Roman Emperor, A.D. 117-138. 639, 852
- Ḥafṣ (Abū) al-Ḥaddād. A Persian associated with the Mu'tazilī, but with original ideas. He lived for a time with a jurist at Baghdād, but died at Nisābūr, in the second half of the 9th century. See Jār Allāh, p. 39, n. 4; Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), pp. 203-205. 419
- Ḥafṣ (Abū) 'Umar ibn 'Isā al-Andalusī. He was called al-Iqrīshī because he conquered Crete during the reign of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). See Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 376. 228
- Ḥafṣ al-Ḍarīr, Ubū 'Umar Ḥafṣ ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. He was from al-Baṣrah and was an authority on the Ḥadīth and the reading of the Qur'ān. He died 860. See Ziriklī, Part II, 291. 557
- Ḥafṣ al-Fard, Abū 'Amr (Abū Yaḥyā). He came from Egypt to al-Baṣrah, where he lived during the late 8th and early 9th century. He became an heretical theologian. See Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), pp. 133-34, 215; "Ḥafṣ al-Fard," *Enc. Islam*, II, 215; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 28, 94. 220, 357, 388, 413, 448
- Ḥafṣ (Ibn). A pupil of Ibn Durayd, in the last half of the 9th century. 134
- Ḥafṣ ibn Abī al-Nu'mān al-Umawī. A poet who died 723. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VIII, 36 top; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 844, l. 3; 847, l. 13; 849, l. 14. 376
- Ḥafṣ (Ibn) Abū Ishāq. A scholar of minor importance, who was quoted because of certain items of information which he passed on. 134, 135, 264
- Ḥafṣ ibn Ashaym. A theologian and author of the *Khawārij*. For Ashaym, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 278 bottom. 453
- Ḥafṣ ibn Sulaymān al-Bazzāz, Abū 'Amr. He was a reader of the Qur'ān, who was born at al-Kūfah, 708. "Al-Fihrist" gives his death as 748, whereas Yāqūt, *Geog.*, Index, and Khallikān, II, 1, n. 3, give 796. 65, 73
- Ḥafṣā (al-). A sharīf of al-Yaman, whose daughter was married to the scholar al-Mubarrad, during the second half of the 9th century. 128
- Ḥafṣah. The daughter of the second caliph and wife of the Prophet Muḥammad. 48
- Ḥafṣah (Abū) Yazīd. He was probably a Jew who became a Muslim and a poet in the middle of the 8th century. He was the ancestor of a line of poets. See Khallikān, III, 343, 347. 353
- Ḥafṣuwayh. The best of the tax bureau secretaries and the first author to write a book about the land tax; probably in the 9th century. The name may not be written correctly. 297, 364
- Hājib (Ibn) Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Nu'mān 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Ibrāhīm. He was the director of the Bureau of the Sawād under Mu'izz al-Dawlah (945-967) and owner of a library. See Shujā', VI (5), pp. 128 (126), 154 (149), 422 (395). 295, 366, 371, 736
- Hājāj (al-) ibn Yūsuf. A teacher of al-Tā'if, who was appointed to be governor of Arabia, 692, and of al-'Irāq, 694. He died 714 and was famous for his severity and ability. See Khallikān I, 356. 117, 209, 223, 259, 382, 535, 581-83, 792, 829
- Hājāj (al-) ibn (Yūsuf ibn) Maṭar al-Ḥāsib. He translated Greek works on mathematics during the reigns of al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn (786-833). See Qifṭī, pp. 42, 98; Sarton, I, 562; Huart, p. 281; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 187, 204. 584, 586, 606, 634, 639, 711

- Ḥajjājī (al-), Abū Muḥammad, a pupil attached to Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid at Baghdād. 167
- Ḥajjār (Abū) 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Maṣṣūr al-Kilābī. A nomadic scholar of language. 104
- Ḥakam (al-) Ibn Abī al-'Āṣ. A grandson of *Umayyah*, who was exiled to Ṭā'if by the Prophet. His son *Marwān* became caliph, 683-685. See Mas'ūdī, IV, 257; V, 199, 413; Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 189, 193, n. 1. 222
- Ḥakam ibn Ma'bad al-Iṣbahānī, Abū 'Abd Allāh. A secretary who wrote some poetry. 370
- Ḥakam (al-) ibn Qunbur (ibn Muḥammad ibn Qunburah). A poet of al-Baṣrah, who lived at the time of al-Ma'mūn (813-833). See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 222-23; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIII, 9. 359, 720
- Ḥakīm ibn Yahyā. A man of the Heracles Tribe, who unofficially served as headman of the Ṣābiāns of Ḥarrān during the middle of the 10th century. 769
- Ḥakīmī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. A scholar of poetry and language, who died 947/948. See Khallikān, III, 657, 666, n. 3. 128, 331, 696
- Ḥallāj (al-), Abū al-Qāsim. He was known as the "Ascetic" and was a scholar who wrote about the Qur'ān. 82
- Ḥallāj (al-), al-Ḥusayn ibn Maṣṣūr. A famous martyr, who was born about 858 in Persia, brought up at al-Wāsiṭ, and became an ascetic and extreme mystic. He was imprisoned 913, and executed at Baghdād 922. See Aḥṣār, p. 227; Khallikān, I, 423; Baghdādī (Halkīn), p. 80 ff.; Miskawayh, IV (1), p. 84; Nicholson, *Idea of Personality*, p. 26 ff.; Ḥallāj, *al-Tawāsīn*; Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*. For a complete bibliography, see Massignou (*Al-Hallaj, Martyr*), II, 943. 474-79
- Ḥallājī (al-), Yahyā ibn Abī Ḥakīm. A physician attached to al-Mu'taḍid (caliph 892-902). See Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 203. 699
- Ḥalwānī (al-), Abū Sahl Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Āṣim. A disciple of the 9th century scholar Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkarī. 173
- Ḥalwānī (al-), Aḥmad ibn Zayd. A reader of the Qur'ān and student of the Ḥadīth. Compare Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 31. 63
- Hamaysa' ibn Qādūr, Zand. He followed Nabī in the lineage of Ishmael. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 1113. 8
- Ḥamd (Iḥamad) ibn Mihrān al-Kātib. He was a secretary who also wrote poetry. He came from Iṣbahān and served the *Barmak* family. In one place Flügel calls him Ḥumayd. 271, 369
- Ḥamdān (Ibn). An Ismā'īlī writer whom the author of "Al-Fihrist" met at al-Mawṣil in the late 10th century. 473
- Ḥamdān ibn Abān ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid. A poet and the son of the more famous poet, *Abūn*. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VI, 17. 360
- Ḥamdān ibn al-Ash'ath. He was nicknamed Qarmat, who was a farmer in the region of al-Kūfah. He became one of the chiefs of the Qaramiṭah (Carmathians) about 874. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2127; Silvestre de Sacy, I, CLXVI; "Qaramiṭians," *Enc. Islam*, II, 767. 463, 468
- Ḥamdūn ibn Ḥātim al-Anbārī. A secretary who also wrote poetry. 371
- Ḥamdūn ibn Ismā'īl ibn Dā'ūd. He was a court favorite, sent to Shīz in Ādharbayjān by al-Mutawakkil (caliph 847-861) to serve as governor. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1316-17; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 354; Ziriklī, Part II, 305. 316, 365
- Ḥamdūn (Ibn al-), Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm. He

- was a Shī'ī man of letters, who served as a court companion to al-Mutawakkil and al-Musta'in. He died 868. See Zirikī, Part I, 81. 696
- Ḥamīd (Abū). See *Aḥmad* ibn Bishr.
- Ḥāmiḍ (al-) Abū Mūsā Sulaymān ibn Muḥammad. A pupil of Tha'lab and an authority on grammar, language, and poetry as well as a copyist at Baghdād. He died 918. See Khallikān, I, 591. 173, 190
- Ḥāmid ibn al-'Abbās, Abū Muḥammad. He lived from 837 to 923 and was a governor and financial expert in Southern Irāq. He became the vizier of al-Muqtadir, 919, and was associated with the punishment of al-Iḥlālaj, but later was humiliated. See Mas'ūdī, VII, 296; VIII, 258, 273; Khallikān, I, 424, 439, n. 20; Massignou, *Al-Hallaj, Martyr*, I, 211, 229, 269, 279. 426, 477
- Ḥamīd ibn 'Alī al-Wāsiḥ. A maker of astrolabes in the late 9th and early 10th century. See Suter, X (1900), 40. 671-72
- Ḥammād, Abū al-Qāsim ibn Sābūr (Sapor) ibn al-Muhārak ibn 'Ubayd. He was the son of Maysarah Abū Laylā, a freed prisoner from Daylam. He was brought up at al-Kūfah and collected the Mu'allaqāt and other early poems. He lived about 694-722. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (4), 137; Khallikān, I, 470; Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 132. 198
- Ḥammād 'Ajrad, Abū 'Umar ibn Yūnus (Yahyā) ibn 'Amr. A man of Southern Irāq, who was a licentious poet and a court companion at Damascus and later of al-Mahdī. He died 778. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIII, 73; Khallikān, I, 474. 309, 356
- Ḥanumad ibn Abī Ḥanīfah, Abū Ismā'īl. See *Ḥammad* ibn al-Nu'mān.
- Ḥammād ibn Muslim (Abū Sulaymān), Abū Ismā'īl of al-Kūfah. He was a judge who taught the jurist Abū Ḥanīfah. He died 738. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 240; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2497, 2498; Maḥmaṣṣanī, p. 19. 501
- Ḥammād ibn Ishāq. A Mālikī jurist of the second half of the 9th century. See Sryūṣī, *Bughyat*, p. 193. For his brother, see Ismā'īl ibn Ishāq al-Qāḍī. 496
- Ḥammād ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, Abū Faḍl. Like his father and grandfather, he was a popular man at Baghdād. He died in the second half of the 9th century. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part I, 59; V, 188; XVII, 125, 127, 128. 157, 307, 310, 312
- Ḥammād ibn Maysarah. He was quoted by Ishāq al-Mawṣilī. Compare *Ḥammād*, Abū al-Qāsim. 309
- Ḥammād ibn Murrāh al-Yamanī. A worker of magic, probably in the 10th century. 731
- Ḥammad ibn Najjāl al-Kātib. A secretary and poet. The Beatty and Tonk MSS probably give the name more correctly than Flügel does. 367
- Ḥammād ibn al-Nu'mān (Abū Ḥanīfah) ibn Thābit, Abū Ismā'īl. He died at al-Kūfah, 793, and was the son of the great jurist Abū Ḥanīfah. See Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part I, 346; Khallikān, I, 469; 'Wafā', Part I, 266. 499
- Ḥammād ibn Salamah ibn Dīnār, Abū Salamah. A man of al-Baṣrah who was a conservative jurist and mufti. He died at al-Baṣrah 781-783. See Sryūṣī, *Bughyat*, p. 240; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 252; Taghrib-Birdī, Part II, 56. 549
- Ḥammād ibn Zayd ibn Dirhim al-Azraq, Abū Ismā'īl. A distinguished scholar who was born at al-Baṣrah, taught at Baghdād, and died there 795. See Khallikān, Vol. II, 127, n. 4. 69

- Ḥammād ibn al-Zibriqān (Zabriqān). A scholar, probably of the late 8th century. See Zubaydī, *Tabaqāt*, p. 41 and note. 114
- Ḥammādah (Ibn), Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. A 10th century secretary and author. 286
- Ḥammām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, Abū Yazīd. He was nicknamed Abū Dā'ūd al-Tayālīsī and was a jurist and authority for the Ḥadīth at al-Baṣrah. He died 841/842. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 260, l. 4. 552
- Ḥammawayh. An associate of al-Ash'arī, who came from Sirāf in Southern Persia and lived until the early 10th century. 451
- Ḥammawayh, Šāhib al-Tawāwīs (owner of the peacocks). He was the man in whose house al-Nazzām died at Baghdād, about 840. 393
- Ḥamud Ḥarar. A man quoted in connection with official Turkish correspondence. 37
- Ḥamūlah. An officer serving under Abū Dulaf. 470
- Ḥamzah (Abū) Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Khurāsānī al-Šūfī. A shaykh of Naysābūr famous as an ascetic and scholar, who died about 902. See Sha'rānī, Part I, 88; 'Aṭṭar, p. 220; 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān, XVII (1911), 146. 461
- Ḥarūzah ibn 'Afīf ibn al-Ḥasan. The secretary of the general Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, who ruled the Eastern provinces 775-822. 275, 744
- Ḥamzah ibn Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt, Abū 'Umārah. He was one of the seven authorized readers of the Qur'ān, who lived at al-Kūfah. He died 772/773 at Hulwān on the Persian frontier. See Khallikān, I, 478. 66, 67, 69, 70, 73, 79-81, 84-85
- Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan. A secretary from Iṣbahān. He was interested in historical and literary subjects and the rights of the non-Arabs. See Khallikān, I, 494, 497, n. 2; Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 14, 280. 305
- Ḥamzah ibn Ḥumrān ibn A'yan. A Shī'ī scholar, of the second half of the 8th century. For his father, see *Ḥumrān*. See also Ṭūsī, p. 117, sect. 255. 536
- Ḥamzah ibn Khuzaymah al-Kātib. He was a government official who wrote poetry. Compare *Khuzaymah* ibn Khāzim, who may have been his father. 367
- Ḥamzah ibn al-Razzāq. See *Ḥasanī*.
- Ḥanash (Abū) Khudayr ibn Qays. A poet of al-Baṣrah, called al-Numayrī. He lived at the time of al-Mahdī (caliph 775-785). See Khallikān, IV, 359; Tammām, (Rückert), select. 315. 358
- Ḥanbal (Ibn). See *Aḥmad* ibn Ḥanbal.
- Ḥanīfah (Abū) al-Nu'mān ibn Thābit. He lived from about 700 to 767. He was the great jurist of al-Kūfah, who went to Baghdād and founded the Ḥanāfī school of law. See Khallikān, III, 555; Nawawī, p. 698. 152-53, 294, 357, 388, 410, 416, 499-506, 510, 570
- Ḥannād ibn al-Sarī al-Darīmī. He was called Rāhib al-Kūfah, and was an ascetic jurist, who taught al-Ṭabarī. He died 857/858. See Taghribī-Birdī, Part II, 316; Ṭabarī, *Tafīr*, III, 69, 427, 517 (sections 2058, 2758, 2998); Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 10, 19, 42, 52. 563
- Ḥarashat al-Dībāb. A man who gave information about the vernaculars of Southern 'Irāq to Ibn al-Sikkit. 126
- Ḥarāthamah (al-). See *Harthamah*.
- Harawī (al-). (1) Abū 'Ubayd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, a grammarian who died 1011. (2) Abū al-Faḍl of Herat. He died 940. See Khallikān, I, 78; Haurt, p. 156. Ziriklī, Part I, 203. 185

- Harawī (al-), Yūsuf. An astronomer of secondary importance. The name is from MS 1934. Flügel and MS 1135 have Harūnī. See Qiftī, p. 391; Suter, VI (1892), 68; X (1900), 57. 662
- Ḥarb (Ibn). See *Ja'far ibn Ḥarb*.
- Ḥarb ibn Umayyah. The father of Abū *Sufyān* and grandfather of the Caliph *Mu'awiyah*. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 193. 9
- Ḥarbī (al-). He was a man of al-Yaman who studied Greek science and became attached to *Ja'far al-Šādiq* in the 8th century. He was also said to have been the teacher of *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*. See Flügel, *Amibix*, 120 (37). 850, 859
- Ḥarbī (al-), Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq. See *Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī*.
- Harim ibn Ḥayyān al-Azdī. A governor during the second caliphate, who later lived at al-Baṣrah and was famous for piety and a knowledge of the Ḥadīth. He died 666. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 197; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 222; Kalābādī, p. 8. 456
- Harim ibn Zayd al-Kulaybī. An unimportant tribal scholar of language. 104
- Ḥarir (al-) ibn al-Šarīḥ, Abū Ḥāshim. A secretary of the late 8th and early 9th century. For his home, Ḥāqir Tayy, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 184. Instead of Ḥarir the name may be al-Huzayz. 261, 275
- Ḥarīsh (Ibn Abī al-). A bookbinder attached to the library of Bayt al-Ḥikmah in Baghdād. 18
- Ḥarīsh (al-) ibn Numayr. He was a man of the early 8th century, who quoted from his father the poetry of *Dhū al-Rumma*. 347
- Ḥārith (al-), Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. A scholar of al-Madīnah, who died about 747. See Nawawī, p. 195. 82
- Ḥārith (al-) ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He was the eldest brother of the father of the Prophet Muḥammad. See Mas'ūdī, IV, 121; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 189. 222, 330
- Ḥārith (al-) ibn Abī Usāmah. A scholar who died 895/896. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 774, l. 11; II, 151, l. 7. 220
- Ḥārith (al-) ibn Asad, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Muḥāsibī. He was born at al-Baṣrah, 781, became a legal authority and an ascetic at Baghdād, and died before the middle of the 9th century. See 'Aṭṭār, p. 163; Sha'rānī, Part I, 64; Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), VIII, 211, sect. 4330; 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān, XVII (1911), 108, 176. 457
- Ḥārith (al-) ibn Bushkhīz. He was a man interested in music and pleasure at Baghdād during the 9th century. The last name is also written Bushkhīr, but probably comes from the Persian *push-khez* (making bows). See Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 153; l. 28; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 29; X, 162; XVII, 123. 742
- Ḥārith (al-) ibn Ka'b. A nobleman of the 7th century, who was head of an important family. See Khallikān, III, 552; Mas'ūdī, III, 390; V, 388. 229, 238, 274
- Ḥārith (al-) al-Munajjim. An astrologer at Baghdād attached to the vizier al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl during the first half of the 9th century. See Qiftī, p. 163; Suter, VI (1892), 67; X (1900), 19. 660
- Ḥārith (al-) ibn Rāshid. A leader of 300 soldiers, who left the Caliph 'Alī to become Christians. They were killed on the coast opposite Baḥrayn. See Mas'ūdī, IV, 418, 419. 201
- Ḥārith (al-) al-Warrāq. He was Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥārith ibn 'Alī of Khurāsān, who became a theologian at Baghdād in the late 9th and early 10th century. See Flügel, *ZDMG* (N.F. 15), 303, n. 7. 419, 425, 429
- Ḥārithah ibn Badr al-Ghudānī. He was a poet known for his heavy drinking, but

- appointed governor of Rām Hurmuz and Naysābūr. He died 685/686. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XXI, 20; Khallikān, I, 638. 347
- Ḥarīz ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Azdī al-Sijistānī, Abū Muḥammad. He was a Shī'ī jurist of al-Kūfah, who went to Sijistān to sell oil. See Ṭūsī, p. 84, sect. 168; Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part II, 186. 536, 540
- Ḥarmah (Ibn) Abū Ishāq, Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī. A poet of al-Madīnah, who lived from 685 to 767 and was a supporter of 'Alī. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IV, 102; Tha'ālībī, *Farīdatu'l-Asr*, p. 68. 244, 289, 312-14, 322, 330, 352, 376
- Harmalah ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd Allāh, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Miṣrī. An Egyptian disciple of al-Shāfi'ī. He died about 858. See Nawawī, p. 202; Shirāzī, p. 80; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 48, 782. 521
- Ḥarrānī (al-). See *Thābit* ibn Ibrāhīm.
- Ḥarrānī (al-), Abū al-Ṭayyib 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Aḥmad. He was a poet and writer of official correspondence in the late 8th and early 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 46. 269, 367
- Harthamah ibn A'yan. The governor of Khurāsān and at another time of Africa. He was a great general of al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn, appointed to rebuild Tarsus. He died 815/816. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 221, 261, 370; Khallikān, IV, 279; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 88, 103, 136, 153-55; Ma'sūdī, VI, 443-53. 474-77. 156
- Harthamah ibn al-Khalīf. A secretary and poet, very likely the son of al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Daḥḥāk, who lived from about 778 to 864. 368
- Harthamī (al-) al-Sha'rānī. He wrote a book on warfare for al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). 737
- Hārūn. See al-Rashīd.
- Hārūn, Aaron. The brother of Moses. 844
- Hārūn (Abū) ibn Muḥammad. He was called by Flügel Abū Ghannr Hārūn, and was a secretary who wrote poetry. For his employer, see al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd. 368
- Hārūn ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was a jurist of al-Madīnah, appointed to serve as a judge in Egypt, 832-841. He died at Sāmarrā, 847. See Khallikān, I, 337, n. 14. 246
- Hārūn ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Shāri. A rebel of the region of al-Mawṣil, executed by al-Mu'taḍid, 896. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2149-51; Ziriklī, Part IX, 42. 531
- Hārūn ibn 'Alī ibn Hārūn ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr al-Munajjim, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He lived from 865 to 901 and was a patron of poetry and culture. See Khallikān, III, 604; Ziriklī, Part IX, 42. See *Munajjim* Family. 252, 313, 315, 316, 328
- Hārūn ibn al-Iḥā'ik. He was a disciple of Tha'lab, a converted Jew from al-Ḥirah, who became a scholar of language and grammar during the 2nd half of the 9th century. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 234; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 168. The name is incorrectly spelled in the Flügel edition. 164
- Ḥārūn ibn Ḥātim, Abū Bishr al-Bazzāz. He was from al-Kūfah and the author of a book about reading the Qur'ān. He died 863. See Ziriklī, Part IX, 39. 78
- Hārūn ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥammād ibn Ishāq, Abū Bakr. He lived 891-940 and was a judge in Egypt, Ḥarrān, Baghdād, and other places. For his father, see Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥammād. See also Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part XIV, 30; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 213, l. 18. 772

- Ḥārūn ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, Abū Mūsā. He was a writer of official correspondence, interested in historical traditions. For his father, the vizier, see *Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik*. 270
- Ḥārūn (Ibn al-), Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn. A scholar of Baghdād during the 10th century. He was a man of letters, who wrote on the Qur'ān. 283, 325
- Ḥarīrī ibn Mūsā al-Jawharī. The brother of a Shāfi'ī jurist of the 9th century. For "Ḥarīrī," see *Khallikān*, I, 619. 522
- Ḥasan (al-). The eldest son of 'Alī and *Fāṭimah*, who lived at al-Madīnah. He died about 669. 89, 215, 218, 251, 281, 330, 340, 542, 866
- Ḥasan (Abū al-). See the following: 'Alī ibn 'Isā ibn Dā'ūd; *Khanshalīl*; *Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf*; *Thābit ibn Ibrāhīm*; *Ibn al-Kūfī*.
- Ḥasan (Abū al-) Aḥmad ibn 'Alī. A secretary who lived probably in the late 10th century. 306
- Ḥasan (Abū al-) al-Aḥmar. A man of al-Kūfah and a grammarian of secondary importance during the 8th century. 145
- Ḥasan (Abū al-) al-Daqqī al-Ḥalwānī, al-Ṭabarī. A disciple of al-Ṭabarī during the 10th century. 566
- Ḥasan (Abū al-) al-Dīnashqī. He was a chief of the Manichaean schism of Miqlāṣ, probably in the last half of the 9th century. 794
- Ḥasan (Abū al-) al-Ḥarrānī. See *Thābit ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zahrūn*.
- Ḥasan (Abū al-) ibn Abī 'Alī Muḥammad. A younger member of the Muqlah family, famous for calligraphy. He probably lived in the 10th century. 18
- Ḥasan (Abū al-) ibn Ibrāhīm. A brother of the famous calligrapher Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm and himself an excellent penman. He lived during the late 9th and early 10th century. 17
- Ḥasan (Abū al-) ibn Khayrān 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Baghdādī. A Shāfi'ī jurist, probably of the 10th century. See *Ḥājī Khalīfah*, V, 320. 527
- Ḥāsan (Abū al-) ibn al-Kūfī, Mujālid ibn Sa'd al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī. A scholar of language and traditions, whose reliability was questioned. He died about 751. See *Nawawī*, p. 540. 113
- Ḥasan (Abū al-) ibn al-Najīb. A theologian and poet, who came from Baghdād but lived at al-Mawṣil during the 10th century. 374
- Ḥasan (Abū al-) ibn al-Ṣābīnī. An Egyptian who quoted to Abū al-Faḥr ibn al-Naḥwī what was inscribed on the tomb of al-Shāfi'ī. He belonged to the 10th century. 516
- Ḥasan (Abū al-) ibn Sinān, 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sinān al-Ṭūsī. He was a pupil of Ibn al-A'rābi and an authority for Arab lore and poetry. He died after 913. See *Khallikān*, IV, 269, n. 1. 476, 709
- Ḥasan (Abū al-) ibn Sinān ibn Thābit. He was a grandson of *Thābit ibn Qurrah* and himself a medical authority at Baghdād. He died 975/976. See *Qiftī*, p. 397. 648
- Ḥasan (Abū al-) ibn al-Tinnj, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim. He was known as Ibn al-Tinnj and was a bookdealer at Baghdād, who died 1001/1002. See *Baghdādī (Khaṭīb)*, Part XII, 94. 864
- Ḥasan (Abū al-) Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Warrāq. An unimportant grammarian, probably of the 10th century, called by Flügel Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn. 188

- Hasan (Abū al-) Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ashnās. He was a friend of the author of *Al-Fihrist*, who gave him information about the Turks and their way of writing. 37
- Hasan (Abū al-) Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Nāqī. A scholar of Arabic and Greek, who was at Baghdād when *Al-Fihrist* was begun. He died at Naysābūr 991. He was called al-ʿĀmirī. xv, 47, 49
- Hasan (Abū al-) al-Nasawī, ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad. A Shāfiʿī jurist. See Ḥājī Khalīfah, VI, 29. The name may be al-Nashawī, for which see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 784. 527
- Hasan (Abū al-) Thābit ibn Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah. A grandson of the famous Ṣābiān scholar and son of a well-known physician. He himself was a doctor, who died 975/976. See Qifī, p. 109. Uṣaybīʿah, Part I, 224. 648
- Hasan (al-) al-Baṣrī, Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan ibn Yasār. He was born at al-Madīnah, 642, his mother being the slave of one of the wives of the Prophet. In 671 he became the secretary of the governor of Khurāsān, and later of Anas ibn Mālīk in Persia. Finally he settled at al-Baṣrah, where he became famous for piety and learning. He died 728. See Khalīkān, I, 370. 75, 81, 82, 91, 380-86, 455-56
- Hasan (al-) ibn al-ʿAbbās. A traditionalist, probably at Baghdād, in the first half of the 10th century. 62
- Hasan (al-) ibn Abī al-Ḥasan. See al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.
- Hasan (al-) ibn Aḥmad. See *Iṣṭakhrī*.
- Hasan (al-) ibn ʿAlī ibn Faḍāl al-Taymūlī (al-Taymī bi-al-walāʾ). He was surnamed Abū Bakr, a Shīʿī jurist of al-Kūfah and an associate of the 8th Shīʿī Imām. He died 838/839. See Tūsī, p. 93, sect. 191; Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part II, 225; Ziriklī, Part II, 215. 479, 541
- Hasan (al-) ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd al-Nāṣir li-al-Ḥaqq, al-Dāʿī ilā Allāh. He was called Utrūsh, the spiritual head of the Daylam, who revolted in 913 and died three years later. See Masʿūdī, VII, 343; VIII, 279-80; Ḥakamī, p. 316; Lane-Poole, p. 127. 481
- Hasan (al-) ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Jaʿd. A judge in the Maṣṣūr Quarter of Baghdād, who died 856/857. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1434. 241
- Hasan (al-) ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad, Abū Muḥammad al-ʿAskarī. He was the 11th Shīʿī Imām, who lived from 845 to 874, and died at Sāmarrā. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442; Khalīkān, I, 390. 542
- Hasan (al-) ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥlah, Abū ʿAbd Allāh. A famous penman and the brother of the vizier Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī. 17, 87, 93, 115, 119, 145, 152, 162, 197
- Hasan (al-) ibn ʿAlī ibn Shabīb, Abū ʿAlī al-Maʿmarī. He was a man of Baghdād, who was a judge and authority on the Ḥadīth. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part VII, 369, sect. 3892; Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part II, 221. 555
- Hasan (al-) ibn ʿAṭīyah. A military officer, who raided Asia Minor about 777. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 149. 548
- Hasan (al-) ibn ʿAṭīyah. A reader of the Qurʾān following the system of *Ḥamzah*. 66
- Hasan (al-) ibn Ayyūh. A theologian who wrote a book confuting Christian doctrines. See Tūsī, p. 87, sect. 170. 433
- Hasan (al-) ibn Jaʿfar al-Raḥī. He was the author of a book on the Qurʾān. The name is omitted in the Beatty MS. For Raḥāʾ, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 709. The name may come from Ruḥāʾ. See "Orfa," *Enc. Islām*, III, 993. 76

- Hasan (al-) ibn al-Khaṣīb, Abū Bakr. A late 9th century Persian astronomer, whose book "De Nativitatibus" became well known in Europe. See Qifī, p. 165; Sarton, I, 603; Suter, VI (1892), 31, 64; X (1900), 32. 655
- Hasan (al-) ibn Maḥbūb, Abū 'Alī. A Shī'i scholar and author called al-Sartād (Zarrād), "Maker of Chain Armor." He lived in the late 8th and early 9th century. See Tūsī, p. 96, sect. 203; Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part II, 248 536, 538
- Hasan (al-) ibn Maymūn al-Naṣrī. He was perhaps the teacher of Ibn al-Naṭṭāh, who quoted him. He died 866. For his tribe, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 32, l. 1. 236, 239
- Hasan (al-) ibn Muḥammad. The paternal uncle of Ibn Durayd and himself an author of the 9th century. The name may be al-Husayn instead of al-Hasan. 134
- Hasan (al-) ibn Muḥammad ibn Ghālib ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī. A secretary and poet. For his father, see Bāḥ. 371
- Hasan (al-) ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Husayn ibn Jamhūr. A Shī'i jurist, who was the son of a distinguished father. He lived during the early 9th century. 542
- Hasan (al-) ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣabbāḥ. See *Za'farānī*.
- Hasan (al-) ibn Muḥammad ibn Sāmā'ah, Abū Muḥammad. A Shī'i scholar and author from al-Kūfah, who died 876/877. See Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part II, 249; Tūsī, p. 97, sect. 205. 541
- Hasan (al-) ibn Mūsā ibn Shākīr. He was a patron of scientific translation and research during the time of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). See Qifī, pp. 315, 441-42; Sarton, I, 560-61; Tūqān, pp. 187-94. See also Mūsā, Banū. 584, 645, 646
- Hasan (al-) ibn al-Najjāḥ, Abū al-Kalb. A poet of minor importance and perhaps also a secretary. 364
- Hasan (al-) ibn al-Ni'ālī. One of the early transcribers of the Qur'ān. 12
- Hasan (al-) ibn Qadāmah. He was an alchemist of secondary importance, who lived probably in the 9th century. 850
- Hasan (al-) ibn Qaṭṭabah. A leading general in the wars against the Byzantines and in Armenia. He died 797/798. See Mas'ūdī, VI, 256; Taghri-Birdī, Part II, 11, 42, 54, 104. 277
- Hasan (al-) ibn al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī, Abū 'Alī. A Shāfi'i jurist who worked at Bagh-dād. He died 917/918. See Shīrāzī, p. 94; Nawawī, p. 750; Khallikān, I, 376. 524
- Hasan (al-) ibn Quṭrub. A son of the well-known grammarian of al-Baṣrah. When his father died about 821, he took his place as tutor to the sons of Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim ibn 'Isā, the general. 114
- Hasan (al-) ibn Rajā' ibn Abī al-Dahhāk. He was a poet and government official of the 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, p. 1314; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XV, 104; XX, 38. 135, 367
- Hasan (al-) ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ. A 9th century astronomer. See Qifī, p. 59; Suter, VI (1892), 31; X (1900), 28. 655-56
- Hasan (al-) ibn Sahl, Abū Muḥammad. The vizier of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn. His daughter, Būrān, was married by the caliph. He died 851. See Khallikān, I, 408. 101, 146, 236, 268, 367, 652, 660, 804
- Hasan (al-) ibn Sahl ibn Nawbakht. A descendant of a line of astronomers of the *Nawbakhti* Family and himself an astronomer, who lived during the last half of

- the 9th century. See Qiftī, p. 165; Sarton, I, 531; Suter, VI (1892), 30, 64; X (1900), 16; Nallino, *Ilm al-Falak*, p. 135, top. 586, 589, 654
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn Sa'īd ibn Ḥammād ibn Sa'īd al-Aḥwāzī. An important Shī'ī scholar of al-Kūfah, associated with the 8th and 9th Shī'ī imāms in the first half of the 9th century. See Tūstī, p. 90, sect. 179. For the imāms, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. For his brother, see *Ḥusayn* ibn Sa'īd. 539
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn Šālih ibn Ḥayy. He lived from about 718 to 784 at al-Kūfah. He was a jurist and theologian, who founded the Šālihiyah branch of the Zaydiyyah. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 181; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 45. 444
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn Shākir. See al-*Ḥasam* ibn Mūsā ibn Shākir.
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn Suwār (Sawwār) ibn Bābā ibn Bahrām. He was known as Abū al-Khayr ibn al-Khammār and was born 942/943. He was a logician of Baghdād, who wrote and translated books on philosophy and the sciences. See Qiftī, p. 164, l. 7, which gives the name as Bihram; MS 1934 has Bahnām. xv, 590, 632-33
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn Ṭalḥah al-Qurashī. He was the son of Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, a Companion of the Prophet who died at al-Baṣrah 656. See Ziriklī, Part III, 331. 363
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn 'Ubayd, Abū Sa'īd al-Nahrabānī. A jurist who followed the code of Da'ūd ibn 'Alī. Flügel gives the names as Nahrabbānī and the Tonk MS, Nahrayānī, but compare Nahr Abān, Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 758, l. 2. 533
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Sulaymān, Abū Muḥammad. The son of a vizier of al-Mu'taḍid. He was a 10th century mathematician. See Qiftī, p. 164, l. 4; Suter, VI (1892), 60; X (1900), 48. 649
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn 'Ulwīyah al-Qaṭṭān. A scholar of historical traditions, who died 910/911. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 1002; Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), VI, 262, sect. 3293. The Beatty MS omits *ibn* and Flügel has al-'Aṭṭār, which is evidently wrong. 241
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn 'Umārah. He was a well-known traditionalist, probably the man who helped conduct the funeral of Abū Ḥanīfah at Baghdād, 767. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 128, 277, 424. 500
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn Wahb ibn Sa'īd, Abū al-Faḍl. He was a secretary to the chief of the chancery under al-Wāthiq (caliph 842-847) and also a poet. See Khallikān, I, 353, 597; Mas'ūdī, VII, 149, 167. 267-68, 276, 367, 408
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn Wāqid. An unimportant jurist, who wrote on the Qur'ān. 76, 552
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn Yūsuf, Abū 'Alī. A secretary who wrote some poetry. 371
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn Zayd. He was noted for his piety but imprisoned by al-Ma'mūn. He was released by al-Mahdī. He died in Arabia 784/785. See Khallikān, I, 210, n. 22. 368
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn Zayd ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl. He was called al-Dā'i ilā al-Ḥaqq and was a descendant of the Prophet, who became lord of Ṭabaristān in 864 and died 883/884. See Ḥakamī, p. 303; Taghri-Birdī, Part II, 331; Khallikān, IV, 310, 311; Lane-Poole, p. 127. 481, 482
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn Ziyād al-Lu'lu'i, Abū 'Alī. A scholar of al-Kūfah who was a pupil of the jurist Abū Ḥanīfah. He died 819/820. See Taghri-Birdī, Part II, 13, 32; III, 42; Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part II, 208. 506
- Ḥasan (al-) ibn Zurārah. He was a Shī'ī scholar of the second half of the 8th century.

- See Tūsī, p. 141, bottom. For his distinguished father, see *Zurārah* 'Abd Rabbah ibn A'yān. 537
- Ḥasanābādī (al-). An Ismā'īlī leader, probably from Ḥasanābād. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 268. He lived at Baghdād, but fled to Ādharbayjān in the late 10th century. 473
- Ḥasanī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn (Ḥusaynī). He was a Shī'ī scholar and author. See Tūsī, p. 377, sect. 856. 480
- Ḥasanī (al-), Abū Ya'la Ḥanẓah ibn al-Razzāq ibn Abī Ḥusayn. He was a descendant of the eldest son of 'Alī, who showed the author of *Al-Fihrist* a manuscript of the Qur'ān written in the handwriting of 'Alī, the Prophet's son-in-law. See Khallikān, III, 426. 63
- Ḥasanuwayh. One of the scribes of al-Kindī. See Qiftī, p. 376. 626
- Hāshim. The ancestor of the Prophet's family. For family trees, see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 111, 189, 289.
- Hāshim (Abū). A son of the Mu'tazilī theologian al-Jubbā'ī, who held to his father's heretical tenets. He died 933. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 189; Khallikān, II, 132; Muṭṭalibī, p. 94. 131, 434-35
- Hāshim (Abū) al-Ṭalībī or Muṭṭalibī. He was a poet connected with the families of Abū Umayyah and 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. 359
- Hāshim (Abū) 'Abd al-Salām. See Abū Hāshim, the son of al-Jubbā'ī.
- Hāshim (Abū) ibn Ṣadaqah al-Ḥarrānī. A secretary noted for his literary style, but put in prison 897/898 for serving the rebels at al-Kūfah. Compare Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2179. 275
- Hāshimī (al-). See al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad.
- Hāshimī (al-). He was called both Abū al-'Abr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad and Abū al-'Ibar Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. He was a poet known for his good memory. He was also a buffoon, who was killed in 864 because of opposition to 'Alī and the Shī'ī. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part V, 40, sect. 2394; Ziriklī, Part VI, 196. 334, 336
- Hāshimī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan. He probably lived at Baghdād in the late 9th century. He was a judge who quoted anecdotes about grammarians. 150
- Hāshimī (al-), Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm. A pupil of Tha'lab and al-Mubarrad in the last half of the 9th century. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 234. 165
- Hāshimī (al-), Sulaymān ibn Dā'ūd. He was probably Abū al-Rabī' of al-Baṣrah, who died 849. See Ziriklī, Part III, 187. 47
- Ḥashshishah (Abū) Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Umayyah, Abū Ja'far. He was a skilled ṭanbūr player at the time of al-Wāthiq (caliph 842-847). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XXI, 257. 318, 358
- Ḥaṣhīn (Abū al-) al-Hujaymī. A language scholar of tribal origin. 103
- Ḥassān. He was one of the 200 boys purchased by al-Manṣūr from al-Yamāmah, to serve as doorkeepers in the second half of the 8th century. He was also the ancestor of the well-known scholar Aḥmad ibn al-Iḥārith. 228
- Ḥassān (Abū). The author of love stories. 736
- Ḥassān (Abū) al-Ḥasan ibn 'Uthmān al-Ziyādī. He lived from about 770 to 857 and went from al-Baṣrah to Baghdād, where he was a judge and scholar. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 780; III, 350; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1424; Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part VII, 356, sect. 3877. 241, 639
- Ḥassān (Ibn Abī). A transcriber of the Qur'ān. 12

- Ḥassān ibn Thābit.** At first a poet at the court of the kings of Ghassān and later the famous poet attached to the Prophet Muḥammad. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part IV, 2; "Ḥassān B. Thābit," *Enc. Islam*, II, 288. 222, 243, 311
- Ḥātim.** He was the chief of the Ṭayy Tribe and a poet who lived just before the time of the Prophet and was famous for his generosity. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part XVI, 96; Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 85, 87. 243, 294
- Ḥātim (Abū) Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdān al-Rāzī.** He probably originated at Wāsrān. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 961. He became a leading Ismā'īlī scholar in Persia, in the early 10th century. See Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 112; Nizām al-Mulk, p. 273; Ḥamdānī, *Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, p. 251; Ivanov, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, pp. 89 ff., 101 ff. 468, 472
- Ḥātim, Abū, Sahl ibn Muḥammad.** See *Sijistānī*.
- Ḥawārī (Ibn Abī al-), Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥawārī.** A man of Damascus, who was a scholar and mystic. He died 844/845. See 'Aṭṭār, p. 184; Sha'rānī, Part I, 70; 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān, XVII (1911), 118. 456
- Hawl (Abū al-) al-Ḥimyarī.** A poet of secondary importance, living at the time of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). See Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, Part VIII, 163. 360
- Ḥawshab al-Asadī.** He was a man about whom amusing stories were told in early Islām. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 7. 735
- Ḥawṭ (Abū).** The secretary of al-Ḥarīr ibn Ṣarīḥ in the late 8th and early 9th century. 275
- Ḥaydar ibn Muḥammad ibn Nu'aym.** A man of Samarqand, who was a disciple of al-Ayyāshī during the 9th century. See Tūsī, p. 120, sect. 262. 478
- Ḥaydarah ibn 'Umar al-Saghānī, Abū al-Ḥasan.** A jurist following the code of Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī, probably at Baghdād. He died 968. See Ḥajj Khalīfah, IV, 400. 533
- Haydhām (Abū al-) ibn 'Umārah ibn Khuraym al-Murri.** A tribal poet, probably of the first half of the 9th century. See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 542. 361
- Haydhām (Abū al-) Kallāb ibn Ḥamzah.** A scholar from Ḥarrān, who lived among the nomads and then served the vizier al-Qāsim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh. He died 904. He was a grammarian, poet, and skilled penman. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 208; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 382. 95, 181
- Haytham (Abū al-).** An unimportant tribal scholar of language and grammar. He was probably the same as a man called al-Rāzī, who was associated with Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkārī. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 194. 103, 172
- Haytham (al-) ibn 'Adī ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān.** A man of al-Kūfah, who became an authority for tribal lore, anecdotes, and poetry. He died in the vizier's palace at Baghdād, 822/823. See Khallikān, III, 633. 78, 196, 206, 216, 217, 219, 241
- Haytham (al-) ibn al-Haytham.** A theologian and author, who belonged to the Ibādīyah heresy and the Nājiyah Tribe. 454
- Haytham (al-) ibn Maḥzar al-Fā'fā'. He composed a small amount of poetry. The father's name may be Muḥahhar or Muṭahhar.** 364
- Ḥayyā.** A scholar who translated scientific books. 587
- Ḥayyah (Abū) al-Haytham ibn al-Rabī'. A man of the Numayr Tribe and a poet who lived in Southern 'Irāq but attended meetings with numerous caliphs. He died 800. See Iṣbahānī, Aghānī, Part XV, 64; Qutaybah, Shi'r, p. 486.**

- Hayyānī (al-) Abū al-Faḍl. An astrologer, who wrote about the Indian astronomical tables. MS 1135, Suter, and Flügel spell his name as given, but MS 1934 has what might be al-Ḥannānī, perhaps from al-Ḥannānah near al-Mawṣil. See Suter, VI (1892), 36; X (1900), 67. For the locality, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 346. 663
- Hāzim (Abū) the Judge. See 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz.
- Hazqīl (Ezekiel), also written Iḥazqiyāl. A disciple of Mar Aba, who became patriarch of the Nestorians, 570. See Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, pp. 368, 370 note; Scher, *Patrologia Orientalis*, VII, 171, 192. 46
- Hazuṇbal (al-) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āṣim al-Tamīmī. He was a 9th century scholar, who quoted material about Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī. 150, 160
- Heracles al-Najjār. He was a keeper of one of the shrines at Babylon or Borsippa. See Qisṭī, p. 351. It is likely that the man's name was an ancient Chaldaean one, not properly given by the medieval writers. 644, 672
- Heraclides. He was the father of Hippocrates and lived in the first half of the 5th century B.C. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 391, bottom. 676, 691
- Heraclius. The well-known emperor at Constantinople, 610-641, who was connected with science and alchemy, as well as a government administrator. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 403; Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 174, 176, 183, 187; II, 25; III, 377, 379. 849, 853
- Hermes, called Trismegistus. He was confused with the Egyptian god Thoth. Numerous books were attributed to him by the ancients. See Pauly, III, 1209 ff.; Qisṭī, pp. 346-50; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 413; Diels (1906), p. 43; Berthelot, *Origines de l'alchimie*, p. 133; "Hermes Trismegistus," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, IV, 626. 573-75, 638, 674, 733, 746, 750, 757, 843-45, 848
- Herminius. A peripatetic philosopher of the late 2nd century, who wrote commentaries on Aristotle's works. See Qisṭī, pp. 60, 125, I 15; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 416. 614
- Herodicus of Selymbria. He came from Thrace and became a teacher of Hippocrates at Cos in the middle 5th century B.C. He may be the man called by the Arabs Aesculapius the Second, but this is uncertain. See Sarton, I, 96. 674
- Heron of Alexandria. He probably lived during the reigns of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III (285-222 B.C.) and was a mathematician famous for his inventions. See Qisṭī, p. 73; Steinschneider, *ZDMG.*, L (1896), 346; Carra de Vaux, *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1900, pp. 28-38; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 437. 587, 635, 642, 672, 746
- Herophilus of Chalcedon. He was Aristotle's grandson, who became a pioneer anatomist at the Museum in Alexandria during the last half of the 4th century B.C. See Qisṭī, pp. 94, 95; Sarton, I, 159; Gordon, p. 594; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 438. 678
- Ḥibbat Allāh ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī al-'Abbāsī, Abū al-Qāsim. A poet and singer belonging to the family of the caliphs, who died 888. See Iṣḥāqī, *Aghānī*, Part VII, 135, I 6; Marzubānī, p. 492; Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 9; Ziriklī, Part IX, 56. 735
- Ḥidrijān (Abū al-). A tribal language scholar of secondary importance. 103
- Hifṣān (Abū) 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥarb al-Mihzamī. A secretary and poet from al-Baṣrah, who lived at Baghdād. He died 871. See Baghdādī (Khaṣīb),

- Part IX, 370; Mas'ūdī, VIII, 225; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 932, l. 11; IV, 306, l. 22.
255, 273, 281, 314, 316, 353
- Hijāzī (al-), Abū al-Qāsim. He wrote a history entitled *Al-Ta'rikh al-Mulhaq*, probably in the first part of the 9th century. 234, 423, 507-508, 510, 515
- Hilāl (Abū) al-Dayhūrī. He came from Africa to become chief of the Manichaeans during the reign of al-Manṣūr (caliph 754-775). See Flügel, *Mani*, p. 327. The last name is uncertain. 793
- Hilāl ibn Abī Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī. He translated scientific works into Arabic. He died 883/884. See Qifī, p. 62, l. 5, which omits the *Abī*; Sarton, I, 598; Suter, X (1900), 27; Tūqān, p. 210; Ḥājj Khalīfah, III, 97. 587, 637
- Hilāl (Ibn), Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Hilāl al-Bakī ibn Waṣīf. He started an interest in the jinn and necromancy in Islām. 729, 743
- Hilāl ibn al-'Alā' al-Raqqī, Abū 'Umar. A language scholar who died 893/894. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 410; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 255. 191
- Hilāl ibn Mayyās. He edited the poetry of Dhū al-Rummah, probably during the first part of the 8th century. The name is not clearly written in the manuscripts. 347
- Hilāl ibn Yahyā, Abū Bakr. He was called Hilāl al-Ra'ī and was a Ḥanafī jurist of al-Baṣrah who died 859. See Wafā', Part II, 207; Ziriklī, Part IX, 95. 507
- Ḥimyarī (al-), Sayyid Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad, Abū Ḥāshim. A poet who died not later than 786. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VII, 2; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 326. 290, 330, 356
- Hind. The name of three Arab girls loved by poets. See (1) *Amīn* ibn 'Amrān; (2) *Al-Mustahall* ibn al-Kumayt; (3) 'Amr ibn 'Ajlān. 719
- Hind bint Asnā'. For her poet lover, see Bishr ibn Marwān. See also Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part V, 217. 720
- Hind bint al-Khus al-Iyādīyah. She was called al-Faṣāḥat and was famous for her poetry and wisdom. See Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part V, 231; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 153, l. 2 and n. 1, gives the title of Tha'lab's essay about her writings. 164
- Ḥinṣābah (Ibn). The patron of a grammarian, probably in Egypt. The name is omitted by Flügel and not clearly written in the Beatty MS so that the rendering is uncertain. 177
- Hipparchus. He was the great astronomer who was born at Nicæa in Bithynia and carried on observations at Alexandria and Rhodes in the second half of the 2nd century B.C. See Sarton, I, 193; Heath, *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, pp. 395, 530; Qifī, pp. 69, 95; Wenrich, p. 213; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 348-50; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 476. 639, 642, 668
- Hippocrates I. A somewhat legendary medical authority of the 6th or 5th century B.C. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 482. 675
- Hippocrates of Cos. He was born 460 B.C. and was called the Father of Medicine. See Pauly, III, 1355; Qifī, p. 90; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 24; Sarton, I, 96. 588, 591, 612, 674, 676-80, 690-93, 740
- Hippocrates III. He was a grandson of the great Hippocrates. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 482, where he is called the son of *Thessalus*. 678
- Hippocrates IV. A grandson of the great Hippocrates. He lived during the 4th century B.C. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 482, where he is called the son of *Dracon*. 678

- Hirmāzī (al-), al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū 'Alī. A man of al-Baṣrah, who was a poet and authority on nomadic lore. He lived at the time of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 168, l. 8; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 225. 106, 364
- Hishām. See al-Kalbī.
- Hishām ibn 'Abd Allāh. An authority on the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth from Sinn near al-Rayy. See Ḥājj Khalīfah, IV, 107; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 169. 79
- Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik. The Umayyad caliph at Damascus, 724-743. 202, 223, 251, 257, 267, 274, 583, 722, 803
- Hishām ibn al-Akhḍar al-Iyādī al-Miṣrī. An Egyptian poet of secondary importance. The Flügel edition gives the name incorrectly. 365
- Hishām ibn 'Alī ibn Hishām. A scholar of al-'Irāq, whose family came from Arzuṁān near Iṣbahān. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 205. 82
- Hishām ibn 'Ammār, Abū al-Walid. He lived from 770 to 859 and was a judge noted for his reading of the Qur'ān. He was associated with Damascus. See Ziriklī, Part IX, 86. 81
- Hishām ibn 'Amr. See al-Fūfī.
- Hishām ibn al-Ghāz ibn Rabī'ah al-Jurashī. He was a reader of the Qur'ān who came from a noble family of the Jurash region of al-Yaman. He died 770. See Tabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 3087; III, 2420; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 60, l. 7. 65
- Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, Abū Muḥammad al-Rāfiḍī. He came from the region of al-Kufāh and founded a heretical school of thought. He went to Baghdād, 814, dying soon afterwards. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 212; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 67 ff., 136, 144; Tūsi, p. 355; Mas'ūdi, V, 443; VI, 370; VII, 232; Khayyāt, *Intisār*, (Nyberg), pp. 177-78; (Nādir), Index, p. 167. 357, 388, 391, 413-15, 422, 437, 439
- Hishām ibn Mu'āwīyah al-Darīr. A blind grammarian and intoner of the Qur'ān at al-Kūfah. He died 824. See Khallikān, III, 612. 67, 154
- Hishām ibn Muḥammad. See al-Kalbī.
- Hishām ibn al-Qāsim. A scholar who translated from Persian into Arabic. See Ḥājj Khalīfah, IV, 14. 589
- Hishām ibn Sālim al-Jawaliqī. He was a Shī'ī jurist of the Imānūyah, who had anthropomorphic ideas and founded one of the two sects called al-Hishāmīyah. See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 36, 67, 70-73; (Halkin), pp. 33, 183; Tūsi, p. 356, sect. 772; Khayyāt, *Intisār*, (Nyberg), p. 176. 437, 442, 536
- Hishām ibn 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, Abū al-Mundhir. A man of al-Madīnah, who was a noted authority for the Ḥadīth. He was born about 680, sojourned at al-Kūfah and died at Baghdād about 763. See Khallikān, III, 606; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 115. 200, 502
- Hizām (Abū) al-'Uklī. A poet of secondary importance. Compare Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVI, 113. Flügel has Abū Ḥarām. 364
- Hizām, Ibn Akhī Ya'qūb. He wrote a book on veterinary surgery for al-Mutawakkil (caliph 847-861). He died 902. See "Baitar," *Enc. Islam*, I, 599, top. 738
- Homer. The great Greek poet. 676, 859
- Horace. The Roman poet, 65-8 B.C. 676
- Hubayrah (fīm) Yazīd ibn 'Umar. He was an Arab chief, who became governor of al-'Irāq but was killed by the Banū al-'Abbās, 749/750. See Mas'ūdi, VI, 73, 91; 738

- Taghrī-Birdī, Part I, 323; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1914, 1933, 1977; III, 2, 10, 12, 21, 33. 224, 267
- Ḥubaysh ibn al-Ḥasan al-A'sam al-Dimashqī. A nephew of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, who helped with the translation of Greek books on science. See Qifī, pp. 116, 177; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 197, bottom, 202; Leclerc, I, 154; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 312. 585, 588, 679-85, 690, 693, 699
- Ḥubaysh ibn Mubashshir. A Mu'tazilī scholar. For his better-known brother, see *Jāfar ibn Mubashshir*. 397
- Ḥudāhūd ibn Farrukh-zād. He wrote a book containing stories about ethics, entitled *Sīrat-nāmāh*. 741
- Hudbah ibn Khashram ibn Kurz. A famous poet, favored by al-Mu'awwiyah (caliph 661-680). He was killed at al-Madīnah in revenge for a murder. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XXI, 264; Tammām (Rückert), select. 153; Khallikān, I, 336, n. 3. 173, 243, 350
- Hudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, al-'Absī. The general to whom the Dabā' rebels surrendered, and the second in command of the army invading Nihāwand. He was later appointed governor of Armenia by 'Uthmān (caliph 644-656). See Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 320, 472-77; Waqīdī (Jones), I, 234; II, 488, 490; III, 1043-45. 48
- Hudhayl (Abū al-) Muḥammad ibn al-Hudhayl. He was called al-'Allāf and was a Mu'tazilī scholar from al-Baṣrah, who lived during the last half of the 8th and early 9th century. See Khallikān, II, 667; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 48; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 125-35; Mas'ūdī, VI, 369; VII, 231; MacDonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 136. 80, 357, 382, 386, 391-92, 415, 427, 429, 448
- Hudhayl (al-) ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Hudhayl. The son of the preceding theologian and himself a scholar. 387
- Hudhayl (al-) ibn Qays. An official at Ishbahān in the 8th century. For his better-known son, see Abū Zulfar. 501
- Ḥujr (al-). See *Daghfal ibn Ḥauzalāh*.
- Ḥujr ibn 'Adī. A Muslim general in the wars against the Persians, executed by Mu'awwiyah during the second half of the 7th century. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 420, 470; Mas'ūdī, V, 15-17. 201, 202, 325
- Ḥujr ibn Muḥammad. A scholar noted for his literary style. For the man who must have been his father, see *Muḥammad ibn Ḥujr*, the secretary. 275
- Ḥujr ibn Sulaymān. A man of Harrān, noted for his literary style during the early 'Abbāsīd period. 274
- Hukmwayh ibn 'Abdūs. A secretary of secondary importance who lived in the late 10th century. His name cannot be spelled with certainty. 305
- Ḥulwānī (al-), Abū Sahl Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Āsim. A friend of al-Sukkarī and a grammarian of the 9th century. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 208. 176
- Ḥumā'ī. The name of both the wife and daughter of Bahrām, King of Persia. See Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, V, 290; Sykes, I, 422. 714
- Ḥumard ibn Qays al-A'raj. See *Humayd ibn Qays*.
- Ḥumayd al-Arqaṭ. A poet living at the time of 'Abd al-Malik (caliph 685-705). See Tammām (Rückert), p. 335, select., 816; Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, Part III, 242, 262. 346

- Humayd ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Zuhri. He was quoted by al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, who died 870. 244
- Humayd ibn Qays, Abū Ṣafwān. A man of Makkah, noted for reliability in relating traditions. He developed his own system of reading the Qur'ān during the middle of the 8th century. See Nawawī, p. 221. 68, 75
- Humayd ibn Qays al-Hilālī. He wrote about the divisions of the Qur'ān and was perhaps the same as the preceding scholar. 80
- Humayd ibn Sa'īd ibn Bakhtiyār. A theologian, probably influenced by Mu'tazilī doctrines. See Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part II, 364, sect. 1490. 429
- Humayd ibn Thawr al-Hilālī. A poet during the periods of the Prophet and first caliphs. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IV, 98; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 230. 346
- Humayrah (Ibn). A man who transcribed the Qur'ān with Kūfī script. 12
- Ḥumrān ibn A'yan. He was the son of an enfranchised slave, who became a Shī'ī grammarian in the middle of the 8th century. See Tūsī, p. 141, sect. 295 and bottom. For his better-known brother, see *Zurrah*. 536
- Hunā'ī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan. He was called Kurā' al-Nanul, al-Dawṣī and al-Ruwāṣī and was an Egyptian grammarian who wrote a book in 919/920. See Yāqūt, *Ishād*, VI (5), 112; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 333. 96
- Hunayn al-Hīrī, Abū Ka'b ibn Bal'ī. A man of al-Hīrah who was a great singer favored by the Caliph *Hishām*. He died 728. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part II, 120; Ziriklī, Part II, 325. 309, 324
- Hunayn ibn Ishāq al-'Ibādī, Abū Zayd. He was called Joannitius and lived from about 809 to 873. He was a Nestorian of al-Hīrah, who became the famous physician and translator of Greek science at Baghdād. See Qifṭī, p. 171; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 184; Sarton, I, 611; Khallikān, I, 478. 584-93, 614, 628, 640, 679-704
- Hurayrah (Abū) 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Sakhr. A companion of the Prophet and important source for the Ḥadīth, who died at al-Madīnah 676/677. See Khallikān, I, 570, n. 2; "Abū Huraira," *Enc. Islam*, I, 93; Nawawī, p. 770. 68
- Hurayrah (ibn Abī), Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Baghdādī. He was a Shāfi'ī judge, who died at Baghdād 956/957. See Shīrāzī, p. 92; Khallikān, I, 375; Ziriklī, Part II, 202. 527
- Hurmuz ibn Kisrā Anūshirwān. He was the King of Persia 578-590. See Firdawsi, *Shahnama*, VIII, 70; IX, 170 for references; Sykes, I, 516. 321, 739, 741
- Ḥurr (Abū al-). A man of al-Madīnah and of early Islām connected with amusing stories. He was probably a marriage broker. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 8, n. 6. 735
- Ḥusayn. The second son of 'Alī and Fāṭimah, martyred at Karbalā' 680. 89, 215, 218, 339, 340, 495, 540, 583
- Ḥusayn (Abū al-). A late 10th century transcriber of the Qur'ān. For his father, see Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Naṣr. 12
- Ḥusayn (Abū al-) ibn Abī 'Alī. A member of the family of Ibn Muqlah, noted for penmanship. 18
- Ḥusayn (Abū al-) ibn Abī 'Umar ('Amr), Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf. He was a judge, whose father was an officer and judge under al-Muktafi (caliph 902-908). See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 217-19, 246. 180, 190, 251
- Ḥusayn (Abū al-) ibn Karnīb, Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd (Zayd). He was a

- mathematician who lived in the early 10th century. See Suter, VI (1892), 59; X (1900), 43. For his sons, see Abū al-'Alā' and Ibn Karnīb. 649
- Ḥusayn (Abū al-) ibn Yūnus. A jurist and disciple of al-Ṭabarī who lived in the 10th century. 566
- Ḥusayn (Abū al-) Ishaq ibn Surayj. See Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Surayj
- Ḥusayn (al-) ibn 'Abd al-Salām, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Misrī. He was called al-Jaml and was a poet who died 872/873. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 30; *Al-Fihrist* calls him al-Qāsim, probably an error. 365
- Ḥusayn (al-) ibn Aḥmad was a younger son of the hidden Ismā'īlī imam Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh and father of Sa'īd ibn al-Ḥusayn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī, who founded the Fātimid caliphate in North Africa. 464
- Ḥusayn, al-, ibn Aḥmad ibn Ishaq al-Mādhārī, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was called Abū Zunbūr and was a secretary who wrote poetry and died about 1001. Compare Taghrī-Birdī, IV, 204; Ziriklī, Part II, 248. 370
- Ḥusayn (al-) ibn 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was nicknamed both al-Ju'al and al-Kāghidī. He was born at al-Baṣrah, 920/921. He died at Baghdād between 977 and 980. He was a jurist and Mu'tazilī theologian. See Murtaḍā, pp. 105-106. 435, 514
- Ḥusayn (al-) ibn 'Alī al-Marwarrūdhī (Marwazī). He was the son of a prince who served the Samanī in Khurāsān, but revolted about 918 and died. He had become the local Ismā'īlī leader. See "Naṣr B. Aḥmad B. Ismā'īl," *Enc. Islam*, III, 871; Blochet, p. 68; Nizām al-Mulk, pp. 271-74. For his town, Marw al-Rūdh, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 506. 303, 467
- Ḥusayn (al-) ibn al-Daḥḥāk al-Bāhilī. He was called al-Khalī' and lived about 778-864. He was a well-known poet favored by al-Rashīd. See Mas'ūdī, VI, 458; VII, 277, 281; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VI, 170; Khalīkān, I, 447. 360-63
- Ḥusayn, al-, ibn Dī'bīl. A poet remembered because of his famous father. See *Dī'bīl*. 354
- Ḥusayn (al-) ibn Fahm. A man interested in historical traditions who probably lived in the early 9th century. 203, 220
- Ḥusayn (al-) ibn Ḥafṣ al-Iṣbahānī al-Hamdānī. He was a conservative jurist, who died at Iṣbahān 827. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 204. 546
- Ḥusayn, al-, ibn Ḥamdān ibn Ḥamdūn al-Tha'labī, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was a son of the ancestor of the Ḥamdān Dynasty. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 457. He became a general and helped to prevent the assassination of al-Muqtaḍir but later revolted, dying 918/919. See Khalīkān, II, 360; III, 218; Mas'ūdī, VIII, 146, 168, 248; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 109, 135-36, 174, 186, 188, 194; Šāhī, *Wuzurā'*, pp. 81, 100, 307. 479
- Ḥusayn (al-) ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl. A secretary and poet. His name is confused by Flügel. For his father, the famous vizier, see al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl. 368
- Ḥusayn (al-) ibn Ishaq ibn Ibrāhīm. See Ibn Karnīb.
- Ḥusayn (al-) ibn Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He lived from about 850 to 942. He was called al-Muḥāmālī, and was a judge at both al-Kūfah and Fars, noted for his knowledge of the Ḥadīth. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part VIII, 19, sect. 4065; Ziriklī, Part II, 251. 560
- Ḥusayn (al-) ibn Kūrān. A foreign protégé, who became a theologian of the Mujbirah, but was of secondary importance. 448
- Ḥusayn (al-) ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sādīr Abū al-Qāsim. A scholar of secondary importance, probably of the 10th century and from Wāsiṭ. 191

- Husayn (al-) ibn Muḥammad ibn Mawdūd, Abū Ma'shar, Abū 'Arūbah. He was a learned shaykh of Ḥarrān, who died 931/932. He was also called al-Ḥasan. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 228, l. 10; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 90, 105, 180; Ziriklī, Part II, 277. 556, 753
- Husayn (al-) ibn Mukhlāraq. A Shī'ī scholar and author of considerable importance. See Tūsī, p. 110, sect. 242. 479
- Husayn (al-) ibn Muṭayr al-Asādī. He was a poet said to have died 767. See Ishāhānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIV, 114; Khallikān, III, 407, 408, n. 15. Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 148, l. 23; 569, l. 7. 289, 356
- Huṣayn (al-) ibn Qays. A secretary to the last Umayyad and first 'Abbāsīd caliphs. He died during the reign of al-Mahdī (caliph 775-785). See Khallikān, I, 596. 267
- Husayn (al-) ibn al-Ṣaffār. He was a bookdealer. 18
- Husayn (al-) ibn Sa'id ibn Ḥamad ibn Sa'id al-Ahwāzī. He was an important Shī'ī scholar of al-Kūfah, associated with the 8th and 9th Shī'ī Imāms. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. He went to al-Ahwāz and died at Qumm. See Tūsī, p. 104, sect. 225; Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, II, 284. 539
- Husayn (al-) ibn Zurārah. A Shī'ī scholar, of the last half of the 8th century. See Tūsī, p. 141, bottom. For his father, see *Zurārah*. 537
- Huṣaynī (al-). He was called al-Huṣaynī by Flügel and wrote a book on veterinary surgery. Compare Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 224-25. 739
- Huṣaynī (al-), Abū al-Husayn, 'Abd al-Wāhid ibn Muḥammad. A pupil of the Mu'tazilī scholar al-Jubbā'ī in the late 9th and early 10th century. 432
- Huṣṭaym ibn Bashīr ibn Abī Khāzim, Abū Mu'āwiyah of Wāsiṭ. A jurist and authority for the Ḥadīth at Baghdād, who died at the age of 79 in 799. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 253; Khallikān, I, 187, n. 7; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 107, 113, 225. 76, 78, 551
- Huṣrī (al-), Abū Sa'id al-Ṣūfī. He was one of the Mu'tazilah, who confused their doctrines with original ideas. He probably lived in the first part of the 10th century. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 29, gives the name as al-Ḥadārī. 418
- Huṣṭay'ālī, Abū Mulaykah Jarwal ibn Aws. A reckless poet, who became a nominal Muslim during the reign of Mu'āwiyah (661-680). See Ishāhānī, *Aghānī*, Part II, 43; Khallikān, I, 209, n. 18; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 180. 312, 345, 564
- Hypsicles. He was a mathematician, probably at Alexandria during the 2nd century. See Cajori, p. 51; Sartori, I, 181; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 541, places him in Byzantine times. 636-37
- Iamblichus of Chalcis. A Syrian scholar and Neo-Platonic philosopher, who died during the reign of Constantine (306-337 A.D.). See Pauly, IV, 4, bottom; Sartori, I, 351; Qifī, p. 60; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 549. 599, 614
- Ibrāhīm, Abraham, the Jewish patriarch. 9, 27, 41, 42, 756
- Ibrāhīm. A bookbinder and the father of a son named Muḥammad, who followed his craft. 18
- Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Bashīr of Baghdād. He was an authority on the law, language, and Ḥadīth. He died 898. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part VI, 27, sect. 3059; Khallikān, I, 46, n. 5; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 116, 118. 81, 304, 557
- Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl, Abū Ishāq. He was called al-Ṣūlī and was a poet and government secretary who died 857/858. See Ishāhānī,

- Aghānī*, Part IX, 21; *Mas'ūdī*, VII, 237; *Khallikān*, I, 22.
267, 276, 331, 352-54, 365-67, 402, 472, 822
- Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī. A descendant of the Prophet who revolted against the Caliph al-Manṣūr and was executed 762/763. See *Mas'ūdī*, VI, 199-203; *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part XVII, 109.
118, 151, 247, 359, 386
- Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim. See *Kajfī*.
- Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Nāqid. He was a Christian who translated numerous scientific works. See Qifṭī, pp. 36, 37, l. 20; 54, l. 8; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, I (1896), 392.
588, 600, 601, 608-609
- Ibrāhīm ibn Abī 'Awn Aḥmad ibn al-Najm ibn Hilāl. He was a disciple of the heretic *Shalmaghānī*. He was scourged, beheaded and his body exposed and burned. 934. See *Khallikān*, I, 436, 437.
323
- Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī. A military officer under *Mu'awiyah*. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2497, bottom, 2498. For his famous father, see Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī.
501
- Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, Abū Ishāq. He was a member of the royal family of Balkh, who became an ascetic. He died fighting the Byzantines at Sūqayn about 778. See 'Aṭṭār, p. 78; Dermenghen, p. 13; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 196, l. 14; 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān, XVII (1911), 103; 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī al-Sarrāj, XXII (1914), 150, 196.
155, 456
- Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Rabā'ī, Abū Ishāq. A jurist of the code of Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī who lived in the 10th century.
533
- Ibrāhīm ibn Bakūs al-'Usharī. He was a scholar who translated some of the works of Aristotle and *Themistius*. See Qifṭī, pp. 37, 107; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, I (1896), 392. MS 1934 gives his name clearly.
601, 604, 607, 742
- Ibrāhīm ibn Ghiyāth. He was a man of the 9th century who was accused of obtaining his appointment as a judge by false methods. See Baghdādī (*Khaṭīb*), Part VI, 140, sect. 3181.
503
- Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥabīb. See Abū Ishāq al-Fazārī.
- Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥabīb al-Saqfī al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ishāq. A man of al-Baṣrah, who wrote a book about al-Ṭabarī and his disciples, probably in the late 10th century.
567
- Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥammād ibn Ishāq, Abū Ishāq. He was a Mālikī jurist, who died 934/935. See Farḥūn, p. 85; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 249.
497
- Ibrāhīm ibn 'Isā al-Madā'inī. A secretary who wrote poetry and lived probably in the second half of the 8th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 439.
368
- Ibrāhīm ibn 'Isā al-Naṣrānī. A Christian secretary, who probably lived at Baghdād in the 10th century.
287
- Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq al-Ībādī. He founded the Ibrāhīmīyah sect of the Khawārij. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 109.
453
- Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm. The governor of al-Anbār, 865/866. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1503, 1522, 1588, 1727, 1729.
245
- Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il, Abū Ishāq. He was called Ibn 'Ulayyah and was a jurist associated with the *Mu'tazilah*, who lived from about 769 to 833. See Baghdādī (*Khaṭīb*), Part VI, 20, sect. 3054; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 228; Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part I, 34.
550

- Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl. The teacher of *Muhammad* ibn Mukrum. He lived in the early 9th century and was noted for his good literary style. 275
- Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl ibn Dā'ūd. He was a secretary and poet during the last half of the 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 1248, 1381, 1436. For his brothers, see *Dā'ūd* and *Hamdūn*. 270, 275, 365, 367
- Ibrāhīm ibn Khālid ibn al-Yamān. See *Abū Thawr*.
- Ibrāhīm ibn Khālid al-Ṣan'ānī. Compare him with the preceding name and see also Nawawī, p. 679. 546
- Ibrāhīm ibn al-Malidī ibn al-Manṣūr, Abū Ishāq. He lived from 779 to 839 and was a Negro brother of Hārūn al-Rashid, who was a singer, poet, and man of letters. See Khallikān, I, 16. 253, 254, 315, 361, 741-42
- Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mudabbir (Mudabbar). He was Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, ibn Muḥammad, a secretary who became a vizier under al-Mu'tamid. He died about 893. See Khallikān, III, 56, 57; Mas'ūdī, VII, 160-64; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1384, 1843, 2134. 270, 321, 367
- Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ayyāsh, Abū Ishāq. An unimportant Mu'tazilī scholar. Compare him with Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Yaḥyā. See Murtaḍā, p. 134. 433
- Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad. An author, probably in Eastern Khurāsān, who wrote about a sect upholding the divine mission of the great 'Abhāsīd propagandist, Abū Muslim. 823
- Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Hārith. See *Abū Ishāq*.
- Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, Abū Ishāq al-Thaqafī al-Iṣbahānī. He was a highly respected Shī'ī scholar of al-Kūfah who died 896. See Ṭūsī, p. 16, sect. 26; Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, I, 102. 542
- Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mujashshir. A well-known penman. For his master, see *Ishāq* ibn Hammād. 12
- Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir. A traditionalist of Persian origin, who died 850/851. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 890, l. 23; III, 276, l. 22; 858, l. 16; 859, l. 19; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 967; II, 1739. 244, 246
- Ibrāhīm ibn Quwayrī, Abū Ishāq. A translator of Greek scientific books in the late 9th and early 10th century. See Qifṭī, p. 77. 587, 599-601, 628, 630
- Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ. A 9th century astronomer. See Qifṭī, p. 59; Suter, VI (1892), 31; X (1900), 19. 655
- Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd ibn Waqqās. A man known for handing down traditions. Compare al-Zuhri. 47, 200
- Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd al-Jawhīrī, Abū Ishāq. He was an authority for the Hadīth, who lived at Baghdād, and died 861. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 135, 1070; Ziriklī, Part I, 33. 106
- Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ṣalt. He translated scientific works into Syriac and Arabic in the 9th century. See Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 205; Qifṭī, pp. 39, l. 11; 98, l. 9; 130, l. 17; 131, l. 3; Leclerc, I, 183; Hājī Khalīfah, III, 97, 98. 587, 588, 603, 640, 684
- Ibrāhīm ibn al-Sarī. See *Abū Ishāq al-Zaffāj*.
- Ibrāhīm ibn Sayyāhah. A poet and musician who lived first at Baghdād and later at Naysābūr in the late 8th and early 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XI, 6. 360
- Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān ibn Thābit, Abū Ishāq. He lived from about 908 to 946 and was a grandson of the famous scholar, *Thābit* ibn Qurrah, and himself an authority

- on geometry. See Qifī, p. 57; Sarton, I, 631; Suter, VI (1892), 59; X (1900), 53-648-49
- Ibrāhīm ibn Taḥmān, Abū Sa'īd al-Khurasānī al-Ḥarawī (al-Ḥirrawī). He was born at Harāt and brought up at Naysābūr. He was a jurist and author who died 774/775. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part VI, 105, sect. 3143; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 594, 1167. 552
- Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭāzādī. He wrote a book improved upon by his son, who was named *Wahb* ibn Ibrāhīm. 287
- Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar al-Ṣan'ānī. A Shī'ī jurist and author. See Ṭūsī, p. 15, sect. 22. 536
- Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd al-Nakha'ī, Abū 'Imrān ('Anumār). A man of al-Kūfah, who lived from the Prophet's time to 713/714 and was known for piety and a knowledge of the Ḥadīth. See Nawawī, p. 135; Khallikān, I, 5. 456
- Ibrāhīm ibn Zādān ibn Sinān al-Baṣrī. He was an unimportant scholar whose anecdotes were quoted by the historian Ibn al-Naṣfālī. Flügel has Zādān. 236
- Ibrāhīm ibn Ziyād. He lived at the time of al-Mahdī (caliph 775-785) and was known for his quoting of the Ḥadīth and other traditions. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 365; III, 495. 739
- Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, Abū Ismā' ibn Yazīd. He was a Murji'ī ascetic of al-Kūfah, who died 710/711. See Massignon, *Origines du lexique*, p. 148; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 301. 456
- Idrīs ibn Abī Ḥafṣah. He was a poet who wrote elegies about the deaths of *Ishāq* al-Mawṣilī (850) and al-Mutawakkil (861). See Mas'ūdī, VII, 307; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 119, 120, 130. Compare with the poet who follows. 308
- Idrīs ibn Sulaymān ibn Abī Ḥafṣah, Abū Sulaymān. A poet of secondary importance. 354
- 'Ijlī (al-), 'Uthmān ibn Suwayd, Abū Ḥarī. An astrolabe maker, whose daughter was employed by *Sayf* al-Dawlah (ruled at Aleppo, 944-967). See Suter, VI (1892), 41, and Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 207. 671
- 'Ijliyah. The daughter of the preceding man and herself an astrolabe maker employed by *Sayf* al-Dawlah. 671
- Ikhmīmī (al-), 'Uthmān ibn Suwayd, Abū Ḥarī. An alchemist and pupil of *Jābir* ibn Ḥayyān, probably from Ikhmīm in Upper Egypt. For this town, see Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 7, 326; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 165. 855, 865
- Ikhnūkh. He was Idrīs or the Biblical Enoch. 42
- Ikhshīd (Ibn al-) Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ma'jūr. A Mu'tazilī of East Baghdād noted for his piety. He died 937/938. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 200; Murtaḍā, p. 100. For the name Ikhshīd, see Khallikān, III, 219. 76, 83, 220, 381, 415, 428, 432-34, 491, 565
- 'Ikramah, Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was a slave of Berber origin attached to the governor of al-Baṣrah. He became an authority on the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth. He died 725/726. See Khallikān, II, 207. 75, 82
- 'Im. (1) A slave girl who sang and composed verses. She was purchased by *Zubaydah*, the wife of al-Rashīd (caliph, 786-809). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VII, 34. (2) A slave girl singer at the time of al-Wāthiq (caliph, 842-847). See Kaḥḥālāh, *A'ḥām al-Nisā'*, Part III, 329. 362

- Ilyās (Elias). The Metropolitan of Damascus and author of books about Christianity. 46
- Imām (Ibn al-). A man who developed a legitimate form of exorcism at the time of al-Mu'ṭaḍid (caliph, 892-902). 729
- Imām (al-) al-Nāṣir. See al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan.
- 'Imrān. He was the father of Moses and Aaron. See Qur'ān, 3: 33. It was also the name of the family of the Virgin Mary, see Qur'ān, 3: 35. In the Bible the name is Amram. See Exodus 6: 20, Numbers 3: 19. 840
- 'Imrān (Abū). A leader in Ādharbayjān, who was killed by Jāwīdān, the employer of Bābak, early in the 9th century. See Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 325-26. 819-20
- 'Imrān (Abū) al-Sulamī. A man who composed some poetry. 364
- 'Imrān (Ibn), Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Imrān. A Shī'ī scholar from Qumm, who wrote about legal subjects. See Tūsī, p. 273, sect. 598. 480
- 'Imrān ibn Ḥittān. He was a poet and leader of the rebel Khawārij. He died near Wāsiṭ, 708. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 212; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 889, l. 6. 226
- 'Imrān ibn Mūsā al-Qazzāz. An authority for the Ḥadīth, who taught al-Ṭabarī. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 134; III, 2463. Compare Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part XII, 268, sects. 6712, 6713. 563
- 'Imrān ibn 'Uthmān Abū al-Barhusam (Barhussam) al-Zubaydī. He lived in Syria and had his own system of reciting the Qur'ān. 69
- 'Imrānī (al-). See 'Alī ibn Aḥmad.
- Imru' al-Qays ibn Hujr ibn al-Ḥārith. He was generally considered to be the greatest of the Pre-Islamic poets. He died about 540 A.D. See Nawawī, p. 163; Ishahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VIII, 62; "Imru' al-Qais," *Enc. Islām*, II, 477. 173, 209, 289, 341, 344, 345
- Inān. The slave girl of al-Nāṣif; a poetess and singer, purchased by al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). See Ishahānī, *Aghānī*, Part X, 101; XX, 76; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part III, 369. 361
- Iqrīṭ. A man of early Islām about whom amusing stories were told. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 8, l. 4. 735
- Īraj. He inherited a third of the world from his father Ferīdūn according to the Persian legend. See Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, I, 189. 23
- 'Irār (Abū). A man of the Banū 'Ijl Tribe and a scholar of Bedouin dialect and lore. He lived in the late 8th century. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 46. 97, 98, 199
- 'Īs (Abū al-). One of the sons of Umayyah. See Qutaybah, *Mā'ārif*, p. 35; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 45. The name is not to be confused with 'Āṣ. 222
- 'Isā. The Muslim name for Jesus. See Jesus.
- 'Isā. A poet belonging to the family of al-Mu'adhdhal. See 'Isā ibn al-Mu'adhdhal.
- 'Isā (Abū) al-A'war. A man interested in alchemy, probably during the late 8th or 9th century. 850
- 'Isā (Abū) al-Ḍarīr. He was attacked by Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī, the son of the famous jurist, in a book probably written in the late 9th century. 532
- 'Isā (Abū) ibn Shayrān. A bookbinder. 18
- 'Isā (Abū) al-Warrāq. He was named Muḥammad ibn Hārūn ibn Muḥammad and was a brilliant Mu'tazilī theologian. As he was suspected of sympathizing with

- the dualists, he was imprisoned, and died 861/862. See Mas'udi, V, 474; VII, 236-37; Khayyāt, *Intisār* (Nyberg), p. 205; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 68, 71; Jār Allāh, pp. 39, 197, 202. 419, 441, 804
- ‘Isā (Abū) al-Yahūdī al-Ahwāzī. A Jew of al-Kūfah who was a patron of Ibn al-Rāwandī. In his house the heretic found refuge and died 910. See Murtaḍā, p. 92, l. 14. The Appendix of the Cairo edition of *Al-Fihrist* says he was Ibn Lāwī (Levite). 420, 423
- ‘Isā ibn Abān, Abū Mūsā. A jurist and judge of al-Baṣrah, who died 835/836. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part XI, 157, sect. 5850; Murtaḍā, p. 129; Nawawī, p. 494; Wafā’, Part I, 401. 263, 440, 507, 523
- ‘Isā ibn ‘Alī. The uncle of the two first ‘Abbāsīd caliphs. He married a granddaughter of the Caliph ‘Alī, and was their military chief at Mar’ash, 694/695. See Balādhuri, *Origins*, pp. 295, 463; Khallikān, I, 431; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 5. 259
- ‘Isā ibn ‘Alī. A pupil of Hunayn ibn Ishāq who became court physician in the middle of the 9th century. See Qifṭī, p. 247; Uṣaybi‘ah, Part I, 203; Leclerc, I, 303. 699
- ‘Isā ibn Asayyid. An ‘Irāqī Christian and pupil of Thābit ibn Qurrah. During the late 9th and early 10th century he translated scientific books from Syriac into Arabic. See Qifṭī, p. 246. 648
- ‘Isā ibn Da‘b. His true name was ‘Isā ibn Yazīd ibn Bakr ibn Da‘b, Abū al-Walīd. He was an authority on genealogy and historical traditions. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 106; Qutaybah, *Mā‘ārif*, p. 267. The Beatty MS calls him Abū al-Yadd, perhaps a mistake. 196
- ‘Isā ibn Farrukhān-shāh al-Kātib. He was a secretary who wrote some poetry and served as director of taxes and in 869 as vizier. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1444, 1513, l. 18; 1825. 369
- ‘Isā ibn al-Ḥakam, Abū al-Ḥasan. See Masīḥ al-Dimashqī.
- ‘Isā ibn al-Haytham al-Šūfī, Abū Mūsā. He was a Mu‘tazilī theologian, who later changed his ideas. He died 859/860. See Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part IV, p. 408, sect. 1248; Murtaḍā, p. 78. 429
- ‘Isā ibn Ishāq ibn Zur‘ah, Abū ‘Alī. An ‘Irāqī Christian at Baghdād, who was an authority for logic and philosophy, an author, and a translator. He lived about 942-1008. See Qifṭī, pp. 245; Ziriklī, Part V, 284. 608, 632, 635
- ‘Isā ibn Māsah. An eminent 9th century physician and author. See Qifṭī, p. 246; Uṣaybi‘ah, Part I, 184; Leclerc, I, 296. 697
- ‘Isā ibn Māsarjīs. He was a physician and author of medical books in the middle of the 8th century. See Qifṭī, p. 247; Uṣaybi‘ah, Part I, 204. For his famous father, see *Māsarjīs*. 698
- ‘Isā ibn Maymūn. He was quoted as an authority for traditions. He probably lived in the middle of the 8th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Indices for references. 75
- ‘Isā ibn Mihrān, Abū Mūsā. A Shī‘ī scholar nicknamed al-Musta‘ṭif (seeking favor). See Tūsī, p. 249, sect. 549; Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, IV, 406. 540, 542
- ‘Isā ibn Mīnā Qālūn, Abū Mūsā. A disciple of Nāfi‘ in reading the Qur‘ān. He lived at al-Madīnah and died 835. See note 7 for p. 28 in the Flügel edition of *Al-Fihrist*. 64
- ‘Isā ibn al-Mu‘adhdhal. He was a poet of secondary importance. See *al-Mu‘adhdhal*,

- ibn Ghaylān and 'Abd al-Šamad ibn al-Mu'adhhal for the more important members of the family. 364
- 'Isā ibn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, Abū Mūsā. He was a nephew of the two first 'Abbāsid caliphs. He served as governor of al-Ahwāz and later of al-Kūfah, where he died. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 191, 192; Tabarī, *Annales*, p. 435. 274
- 'Isā ibn Nūḥ. A scholar who translated scientific works. See I-lājj Khalīfah, III, 98. 587
- 'Isā ibn Qusṭanṭīn, Abū Mūsā. He was an eminent physician and the first scholar to translate Greek medical books into Syriac. See Qifṭī, p. 247; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 109, bottom. 698
- 'Isā ibn Šabīḥ al-Murdār, Abū Mūsā. A Mu'tazilī scholar, who died 840/841, leaving a school of disciples. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 71; Jār Allāh, pp. 138-39; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 171 ff. His name is also given as al-Muzdār. 393-95, 429
- 'Isā ibn Šahār-Bakht. A physician of Jundī-Šāpūr and a pupil of Jūzjīs ibn Bakhtīshū' in the second half of the 8th century. See Qifṭī, p. 247; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 203. 699
- 'Isā ibn 'Umar. See al-*Thaqaffī*.
- 'Isā ibn 'Umar al-Hamadhānī. A well-known reader of the Qur'ān at al-Kūfah. See Khallikān, I, 666, n. 7. 69, 92
- 'Isā ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ibrāhīm. He was a pupil of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq. He translated scientific works into Arabic and also wrote books of his own. See Qifṭī, p. 247; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 204, top; Leclerc, I, 183. 588, 679-80, 682, 685, 688, 699
- 'Isā al-Šūfī, Abū Mūsā 'Isā ibn al-Haytham. A scholar who was associated with the Mu'tazilah but had his own doctrines. He died 859/860. See Murtaḍā, pp. 78, 79. 419
- Iṣbahānī (al-). See Abū al-*Faraj* 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn.
- Iṣbahānī (al-) Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was called Lughdah (Lughdhah) and was born at Iṣbahān, but probably studied at Baghdād. He was a grammarian of the 9th century. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (3), 81, n. 4; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 222. 172, 178
- Iṣbahānī (al-) Abū Bakr ibn Ashtah. He was a grammarian who wrote on the syntax and rhetoric of the Qur'ān. Compare Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 229, second paragraph. 77
- Iṣbahānī (al-), Abū Muḥammad. He was a transcriber of the Qur'ān and perhaps the father of the scholar who follows. 12
- Iṣbahānī (al-), Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. A scholar who wrote about differences in the Qur'ānic manuscripts. 79
- Isha' Abū Yūsuf al-Qaṭṭī'ī. He wrote a book about the Šābiars of Ḥarrān and was a Christian. He lived probably in the 10th century. 751
- Ishāq. A man who instituted a propaganda for Abū Muslim in Central Asia. He may have been the son of a man who fled to the tribes when his father was killed in 742/743. See Yaḥyā ibn Zayd. 823
- Ishāq (Abū) Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥarith ibn Asmā' ibn Khārījāh. He was also known as al-Fazārī and was a scholar of historical traditions who died at al-Maṣṣisah in 804. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 257. 199

- Ishāq (Abū) ibn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq. A friend of the author of *Al-Fihrist*, who gave him information about Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī. 564
- Ishāq (Abū) Ismā'il ibn 'Isā al-'Aṣṭār. He was a biographer of Baghdād during the 9th century. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), VI, 262, sect. 3293. 241
- Ishāq (Abū) al-Wāhibī. A Mu'tazilī scholar of secondary importance who lived in the late 9th or early 10th century. 427
- Ishāq al-Azraq ibn Yūsuf. Abū Muḥammad. A conservative jurist who died at Wāsiṭ, 810/811. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 148; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 178, l. 8; III, 201, l. 20. 551
- Ishāq (Ibn), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Yasār. A man of al-Madīnah. He was the famous historian who went to al-'Irāq and Persia and who provided material for the first great biography of the Prophet. He died at Baghdād, 768. See Khalikān, II, 677. 200
- Ishāq ibn 'Alī ibn Sulaymān. He translated a book for the Persians on the doctoring of animals. MS 1934 omits the second *ibn*. 738
- Ishāq ibn Ayyūb ibn Aḥmad. A chief from near al-Mawṣil, who served al-Mu'taḍid and died 900. See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 193; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1991, 1992, 2193; Ziriklī, Part I, 285. 320
- Ishāq ibn Bishr. He was a scholar of biography and history from Balkh, who lived at Bukhārā. He died 821/822. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 230. 202
- Ishāq ibn al-Faḍl al-Hāshimī. A poet of the early 'Abbāsīd period. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VIII, 117; Mas'ūdī, VI, 208. For his brothers, see 'Abd al-Raḥmān and 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl. 358
- Ishāq ibn Ḥammād. A scribe who helped to develop Arabic script during the reigns of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī (754-785). 12
- Ishāq ibn Ḥammād. See Ishāq ibn Ismā'il ibn Ḥammād.
- Ishāq ibn Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī. He was called by the Beatty MS Akhram and was probably the secretary and poet cited in Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part X, 128. His father was the general Ḥumayd ibn 'Ahd al-Ḥamīd. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1005, 1030-37. For his brothers see Abū Nahshal, Abū Nadīr and Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd. 365
- Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq al-'Ibādī, Abū Ya'qūb. Like his father he was a celebrated translator of scientific works. He died at Baghdād 910. See Qifṭī, p. 80; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 200-201; Khalikān, I, 187; Sarton, I, 600; Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, 172, 176. 441, 588, 591-93, 598-610, 634, 639, 672, 673, 676, 685, 689, 700
- Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm. See (1) al-Fazārī; (2) al-Mawṣilī; (3) Ibn Rāhawiyah.
- Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ ibn Bishr al-Barbarī, Abū al-Ḥusayn. He was called al-Sa'dī and was tutor to al-Muqtadir (caliph 908-932) and his children. He was also an authority on calligraphy. 16
- Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muṣ'ab al-Muṣ'abī, Abū al-Ḥasan. The chief of the gendarmery and later governor of Baghdād. He was sent to subdue Bābak. He died 850. See Mas'ūdī, VII, 211-14; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 275-76, 282; Ziriklī, Part I, 283. 510
- Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Karnīb. See Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Karnīb.
- Ishāq ibn 'Isā ibn 'Alī al-Hāshimī. He was a son of the uncle of the two 'Abbāsīd caliphs. See 'Isā ibn 'Alī; compare Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 52, l. 15. 741

- Ishāq (ibn Ismā'il) ibn Ḥammād. A Mālikī jurist who died 888/889. For his more famous son, see *Ismā'il ibn Ishāq al-Qāḍī*. 496
- Ishāq ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ. A man interested in traditions. He died 819. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 1016. 97, 98, 199
- Ishāq ibn Khalaf, called Ibn al-Ṭabīb. He was a poet influenced by the Manichaeans. He was imprisoned and died 845. See Tammām (Rückert), pp. 86 (No. 79). 804
- Ishāq ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. A secretary of the late 8th century. For his employer, see *Qumāmah ibn Yazīd*. 275
- Ishāq ibn Mu'adh al-Miṣrī. He was called al-Baṣṭī by Flügel and was a man who wrote some poetry. 365
- Ishāq ibn Nuṣayr, Abū Ibrāhīm. An alchemist, probably of the 10th century. 867
- Ishāq al-Rāhib (Isaac the Monk). He was a historian who wrote about the Ptolemies of Egypt. 28, 576, 594
- Ishāq ibn Rāhwayh, Ibrāhīm ibn Makhḷad, Abū Ya'qūb. He was a distinguished pupil or associate of *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal* and famous in Khurāsān. He died at Naysābūr, 852/853. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 191, 272, 290, 293; Ziriklī, Part I, 284. 554
- Ishāq ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ash'athī. A poet who lived at the time of al-Mahdī (caliph 775-785). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XX, 33. For his father, see Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1019. The last name is incorrectly spelled by Flügel. 364
- Ishāq ibn Salamah (Sulmah). A Persian probably of the 10th century, who wrote on the superiority of the Persians. 279
- Ishāq ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās al-Hāshimī. He was the governor of al-Madīnah, then al-Sind, and later of Egypt, during the reign of al-Rashīd (786-809). See Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 65, 77, 85, 87, 92; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 378, 443. 588, 589, 710
- Ishāq ibn Yazīd. He translated Persian books into Arabic. 589
- Ishmā'ī (al-). He wrote a book on horsemanship. The name may not be written correctly. 738
- Iskāfī (al-), Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh. The founder of the Iskāfīyah sect of the Mu'tazilah. He died 855. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 175; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 27; Mas'ūdī, VI, 58; VII, 231. 411, 429, 430, 448
- Iskāfī (Ibn al-), Abū al-Qāsim Ja'far ibn Muḥammad. A writer and government secretary under al-Mu'taṣim (caliph 833-842) and the son of Abū Ja'far al-Iskāfī. 413
- Iskāfī (al-), Abū al-Qāsim al-Naysābūrī, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad (Muḥammad ibn 'Alī). He was the secretary of Nūḥ ibn Naṣr, who ruled at Naysābūr 943-954. See Tha'ālībī, *Faridat al-'Aṣr*, p. 45; Tha'ālībī, *Yasmat al-Dahr*, Part III, 4. 372, 378
- 'Iṣmah ibn Ḥammād (Abū 'Iṣmah) ibn Sālim. A 9th century scholar. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 937. 63
- Ismā'il. The Biblical Ishmael. 7, 9, 220
- Ismā'il Abū Ṭāhir al-Manṣūr. The third Fāṭimid caliph, 946-952. See Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, II, 535; Khallikān, I, 218; "al-Manṣūr Ismā'il," *Enc. Islam*, III, 257. 466
- Ismā'il ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī al-Muhājir. A reader of the Qur'an, possibly the man sent by 'Umar II to Africa between 717 and 720. 65

- Ismā'il (ibn 'Abd Allāh) ibn Abī Uways. He was a jurist, who studied under *Mālik*. See Nawawī, p. 535, l. 10; "Mālik B. Anas," *Enc. Islam*, III, 208. 495
- Ismā'il ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī. A man of importance at al-Kūfah, connected with the succession of Hishām (caliph 724-743). See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1813 ff, 1881-85, 1902. 273
- Ismā'il ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Qusṭanṭīn. A teacher of Qur'ānic reading at Makkah, who probably died in the early 9th century. 64
- Ismā'il ibn Abī Kathīr. See *Ismā'il ibn Ja'far*.
- Ismā'il ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Yazīdī. He was the third son of Yaḥyā ibn Mubārak al-Yazīdī. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 166; XVIII, 73. See also *Yazīdī Family*. 109
- Ismā'il ibn Abī Uways. See also *Ismā'il (ibn 'Abd Allāh) ibn Abī Uways*. 364
- Ismā'il ibn Abī Ziyād. He was a Shī'ī scholar, the son of Abū Ziyād Muslim al-Bazzār. See Tūsī, p. 55, sect. 101. 75, 82
- Ismā'il ibn 'Alī. See *al-Nawbakhtī*.
- Ismā'il ibn Bulbul, Abū al-Ṣaqr. He was a secretary, poet, and the vizier for several caliphs but was executed by al-Mu'taḍid (caliph 892-902). See Khallikān, II, 612, n. 8; III, 57, 58; Mas'ūdī, VIII, 105, 211, 258; Taghri-Birdī, Part III, 40. 369
- Ismā'il ibn Habbār. He was probably the son of either Habbār ibn Sufyān or Habbār ibn al-Aswad, both contemporaries of the Prophet. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 58, 95. 223
- Ismā'il ibn Ḥammād ibn al-Nu'mān (Abū Ḥanīfah). He was a grandson of Abū Ḥanīfah, the great jurist, and judge of al-Baṣrah during most of the reign of al-Ma'mūn (813-833). See Khallikān, I, 469. 499
- Ismā'il ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū al-Qāsim. A man of the 10th century whose father was Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh. 17
- Ismā'il ibn Ishāq ibn Ismā'il ibn Ḥammād, al-Qādī. He was a jurist of al-Baṣrah, who became a judge at Baghdād about 875 and died when 82 years old in 895/896. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 193; Farḥīn, p. 92; Ḥājī Khalīfah, I, 173; V, 542, 618; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 744, l. 11; IV, 256, l. 2; 940, l. 19. 82, 255, 398, 496, 497
- Ismā'il ibn Ja'far, Abū Kathīr al-Anṣārī. He was a reader of the Qur'ān and transmitter of the Ḥadīth. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 31, 622. 64, 81
- Ismā'il ibn Ja'far ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās. The member of an important family, whose father was governor of al-Madīnah and Makkah during the reign of al-Rashīd (786-809). See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 622. For the father, see Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 21, 76; Mas'ūdī, VI, 294. 266
- Ismā'il ibn Ja'far al-Sādiq. He was the man recognized by the Ismā'īliyah as the seventh Shī'ī imam, rather than Mūsā al-Kāzim, who was recognized by the majority of the Shī'ah. See Hamdānī, *On the Genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs*; "Ismā'īliya," *Enc. Islam*, II, 549. 462, 465
- Ismā'il ibn Jarīr al-Ḥarīrī (Jarīrī). A poet and father of a poetess at the time of Hishām (caliph 724-743). See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1739. Flügel spells the father's name incorrectly. 362
- Ismā'il ibn Majma'. An associate and probably a pupil of al-Wāqidi. He died 841/842. 216

- Ismā'il ibn Mihrān ibn Muḥammad. A jurist of al-Kūfah. See Tūsi, p. 61, sect. 117, and bottom. For his brother, see 'Isā ibn Mihrān. 542
- Ismā'il ibn Mu'ammār al-Qurāṣī. A poet of al-Kūfah and a friend of the great poets during the reign of al-Rashīd (786-809). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XX, 88. 362
- Ismā'il ibn Mūsā al-Suddī al-Fazārī. An authority on the Ḥadīth and a teacher of al-Ṭabarī. He died 859/860. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 12, sect. 849, and Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 3108, 3475; III, 2371; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 322. 563
- Ismā'il ibn Ṣabīḥ. A secretary and tax officer during the reign of al-Rashīd (786-809). See Qutaybah, *Ma'ānī*, p. 95; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 522, 609, 666, 746, 770, 810. 275
- Ismā'il ibn 'Ulayyah, Abū Bishr. He was nicknamed for his mother. His real name was Ismā'il ibn Ibrāhīm. He started at al-Kūfah but held positions at al-Baṣrah and at Baghdād, where he died 808/809. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ānī*, p. 254; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 144. 549-50
- Ismā'il ibn Yaḥyā. See Abū Ibrāhīm al-Muzanī.
- Ismā'il ibn Ziyād. He was a Shī'ī jurist, probably the same as Ismā'il ibn Abī Ziyād (Muslim) al-Sakūnī. See Tūsi, p. 55, sect. 101. 536
- Iṣṭakhri (al-), Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Yazīd. A Shāfi'ī jurist and judge at Baghdād, who lived from about 859 to 940. See Nawawī, p. 724; Khallikān, I, 448; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 300. 523-24
- Iṣṭakhri (al-) al-Ḥāṣib. A mathematician of the 10th century. See Tūqān, p. 267; Suter, VI (1892), 38; X (1900), 51. 666
- Iṣṭifān ibn Bāsil (Stephen son of Basil). He translated Galen and other works at Baghdād in the middle of the 9th century. See Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 204; Leclerc, I, 179; Sarton, I, 613; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 907. 683, 688
- Itākh, Abū Manṣūr the Turk. He was sold as a slave to al-Mu'taṣim about 815. Then he served him and his successors as a general and chamberlain of the Sāmarrā palace but was starved in prison by al-Mutawakkil, 849/850. See Khallikān, I, 599, n. 5; Mas'ūdī, VII, 135, 216; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1383-86. 160, 268
- 'Iyād (Ibn) al-Miṣrī. A pupil of Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, the alchemist. He probably lived in Egypt during the 9th century. 855, 867
- 'Iyālī (al-), Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. A jurist and disciple of Abū Thaur. The latter died 854. 520
- Iyās ibn al-Aratt. An early poet known for his love of *Ṣafwah*. See Tammām (Rückert), sect., 346, 479, 614, 732, 733; Qutaybah, *Ma'ānī*, Part II, 676. 720
- Iyās ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Qurah. He was a descendant of one of the Companions of the Prophet and the judge of al-Baṣrah. He lived from 666 to 740. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ānī*, p. 237; Zirikli, Part I, 376. 227
- 'Izzah (Abū). An Orthodox bishop of Ḥarrān, who wrote numerous books, one of them refuting Nestorius. 46
- 'Izz al-Dawlah, Abū Manṣūr. He was known as Bakhtiyār and he succeeded his father Mu'izz al-Dawlah as Amīr al-Umarā' 967, reigning for nearly 10 years. See Lane-Poole, p. 141; Taghrī-Birdī, Part IV, 14, 142; "Bakhtiyār," *Enc. Islam*, I, 602. xviii, 854

- Ja'ābī (Ibn al-). See 'Amr ibn Muḥammad ibn Salīm.
- Jabal ibn Yazīd. He was the secretary of an officer named 'Umdrah ibn Ḥamzah during the reigns of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī (754-786). 274-75
- Jabalah ibn Sālim. A secretary who translated historical and literary works from Persian into Arabic. He was the secretary of Hishām, perhaps the caliph (724-743), but more likely of Hishām ibn al-Qāsim, who also translated Persian books. 258, 589, 716
- Jābir. He was the grandfather of the historian al-Balādhurī and secretary to al-Khaṣīb, who was chief of finance in Egypt under al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). See Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 6. 247
- Jābir (Ibn), Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm. A jurist following the code of Dā'ūd. He died 922 when 75 years old. See Ḥājī Khalīfah, V, 35. Flügel states he was a descendant rather than a follower of Dā'ūd. 532
- Jābir ibn Hayyān ibn 'Abd Allāh, Abū Mūsā al-Kūfī. He was called Geber in Europe and was the famous alchemist of the second half of the 8th century. See Qifī, p. 160; Sarton, I, 532; "Djābir," *Enc. Islam*, I, 987; Ruska (6), p. 49; (10), pp. 7, 8, 12, 19, 41-52. 707, 850, 853-62, 865, 867
- Jābir ibn Qurrah al-Ḥarrānī. A Ṣābian astrolabe maker, probably of the second half of the 9th century. 671
- Jābir ibn Qurrah ibn Thābit. The headman of the Ṣābians of Ḥarrān during the first quarter of the 9th century. 768
- Jābir ibn Sinān al-Ḥarrānī. An astrolabe maker in the second half of the 9th century. He was from the Ṣābian community. 671
- Ja'd (al-) Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān al-Shaybānī. He was called al-Ja'd and was a grammarian of Baghdād who died about 934. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 219; Zirikli, Part VII, 142. 79, 83
- Ja'd (al-) ibn Dirhīm. A Manichaean chief, who served as tutor to Marwān before he became the last Umayyad caliph in 744. Ja'd was executed about 736. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1396; Taghri-Birdi, Part I, 322; Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, II, 105. 179, 190, 803
- Ja'far (Abū). See al-Manṣūr, the caliph; also al-Ṭabarī, the jurist and historian.
- Ja'far (Abū) ibn 'Abbāsah. He was attached to Mu'izz al-Dawlah (ruled at Baghdād 946-967). His mother may have been 'Abbāsah, daughter of Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn. 337
- Ja'far (Abū) al-Darīr. A 10th century poet. He may be the Ibn Jilbāb mentioned in the Flügel edition of *al-Fihrist*, p. 168, l. 26. 372
- Ja'far (Abū) ibn 'Alī. A brother of Abū Saḥl. See *Nawbakhtī* Family. He was a theologian of his brother's school of thought. 441
- Ja'far (Abū) ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Abharī. A Mālikī jurist of the 10th century called Ghulām al-Abharī. He was an adopted son of the jurist Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. 498
- Ja'far (Abū) ibn Rustum. He wrote about the Qur'ān. Compare Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Rustum al-Ṭabarī. 87, 154
- Ja'far (Abū) al-Khāzin. See al-Khāzin.
- Ja'far (Abū) Muḥammad ibn 'Alī. See *Shalīnaghānī*.
- Ja'far (Abū) Muḥammad ibn al-Mughīrah. The author of a book about disagreements between grammarians. Compare Zubaydī, p. 226. 67

- Ja'far (Abū) al-Umawī. He practised alchemy and magic, probably during the 10th century. 732
- Ja'far al-Daqqāq, Abū Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Sahl. He was an authority for the Ḥadīth, who died 941/942. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part VII, 222, sect. 3704. 560
- Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib. A brother of 'Alī and spokesman for the Muslim refugees in Abyssinia. He died fighting at Mu'tah, 629. See Mas'ūdī, IV, 159, 181, 290; V, 148; "Dja'far," *Enc. Islam*, I, 993. 222, 330
- Ja'far ibn 'Affān al-Ṭā'ī. A prolific poet of the Shī'ah, probably at Baghdād in the late 8th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part II, 48, l. 14. 363
- Ja'far ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Makkī. He was a mathematician from Makkah, who wrote on geometric problems. See Ṭūqān, p. 267; Suter, VI (1892), 38; X (1900), 68. 666
- Ja'far ibn al-Furāt, Abū al-Faḍl. He was called al-Ḥinzābah and he went from Baghdād to Egypt, where he became a famous vizier of the Ikhshīds and Kāfir, dying 1000/1001. See Khallikān, I, 319; Taghrī-Birdī, Part IV, 203. 377
- Ja'far ibn Ḥamdān, Abū al-Qāsim. A legal authority at Baghdād during the last half of the 9th century. See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 235. 320, 326
- Ja'far ibn Ḥarib, Abū al-Faḍl. He was a scholar of Hamadhān who became the leading Mu'tazilī theologian of Baghdād. He died at the age of 59, in 850/851. See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 125, 173; Murtaḍā, p. 73; Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), pp. 110-11, 124-25; Jār Allāh, p. 139. 80, 411, 412, 429, 453, 491
- Ja'far ibn al-Ḥusayn. He was probably a porcelain maker at Baghdād, who wrote about his profession. 743-44
- Ja'far ibn al-Mubashshir. A Mu'tazilī scholar at Baghdād, famous for his intelligence and piety. He died 848. See Mas'ūdī, V, 443; VII, 231; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 173 ff. 82, 393, 397, 429
- Ja'far ibn Muḥammad, Abū Bakr. See Abū Bakr al-Firyābī.
- Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath. The governor of Khurāsān until 789/790. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 606, 609, 740. 274
- Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdān, Abū al-Qāsim. A man of al-Mawṣil, who was a poet and secretary to the Ṭūlūn dynasty in Egypt during the last half of 9th century. See Khallikān, III, 31; Mas'ūdī, I, 17; VII, 222, 421. 369
- Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Nuṣayr al-Khulḍī, Abū Muḥammad. A pupil of al-Junayd and a leading Ṣūfī, who died 959. See Khallikān, II, 283; Atberry, *Sufism*, p. 67; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 322, l. 11. 455
- Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Balkhī. See Abū Ma'shar.
- Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq. The 6th Shī'ī Imām, who was noted for his learning and died between 765 and 771. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442; "Dja'far," *Enc. Islam*, I, 993; Khallikān, I, 300. 63, 219, 437-38, 443, 462, 492, 537, 543-44, 744, 853-54
- Ja'far ibn al-Muktafī, Abū al-Faḍl. A patron of science and a son of al-Muktafī (caliph 902-908). See Qifṭī, p. 155. 30, 654, 661
- Ja'far ibn al-Qāsim. An official who served at al-Baṣrah and in Persia in the 9th century. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 253. 127
- Ja'far ibn Qudāmah ibn Ziyād, Abū al-Qāsim. He was a companion of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz and a poet. He died about 931. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX,

- 142, 145; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 412. For his son, compare *Qudāmah* ibn Ja'far, the tax expert. 285, 370
- Ja'far Ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī al-Hāshimī. The governor of al-Madīnah under al-Manṣūr (caliph 754-775). See Khallikān, II, 547; Mas'ūdī, VI, 294; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 247, 249. 106, 277, 494
- Ja'far ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī. He lived from 767 to 803 and was the vizier of Hārūn al-Rashīd, noted for his penmanship and literary ability. See Khallikān, I, 301; Mas'ūdī, VI, 267, 327-28, 361, 386 ff., 405-407. 12, 110, 265-67, 366, 854, 858
- Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. See *Ja'far* ibn Muḥammad.
- Ja'fari (al-). See 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad.
- Jalīdāmī (al-), Abū 'Amr Naṣr ibn 'Alī. A man of al-Baṣrah; a teacher and authority for the Ḥadīth, who died 864. See Khallikān, I, 398, 401, n. 2; 498, n. 5. 78
- Jaḥdarī (al-), 'Āsim, Abū al-Mujashshar. He came from al-Baṣrah and was an authority for the Qur'ān. See Ṭabarī *Annales*, Part I, 233; III, 2556. For the Jaḥdar Tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 213. 62, 68, 81
- Jāḥiẓ (al-) Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr ibn Baḥr. He lived at al-Baṣrah from about 773 to 869 and was a brilliant man of letters and the leading scholar of his age. See Khallikān, II, 405; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 56-80. See also Bibliography, Jāḥiẓ and Pellat. 35, 83, 99, 255, 263, 340, 342, 391, 397-409, 429, 491, 705
- Jahm (Abū) ibn Hudhayfah al-'Adawī. He was probably named 'Āmir and was the greatest authority of his period for the genealogy and traditions of the Quraysh. He helped to conduct the funeral of 'Uthmān and was at the court of Mu'awiyah (caliph 661-680). He died 690. See Qutaybah, 'Uyūn, Part III, 283; Mas'ūdī, IV, 283; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 2732, 3047. 244, 347
- Jahm (Abū) Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn. A man of letters who died 932. See Khallikān, III, 60, 61, n. 13; Taghri-Birdī, Part III, 232. 377
- Jahm ibn Khalaf al-Māzinī. He was a poet and scholar of the late 8th and early 9th century, probably living at Baghdād. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, IX, 40; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 388. Compare Suriyūfī, *Bughyat*, p. 213. 102, 356
- Jahm ibn Ṣafwān, Abū Muḥriz. He was the secretary of an official in Khurāsān and the founder of an heretical school of thought who was killed 745/746. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 89; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 35, 126; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1918, 1919, 1924; Nādir, *Système philosophique*, pp. 7, 9. 388
- Jahmī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. An authority on genealogy and political traditions, beaten by al-Mutawakkil (caliph 847-861) for dishonoring certain of his ancestors. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 30. 244
- Jahshiyārī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdūs. A secretary from al-Kūfah, who wrote about the viziers and the Caliph al-Muqtadir; arrested 933 but released. See Shujā', VI, 305 (269); Ṣābī, *Wuzurā'*, pp. 4, 341. Ziriklī, Part VII, 135 calls him Jahshayārī. 23, 278, 366, 381, 714
- Jaḥzah, Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Ja'far ibn Mūsā ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd ibn Barmak. He lived from 839 to about 936 and was a descendant of a distinguished family. He was a court poet and singer. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 32; Khallikān, I, 118, 119, n. 8. 310, 318, 319, 334, 742
- Jalūdī (al-) Abū Aḥmad 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Yaḥyā. He was a scholar of al-Baṣrah and an author and leader of the Imāmīyah sect, who died 944. See Ṭūsī, p. 183, bottom; Ziriklī, Part IV, 155. 252, 489

Jāmāsb (Jāmāsāb) al-‘Ālim. He was probably Jamāspa, husband of Zoroaster's daughter, Pourucist, and a minister at the court of the local king, Vištāspa. See Firdawsi, *Shahnama*, V, 24 ff; IX, 288, index; Tabari, *Annales*, Part I, 676, 678, 681; "Zoroaster," *Enc. Britannica*, 11th edition, XXVIII, 1041a.

574, 849, 853

Jamhūr (Ibn). See *Muhammad ibn al-Husayn ibn Jamhūr*.

Jamīl ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ma‘mar, Abū ‘Amr. An Arab poet in love with Buthaynah. He died about 701. See Tammāmī, (Rückert), sect. 96, 101, 538; Qutaybah, *Shi‘r*, p. 260; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VII, 77; Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 238.

243, 311, 719

Jamūz (al-) Muhammad ibn ‘Amr, Abū ‘Abd Allāh. A satirical poet and teller of anecdotes at the court of al-Mutawakkil. He died 868/869. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 164; XXI, 117; Pellat, p. 168.

398

Jamshīd ibn Tahmūras ibn Hūshang (Awjīhān). A legendary king of Persia overcome by al-Dāhlāk. See Mas‘ūdī, IV, 45; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 112; Firdawsi, *Shahnama*, I, 122-39.

23, 572, 727

Jāmūs (Abū al-) Thawr ibn Yazīd. An Arab who went to al-Baṣrah and helped Ibn al-Muqaffā‘ during the 8th century. See Nawawī, p. 183, for Abū Khālid Thawr ibn Yazīd. It is possible that the surname is Khāmūsh instead of Jāmūs.

99

Janjī al-Jukhānī (Jawkhānī). A musician in a heathen temple of central ‘Irāq, who founded a sect of his own, with tenets somewhat similar to those of Mānī.

808

Jannād, Abū Muḥammad, ibn Wāsil, of al-Kūfah. An expert for Arabian poetry and historical tradition during the latter part of the 8th century. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 425.

97, 199

Jannat al-Khuld. The nickname of a girl loved by a poet. See *Muhammad ibn al-Ṣalt*.

719

Jarīr. A physician who had a dispute with the Amīr Aḥmad ibn Ismā‘īl, who was probably the Samānī ruler, dying 914.

705

Jarīr ibn ‘Aṣīyah. He was descended from a branch of the Tamīm Tribe and was the famous court poet, first with al-Ḥajjāj in al-‘Irāq and later with ‘Abd al-Malik (caliph 685-705) at Damascus. He died 728/729. See Khallikān, I, 294; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VII, 38.

125, 209, 235, 289, 348, 349

arīr ibn Yazīd ibn Khālid ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī. A man of letters and an eloquent preacher. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XII, 93.

273

Jarmī (al-) Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Makkī. He was known as Ibn Abī al-‘Alā’ and was a scholar, historian, and popular calligrapher.

177

Jarmī (al-) Abū ‘Umar Ṣāliḥ ibn Ishāq. A grammarian of al-Baṣrah, who took part in learned discussions at Baghdād, dying 840. See Khallikān, I, 629.

123, 125, 128, 137, 139, 188

Jarrāb (al-). He was a man of the early 9th century, known for being the great-grandfather of the vizier ‘Alī ibn ‘Isā.

282

Jarrāb (Abū al-) al-‘Uqaylī. A tribal scholar of language and grammar of secondary importance.

103, 112

Jārūd (Abū al-) Ziyād ibn al-Mundhir al-‘Abdī. The founder of the Jārūdīyah branch of the Zaydiyah school of theology in the 8th century. See Shahrastānī

- (Haarbrücker), Part I, 178; Tūsī, p. 146, sect. 307; Baghdādī (Seclye), pp. 43-45; Mas'ūdī, V, 474. 75, 443, 444
- Jārūd (Ibn al-) 'Abd Allāh. A chief who revolted against al-Ḥajjāj and was killed at Rūstūqbādh between 694 and 714. See Qutaybah, *Ma'arif*, p. 172, l. 13; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 834, l. 9. 224
- Jaṣṣās (Ibn al-). A man who wrote about music and was quoted by Ishāq al-Mawṣilī, probably in the late 8th or early 9th century. 309
- Jawharī (al-) al-'Abbās ibn Sa'īd. He was a famous astronomer attached to al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). See Heath, *Euclid's Elements*, I, 85; Qifī, p. 219; Sarton, I, 562; Suter, X (1900), 12. 635, 647
- Jāwīdān ibn Suhrah. A chief of Ādharbayjān who employed Bābak and whose widow made Bābak her husband and the local chief in the early 9th century. See Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 325. Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1015, calls the father Sahl and spells the name Jāwīdhān. 819-21
- Jayhātū (al-). See *Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Naṣr*.
- Jaysh (Abū) ibn al-Khurāsānī. His name was al-Muzaḥḥar ibn Muḥammad. He was a pupil of Abū Sahl al-Nawbakhtī in the late 9th and early 10th century. See Tūsī, p. 331, sect. 720. 442
- Jāzī (Abū). He was probably the father of the tribal scholar who follows. 347
- Jāzī ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥuṣayn. A member of the Asad Tribe who belonged to the first generation of Islām and was an authority on tribal poetry and traditions. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 152, note. 155
- Jazm (al-). A legendary character, supposed to have helped to invent Arabic writing. 9
- Jesus ('Isā). The Christ. 208, 214, 284, 784, 794, 798, 807, 809, 813, 814
- Jibrīl. The angel Gabriel. 382
- Jibrīl ibn Bakhtīshū' ibn Jibrīl ibn Bakhtīshū'. The son of the great physician of the 'Abbāsīd court. See *Bakhtīshū' ibn Jibrīl*. 697
- Jibrīl ibn Bakhtīshū' ibn Jūrus, Abū 'Isā. A grandson of the Nestorian physician, who introduced Greek medicine to the 'Abbāsīd court and was himself an eminent physician who died 828/829. See Qifī, p. 132; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 127; Sarton, I, 573; Leclerc, I, 99. 697
- Jikī. A man from China, who came to Baghdād and told al-Nadīm about his journey across Asia. 639
- Jildah (Abū). A poet of the Yashkur Tribe, who died when on the pilgrimage. See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 459. 357
- Jinnī (Ibn) Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān ibn Jinnī. A scholar of language, grammar, and poetry from al-Mawṣil, where his father was a slave. He died at Baghdād 1001/1002. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 322; Kayyālī, p. 137; Taghrī-Birdī, Part IV, 205, 271. 189
- Jirāb al-Dawlah, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alawiyah. He was also called al-Rīḥ and was a musician and jester, who lived until the second half of the 10th century. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 62. 336
- Jirān al-'Awd al-Numayrī. A Pre-Islāmic poet. See Tammām, (Rückert), select. 453. 346
- Jovian (Jovianus Flavius Claudius). The Roman Emperor, 363 to 364. See Pauly, III, 245; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 615. 580, 614
- Ju'al. See al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm.

- Jubayr ibn Ghālib, Abū Fīrās. A jurist, poet, and theologian of the Shurāh group of the Khawārij. He died 795. 453, 569
- Jubbā'ī (al-) Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Walīhāb. He lived from about 849 to 916 and was the famous Mu'tazilī scholar from Jubbā in Khuzistān. See Khallikān, II, 669; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 188; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 80. 76, 80, 83, 424-25, 428, 430, 442
- Jubbā'ī, Abū Sa'īd. A poet of secondary importance about whom al-Šūfī wrote a book. 331
- Jūd (Abū al-) al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Ramaḍān. He was a grammarian of the school of al-Baṣrah in the second half of the 10th century. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, pp. 323, 380; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 199. 184
- Jūdar (Jawdar). A scholar of Indian astronomy and medicine. See Uṣaybi'ah, Part II, 33; Leclerc, I, 290; Cureton, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, VI (1841), 110. 645
- Juday (Abū). A skilled writer of Kūfic script, who wrote copies of the Qur'ān during the reign of al-Mur'āṣim (833-842). In the Beatty MS the name might be Ḥirī. 12
- Juḥā. He was said to have been a man named Nūḥ Abū al-Ghūṣn, who lived in the first half of the 8th century. He was known as the principal character of amusing stories in the Middle East. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 9; Rosenthal, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXIII, No. 4 (September-December, 1963), 453. 735
- Julian the Apostate (Julianus Flavius Claudius). The Byzantine emperor, 361-363. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 644. 579, 581, 610, 611
- Junabī (al-) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sallām. He was a philologist and authority for tribal lore at al-Baṣrah. He died about 846. See Khallikān, IV, 590, n. 10; Mas'ūdī, VI, 8; VII, 355, 356. 77, 246, 248, 249
- Juml. The name of Arab girls loved by poets. See (1) 'Ammār; (2) 'Umar ibn Dīrār. Compare Kalḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part I, 207-208. 719
- Junādah. (1) Junādāh ibn Marwān of Ḥimṣ, Syria. A scholar who died about 864. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 365, l. 4. (2) Junādah ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Harawī, Abū Usāmah. A great scholar of lexicography and poetry, killed in Egypt 1008. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 426; Ziriklī, Part II, 136. 371
- Junayd (al-), Abū al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Junayd. He originated in Nahāwand and was a silk spinner who went to Baghdād and became a famous Šūfī theologian, and jurist. After going on the pilgrimage thirty times, he died 910. See 'Aṭṭār, p. 200; Khallikān, I, 338. 423, 455, 461
- Junayd (Ibn al-). He was probably an ascetic of secondary importance, who wrote on piety. Perhaps he was also a scholar of the Qur'ān, or he may be confused with the name preceding. 460
- Junayd (Ibn al-). One of the leading disciples of the jurist Abū Thawr. The master died at Baghdād 854. See Flügel's edition of *al-Fihrist*, n. 7 for p. 211. 83, 520
- Junayd (Al-) ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He served in the Oxus region during the reign of Hishām (724-743), but was still alive 809 at Tūs. See Mas'ūdī, V, 479; Tabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1527-67; III, 736. 225
- Junayd (Ibn al-), Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. A 10th century Shī'ī scholar and author. See Tūsī, p. 267, top and bottom; Ziriklī, Part VI, 203. 487

- Junayd (Ibn al-), al-Ahwāzī, Abū al-Ḥasan. A Shāfiʿī jurist. See Ḥājj Khalīfah, IV, 482, 568. MS 1934 separates al-Ahwāzī from the name, evidently an error. 526
- Junayd ibn Muḥammad ibn Nuʿaym, Abū Aḥmad. He supplied a list of books to the tenth Shīʿī Imām who died 868. He is either confused with another scholar or was the brother of Ḥaydar ibn Muḥammad. 483
- Jundaysābūrī (al-): (1) Ḥafṣ ibn ʿUmar al-Qannād. (2) ʿAbd Allāh ibn Rashīd. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 131. 377
- Jundub (Ibn), ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Jundub (Jundab) al-Hudhalī. He was a poet from Arabia who was of secondary importance. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, IV, 55; V, 145. 356
- Jundub (Jundab) ibn Sūdab, Abū al-Rumayḥ. He was called Sūdab by Fitgel, an unimportant poet. 362
- Jurayj (Ibn). A teacher of al-Ṭabarī in the middle of the 9th century and an authority for the Ḥadīth. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 12, sect. 849; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 20, 23, 76. 52, 563
- Jurayj (Ibn), ʿAbd al-Malik ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. A scholar who died 767. See Khallikān, II, 116. The name may be Jurayḥ. 52, 563
- Jūrjīs (Jūrjīs) ibn Bakhtīshū, Abū Bakhtīshū. He was the Nestorian director of the hospital at Jundī-Shāpūr, who when called to the court of Al-Manṣūr introduced Greek medicine to the ʿAbbāsids. He died 771. See Qifī, p. 158; Uṣaybīʿah, Part I, 123; Sarton, I, 537; Leclerc, I, 96. 697
- Jūzajānī (al-), Mūsā ibn Sulaymān, Abū Sulaymān. He was a Ḥanafī jurist from the Balkh region, appointed as a judge by al-Maʾmūn. He died, probably 815. See Wafāʾ, Part II, 253 bottom; Taghri-Birdī, Part II, 202; Ziriklī, Part VIII, 272. 508-509
- Kaʿb. He was called al-Aḥbār and was the famous Jewish scholar at the court of Muʿāwiyah, to whom many sayings about tribal life were attributed. See Nawawī, p. 523; Masʿūdī, III, 130; IV, 88, 268, 270; "Kaʿb al-Aḥbār," *Enc. Islam*, II, 582. 742
- Kabas (Abū al-) al-Bāhilī. A nomadic scholar of language of minor importance. 104
- Kaʿbī (al-), Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmud. A man of al-Balkh, who was the founder of the Kaʿbī sect of the Muʿtazilah. He died 929. See Khallikān, II, 25; Baghdādī (Seelye), 186. 304
- Kai Kāūs, son of Kai Kūbād. A legendary hero of Persia, who quarrelled with Rūstūm. See Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, II, 23, 246. 23
- Kai Luhrāsp. A legendary king of ancient Persia. See Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, IV, 281, 316. 262
- Kajjī (al-), Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim, Abū Muslim. A man of al-Baṣrah, who lived from 815 to 904 and became an authority for the Ḥadīth at Baghdād. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part VI, 120, sect. 3151; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 240; Khallikān, III, 9. 82, 559, 567
- Kalamūn. Chief of the tribe destroyed at the time of the Prophet Shuʿayb. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 203, where his name is spelled with a short final vowel and he is called "King of the Giants." 7
- Kalbī (al-), Aḥmad. A scribe serving al-Maʾmūn (caliph 813-833). 12

- Kalbī (al-)**, Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn Sā'ib, Abū al-Mundhir of al-Kūfah. He was a great scholar and authority for Arab history and lore, who died between 819 and 822. He is also called Ibn al-Kalbī. See Khallikān, III, 608. 76, 82, 153, 197, 205-13, 216
- Kalbī (al-)**, Muḥammad ibn Sā'ib. The father of the preceding scholar and himself an authority on genealogy and the Qur'ān, but holding heretical ideas about 'Alī. He died at al-Kūfah 763/764. See Khallikān, III, 27. 75, 205-206, 239
- Kalwādhānī (al-)**. See *Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh*.
- Kalwādhānī (al-)**, Abū al-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. He was born in 912, descended from the royal Persian family. He served as chief secretary and vizier as late as 940. See Miskawayh, IV (1), 78 (71), 146 (131), 167 (149), 237 (212), 460 (415); Bowen, pp. 247, 301. The name is written in different ways, but is probably from Kalwādhān, near Baghdād. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, V, 28. 283, 286
- Kāmil (Abū)**. See *Shujā' ibn Aslam*.
- Kāmil (Ibn)**, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Kāmil ibn Khalaf. He was born at Sāmarrā and died there 961. He studied with al-Ṭabarī, served as judge of al-Kūfah and was a scholar of the Ḥadīth and a jurist. See Khallikān, I, 183; Zirikli, Part I, 190. 72, 78, 151, 566
- Kau'ān (Canaan)**. He was called the father of Cush, but in Genesis 10: 6 he is recorded as the son of Ham and brother of Cush. 27
- Kankah (Mankah)**, the Indian. He was the famous mathematician who brought the Sindhind to the court of al-Manṣūr. He died 766. He was probably Kanaka, the astrologer mentioned in the Sārāvalī of Kalyāṇavarman. See Qifī, p. 265; Uṣaybi'ah, Part II, 33; Sarton, I, 521, 530; Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, 167-68; Leclerc, I, 287. 589, 644, 710
- Kannās (Abū al-)** al-Kindī. He was the principal expert for the genealogy of the Kindah Tribe during the late 7th and early 8th century. 205
- Karābisi (al-)**, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Yazīd al-Muḥallabī. A Shāfi'ī jurist of Baghdād and theologian of the Mujbirah sect, who died between 859 and 863. See Nawawī, p. 774; Khallikān, I, 416; Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 106; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 144. 450, 512
- Karābisi (al-)** Aḥmad ibn 'Umar. A geometrician and commentator on Euclid. See Suter, VI (1892), 38; X (1900), 65; Qifī, p. 79; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 396. 635, 665
- Karkhī (al-)**, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn. A jurist of Baghdād, who lived from 874 to 952. See Murtaḍā, pp. 94-95; Jār Allāh, p. 199, bottom; Wafā', Part I, 337; Khallikān, III, 474, n. 1. 136, 435, 513, 514, 525, 568
- Karmānī (al-)**, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was a skilled copyist and an expert on grammar and language, who died 940/941. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 60; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 19. The name may be al-Kirmānī. 175
- Karmānī (al-)**, Abū Ishāq. He wrote about the Hebrew Patriarchs and interpretation of dreams. See Ḥājj Khalīfah, I, 307; V, 63. 742
- Karnabā'ī (al-)**, Hishām ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū 'Alī. He was from Karnabā near al-Ahwāz and became a pupil of al-Aṣma'ī and a grammarian at al-Kūfah in the early 9th century. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 408. For his town, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 268. 155
- Karnib (Ibn) al-Ḥusayn ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm**. He was called both Abū Aḥmad and

- Abū al-Ḥusayn and was a secretary, theologian, and student of science in the middle 10th century. See Qiftī, p. 169, l. 6. For his brother, see Abū al-'Alā' ibn Abī al-Ḥusayn. xv, 603, 629-30, 649
- Kashshī (al-). He was a grammarian from Khurāsān who probably lived in the late 10th century. For Kashshī, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 277. 184
- Kasrawī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) 'Alī ibn Mahdī. He was the tutor of Ḥarūn ibn 'Alī and later attached to Badr ibn Khurr, a favorite officer of al-Mu'taḍid. He lived in the late 9th century. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 551, l. 18. Compare Badr ibn Khurr with *Badr* Ghulām al-Mu'taḍid. 95, 328
- Kasrawī (al-) al-Kātib. Compare with Mūsā ibn 'Isā. 306
- Kathīr (Ibn), 'Abd Allāh. He was called both Abū Sa'id and Abū Bakr. He lived at Makkah from 665 to 738. He was one of the seven authorized readers of the Qur'ān. See Khallikān, II, 20. 64, 70, 72
- Kathīr (Ibn), Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ahwāzī. He was a secretary, probably incorrectly called Abū Kabīr in the Flügel edition. Compare Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl, who died 991/992, mentioned by Taghri-Birdī, Part IV, 160, l. 12. 306
- Kawwā' (Ibn al-), 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr. He was also called Ibn Abī Awfā and was a Shī'ī genealogist, perhaps also one of the Khawārij. See Qutaybah, *Ma'arif*, p. 266; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 205. 195
- Kaysān. A grammarian, perhaps the father of the scholar who follows. 177
- Kaysān (Ibn), Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. A grammarian, who drew upon both the schools of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah. He died about 911. See Ḥājj Khalīfah, Part IV, 246, 326; V, 144, 573, 618. 77, 79, 109, 177, 190
- Kayyāl (al-). He was refuted by al-Rāzī in connection with the imāmate. 706
- Kayyis (al-) al-Namirī. An early genealogist of the first period of Islām. For his more famous son, see *Zayd* ibn al-Kayyis. 174
- Kāzim (al-). See Mūsā ibn Ja'far. 306
- Khabbāz (al-), Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Baladī. A 10th century poet, omitted by the Beatty MS. See 'Askarī, Part II, 42. 373
- Khadījah. The first wife of the Prophet Muḥammad. 721
- Khafīf. An astrolabe maker of the 9th century. 671
- Khafīf (Ibn). He was probably a scribe who copied a book about warfare. 738
- Khalaf ibn 'Abd Allāh. The governor of al-Rayy 781 to 782. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 503, 505. 218
- Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān, Abū Muḥriz. He was called al-Aḥmar and was a grammarian and poet of the last half of 8th century, known for literary plagiarism. See Khallikān, I, 571, 572; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 177-81. 77, 108, 119, 145, 356
- Khalaf ibn Hishām ibn Tha'lab, Abū Muḥammad al-Bazzār. He was from Fam al-Šillā near Wāsiṭ and was a scholar and teacher at Baghdād. He died 843. See Zirīkī, Part II, 360. 69, 78-81, 84, 102
- Khalaf ibn Yūsuf al-Dastumāsānī. He was called Ibn Qinān and was probably in the 10th century. He worked magic and wrote about it. For his town, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 574. 730
- Khālawayhī (Ibn), Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad. An authority on language, who served Sa'd al-Dawlah. He died at Aleppo 980/981. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (4), 4; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 231. 77, 138, 183

- Khalīf** (al-), Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Ghamz al-Qurashī. He was called both al-Raqqī and al-Ḥarrānī and was a poet, probably of the late 9th and early 10th century. See Thaʿālabī, *Farīdatu'l-ʿAsr*, p. 22. 375
- Khālid** (Abū) ibn ʿAnīr ibn Khālid al-Wāsiṭī. A theologian of the Zaydiyyah. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 179, 218; Tūsi, p. 373, sect. 833. 444, 536
- Khālid** (Abū) al-Khurāsānī. He helped to develop a legitimate form of exorcism, probably in the late 9th and early 10th century. 729
- Khālid** ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Qasrī, Abū al-Haytham. He was appointed governor of al-ʿIrāq by Hishām. He was executed at al-Ḥīrah, 738. See Khallikān, I, 484. 142, 202, 218, 273, 792, 794, 802-804
- Khālid** (ibn) ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marwarrudhī. An astronomer attached to al-Maʾmūn (caliph 813-833). See Sarton, I, 566; Nallino, *ʿIlm al-Falak*, p. 282 top; Suter X (1900), 11; Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, 169. 671
- Khālid** ibn Abī al-Hayyāj. A famous penman who transcribed copies of the Qurʾān and other manuscripts for the Caliph al-Walid (705-715). 11, 89
- Khālid** ibn Barmak. The son of a Buddhist priest of Balkh, who became the leading general and administrator of al-Manṣūr (caliph 754-775). See Khallikān, I, 305. 267
- Khālid** ibn Khidāsh ibn ʿAjlān, Abū al-Haytham. A scholar who died 837/838. 239
- Khālid** ibn Kulthūm, al-Kalbī al-Kūfī. He was an authority for tribal genealogy, poetry, and folklore at al-Kūfah during the 8th century. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, 241. 145, 344
- Khālid** ibn Maʾdān ibn Abī Karb, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Kalāʾī. He was from al-Yaman and became an ascetic at al-Ḥimṣ. He had his own method of reading the Qurʾān. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 427, 429; Ziriklī, Part II, 340. 69, 81
- Khālid** ibn Rabīʿah al-Ifriqī. He was an African who became a talented secretary, serving both the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid dynasties. He died 767. See Ziriklī, Part II, 336. 258, 274
- Khālid** ibn Ṣafwān. He was at al-Baṣrah in the late 7th century, and later at the court of al-Saffāh (caliph 750-754). See Khallikān, III, 659, 666, n. 9. 226, 252, 273
- Khālid** ibn Ṭalīq ibn Muḥammad. He was appointed judge of al-Baṣrah 782/783. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 645; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 506, 518. For his great-grandfather, ʿImrān ibn Ḥuṣayn, see Nawawī, p. 484. 204
- Khālid** ibn al-Walid. The great general of early Islām, who died 642. See "Khālid," *Enc. Islam*, II, 878-79. 47, 204, 558, 722
- Khālid** ibn Yazīd. A follower of Ḥanzah ibn Ḥabīb in reading the Qurʾān. 66
- Khālid** ibn Yazīd ibn Muʾāwiyah. He became heir to the caliphate when his brother Muʾāwiyah II died, 683, but when Marwān deposed him, he retired as a patron of alchemy and science. See Khallikān, I, 481. 226, 581, 586, 850-51
- Khālid** al-Kātib. He composed poetry edited by al-Ṣūfī. He was probably a secretary associated with Ibn al-Rūmī in the late 9th and early 10th century. 366
- Khālidi** (al-), Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū al-Ṭayyib. He was a scholar of al-Baṣrah with sympathy for the Muṣṭafī doctrines. See Murtaḍā, p. 110; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 119. 432
- Khālidiyān** (al-). See (1) Muḥammad ibn Hāshim; (2) Saʿid ibn Hāshim.

- Khalīfah (Abū) al-Faḍl ibn al-Ḥubāb ibn Muḥammad al-Jurāhī. He was a judge of al-Baṣrah and a student of Arab traditions and poetry. He died 917/918. See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 128-34; Zubaydī, *Tabaqāt*, p. 199; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 134 ff. 249
- Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, Abū 'Amr. He was a man of al-Baṣrah, called both Shabīb and Shabāb al-'Uṣfurī, who was a jurist, author, and Qur'ānic scholar. He died 854. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 950, l. 10; 217, l. 16; Taghri-Birdī, Part II, 33, n. 1; 303, n. 3; Khallikān, I, 492. 559
- Khalīl (al-) Ibn Aḥmad, 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He lived from about 718 to 786 at al-Baṣrah and was the first scholar to make an Arabic dictionary and to develop rules for prosody. See Khallikān, I, 493; Nawawī, p. 230. 78, 92, 93, 94, 96, 105, 111, 142, 161, 175, 184, 356
- Khalīl (al-) ibn Jamā'ah al-Miṣrī. An unimportant poet of Egyptian origin. 365
- Khalīl (al-) Ibn Jank. His real name was al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, Abū Sa'īd al-Sijzī. He lived from 902 to 988 and was a shaykh at al-Rayy who became judge at Samarra. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (4), 183; Zirikli, Part II, 363. 427
- Khallād (Ibn) Abū 'Alī Muḥammad. He was a Mu'tazilī theologian, who studied at al-'Askar in the late 9th and early 10th century. See Murtaḍā, p. 105. 434-35
- Khallād ibn Yazīd al-Bāhili. A scholar who quoted tribal poems and traditions. 236
- Khallāl (Ibn al-), Abū al-Ṭayyib. A jurist who followed the code of Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī. 533
- Khallāl (Ibn al-) Abū 'Umar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥafṣ al-Khallāl al-Baṣrī. He was a judge first at al-Ḥadīthah and later at Takrīt; also a Mu'tazilī theologian. He lived until late in the 10th century. 434
- Khanīrah (Abū). A transcriber of the Qur'ān, using the Kūfī script. 12
- Khanūmār (Ibn). See al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār.
- Khansā' (al-) Ṭumādīr. She was the daughter of 'Amr ibn Sharīd and a famous poetess of the Prophet's time. See Ishahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIII, 136; Khallikān, III, 670; "al-Khansā'," *Enc. Islam*, II, 901. 322, 347, 361
- Khanṣhalīl (al-) Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad. A penurious friend of the author of *Al-Fihrist*, who experimented with alchemy. 868
- Khashf al-Wāḍiḥiyah. A girl singer and composer of verses at the time of al-Mutawakkil (caliph 847-861). See Ishahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 184; VI, 56; IX, 89; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part I, 352. 362
- Khashnām (Khushnām): (1) A man of al-Baṣrah, who transcribed copies of the Qur'ān at the time of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). (2) The author of a book entitled *Witnesses*. 11, 377
- Khaṣīb (al-). The finance director in Egypt under Hārūn al-Rashīd (786-809). See Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 6. 247
- Khaṣṣāf (al-), Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn Muḥayr, Abū Bakr. He was an expert on inheritance, who wrote a book on taxation for al-Muhtadī (caliph 869-870) and died at Baghdād 875. See Zirikli, Part I, 178. 509-10
- Khaṣṣāmī (al-) Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ('Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad). He wrote about poetry. For the name, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 304. 240, 377
- Khatīb (al-). See Muḥammad ibn al-Layth.

- Khāṭif al-Hudhālī.** A man interested in alchemy, to whom *Jābir ibn Iḥyān* addressed a treatise in the second half of the 8th century. 850, 857
- Khafmī al-Dallāl.** He was a man about whom amusing anecdotes were told. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 8, n. 5, where he is called *Ḥuṭamī*, but MS 1135 gives *Khā'* (KH) as the first letter. For the name, see also *Zirikli*, Part IV, 290. 735
- Khaffāb (Abū al-).** See *Muḥammad ibn Abī Zaynab*.
- Khaffāb.** A theologian of the *Ibādīyah* school of thought. 454
- Khaffāb ibn Abī Khaffāb.** An author and probably an *Ismā'īlī*, known for his eloquent literary style. 275
- Khaffāb (al-) ibn al-Mu'allā al-Fārisī.** A poet of Persian origin. See *Mas'ūdī*, II, 139. 364
- Khaffābī (al-), Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb.** He was a language student of al-Kūfah, who died at Damascus between 893 and 896. See *Yāqūt*, *Irshād*, VI (6), 477; *Suyūṭī*, *Bughyat*, p. 287. 154
- Khawlānī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Mīhrawayh.** He is mentioned in the Flügel edition as a grammarian, but the name may be confused. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 209, where the name shows a variation. 176
- Khawlānī (al-) Malīḥ.** He was one of the *Ṣābiān* of the marshes of Southern *Irāq* associated with heretical members of his sect. The name may be *Mulayḥ*. 812
- Khayr (Abū al-).** See al-*Hasan ibn Surwār ibn Bābā*.
- Khaythamah Family.** See (1) *Aḥmad ibn Zuhayr*; (2) *Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Zuhayr*; (3) *Zuhayr ibn Ḥarb ibn Shaddād*.
- Khayyāt (al-).** See *Yahyā ibn Ghālib*.
- Khayyāt (al-), Abū al-Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān.** He was a great authority on the *Mu'tazilī* doctrines, ordinarily sympathizing with them. He lived in the late 9th and early 10th century at Baghdād. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 184 ff.; *Shahrastānī* (Haarbrücker), Part I, 79; *Khayyāt*, *Intiṣār* (Nādir), p. xviii. 394, 419, 424, 429, 433
- Khayyāt (al-), Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim.** A reader of the *Qur'ān*, who probably lived in the first half of the 10th century. 73
- Khayyāt (Ibn al-), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad.** A man of Samarra, who was a grammarian at Baghdād about 900. See *Suyūṭī*, *Bughyat*, p. 19; *Zubayḍī*, *Tabaqāt*, p. 75. 178
- Khazaymah (Abū).** One of the *Anṣār* of al-Madinah, who gave *Zayd ibn Thābit* information about the 9th *Sūrah* of the *Qur'ān*. 48
- Khāzim (al-), Abū Ja'far.** A famous mathematician of *Khurasān*, who died while working at the court of *Rukn al-Dawlah* at al-Rayy, between 932 and 976. See *Sarton*, I, 664; *Suter*, X (1900), 58; *Heath*, *Euclid's Elements*, I, 85; *Hitti*, *Arabs*, p. 376; *Qifṭī*, p. 396. 304, 603, 635, 667
- Khazzāz (al-) Abū al-Ḥusayn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad.** A grammarian and tutor to the family of *'Alī ibn 'Isā* during the reign of al-Muqtadir (908-932), also a noted penman who died 937. See *Kaḥḥālāh*, *Mu'jam*, Part VI, 120; Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 205. 77, 92, 123, 180, 282
- Khidāsh ibn Zuhayr al-'Āmirī.** A poet associated with tribal wars in the late 6th century. See *Qutaybah*, *Shi'r*, p. 409; Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Part I, 131. 347

- Khiraqī (al-). A pupil of *Jābir* ibn Ḥayyān the alchemist in the second half of the 9th century. A street at al-Madīnah was named for him. See the Flügel edition, note 8 for p. 355. 855
- Khiraṣh ibn Ismā'il al-Shaybānī al-'Ijlī. He was called Abū Wa'r and was a genealogist and the teacher of Muḥammad ibn Sā'ib al-Kalbī. His pupil died at al-Kūfah 763/764. 206, 239
- Khubbz Aruzzī (al-), Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, Abū al-Qāsim. A blind poet of al-Baṣrah, who died about 941. See Tha'ālabī, Part II, 132; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 276; Ziriklī, Part VIII, 337. 372
- Khujaṇḍī (al-), Abū al-Faḍl. He was a Mu'tazilī scholar, probably of the late 9th and early 10th century. See Murtaḍā, p. 101. For his town, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 404. 427
- Khunays ibn Ḥudhāfah. He went to Abyssinia and returned to be killed at the Battle of Badr. The Prophet married his widow, *Ḥafṣah*. See Sa'd (Ibn), Part IV, 139; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 78. The Flügel edition gives an incorrect form for this name. 223
- Khurāsānī (al-), Abū Muslim 'Aṭā' ibn Maysarah. He was an authority for the Ḥadīth, who died about 752 at Jerusalem. See Nawawī, p. 423. 52
- Khuraymī (al-), Abū Ya'qūb. A poet and partisan of al-*Amīn* (caliph 809-813). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 170; XIII, 82; XV, 109; XVIII, 109; Mas'ūdī, VI, 462. For the town, al-Khuraym, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 431. 363
- Khurdādhbih (Ibn) Abū al-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad. A man of Persian origin, who was director of posts and intelligence in Media and an intimate of al-Mu'tamid (caliph 870-892). He wrote about geography, history, and music. He died 912. See Mas'ūdī, II, 70, 327; VIII, 88 ff.; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 384, bottom. For his book, see the Bibliography. 326
- Khurramī (al-). See *Bābak*.
- Khurrazādh ibn Dārshād. A pupil of *Sahl* ibn Bishr, who became an astrologer in the 9th century. See Suter, VI (1892), 30; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 174, n. 10, for the spelling of the first name. 655
- Khushkauānjah. A friend of the author of *Al-Fihrist*. He started at Baghdād, lived at al-Raqqah, died at al-Mawṣil, in the second half of the 10th century. His Arab name was 'Alī ibn Waṣīf. The foreign name is spelled as in the Beatty MS, which differs from Flügel; it may come from the Turkish, *hushkināji* (a worker with henna dye). He was probably one of the Ismā'ilīyah. 306
- Khusraw al-Az-Rūmaqān. He came from a region southeast of modern Baghdād and started a sect with tenets somewhat like those of *Mānī*. 808
- Khuṭabī (al-), Ismā'il ibn 'Alī. He lived from about 911 to 961 and was a historian of Baghdād. See Ismā'il, p. 207; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 539. Ḥājī Khalīfah, II, 107, calls him al-Khaṭībī. 377
- Khuzā'ī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Naṣr ibn Mālik. A theologian killed at Sāmarrā 846. See Ziriklī, Part I, 250. For the Baghdād suburb named for his father, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 201, l. 15. 81
- Khuzaimah ibn Khāzim, Abū al-'Abbās. He was a general with al-*Amīn* (caliph 809-813) and a provincial governor. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 330; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 102, 138, 145; Mas'ūdī, VI, 420. 275
- Khuza'imī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. He was like his father a scribe, who wrote copies of the Qur'ān in gold. 18

- Khawārizmī (al-), Muḥammad ibn Mūsā. He was born at Khawārizm (Khiva) and became the great mathematician and astronomer at the court of al-Ma'mūn, introducing Indian numerals and combining Greek with Indian learning. He died 850. See Tūqān, p. 154 ff.; Qifī, p. 286; Sartori, I, 563; Suter, VI (1892), 29, 62; X (1900), 10; Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, 170.
652, 662, 665, 668
- Kils (Abū al-), al-Namrī. A tribal language scholar of minor importance. For spellings of the last name, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 113; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 813. The first name is also given as Abū al-Killis.
104
- Kinānī (al-) 'Amr ibn 'Alqamah. He was remembered for giving protection to the reader of the Qur'ān, *Ibn Kathīr*, at Makkah.
64, 103
- Kindī (al-), Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq. He was born at al-Kūfah in the middle of the 9th century and became "The Philosopher of the Arabs." See Qifī, pp. 366-78; Mieli, pp. 80, 81, n. 7; "al-Kindī," *Enc. Islām*, II, 1019.
18, 19, 407, 599, 603, 615-26, 635, 656, 737, 742-43, 746, 750, 826, 831, 863
- Kindī (al-), Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan. A scholar of secondary importance, who wrote about strange forms in the Ḥadīth. See Ḥājī Khalīfah, IV, 325.
191, 377
- Kisā'ī (al-) Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ḥamzah of al-Kūfah. He was tutor to the sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd, one of the authorized Qur'ānic readers and a great grammarian. He died between 795 and 813. See Khallikān, II, 237; Mas'ūdī, VI, 302, 319.
79, 84, 112, 143, 144, 158, 191, 361, 365, 504
- Kudaymī (al-). He quoted something in connection with the Ḥadīth. The name may not be given correctly.
115
- Kūfī (Ibn al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd ibn al-Zubayr al-Asadī. A scholar of al-Kūfah who lived from about 868 to 960. He was also a famous calligrapher. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part XII, 81, sect. 6489; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 326.
6, 145, 151-58, 162, 173, 174, 192, 864
- Kūhī (al-). See *Wayjan* ibn Rustum.
- Kullāb (Ibn), 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. The name may be Ibn Kallāb. He was a cotton worker, who became a scholar but was accused of being a Christian. MS 1934 gives the consonants clearly; for vowels, see Ziriklī, Part VI, 87.
20, 448-49
- Kulthūm ibn 'Amr al-'Attābī. See al-'Attābī.
- Kumayt (al-) ibn Ma'rūf. He belonged to a Bedouin family of poets and was himself a poet of the early period of Islām. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIX, 109; Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, I, 35, 81; IV, 7.
347, 350
- Kumayt (al-) ibn Zayd, Abū Mustahill. He was a Shī'ī poet and authority on tribal lore, who was arrested and released during a riot in 743. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XV, 113; Khallikān, III, 371.
142-43, 155, 158
- Kunāsah (Ibn), Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Yahyā. He lived from about 741 to 823 and was an authority on tribal poetry. He left al-Kūfah for Baghdād and was called 'Abd al-A'lā ibn Muḥammad. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XII, 114; Khallikān, I, 473.
155, 240, 347
- Kūrah (Ibn), Abū Sulaymān Dā'ūd ibn Kūrah. He was a Shī'ī scholar from Qumm and an author. See Tūsī, p. 133, sect. 282.
480
- Kurayb (Abū) Muḥammad ibn al-'Alā' ibn Kurayb al-Ḥamdānī. A man of al-Kūfah, who was an authority for the Ḥadīth. He died 858/859. See Ṭabarī,

- Tafsīr*, I, 135, sect. 151; II, 223, sect. 1291, 362, sect. 1566; *Yāqūt*, *Geog.*, I, 629, I, 2; IV, 327, I, 5. 563
- Kūs, the Biblical Cush, called in *Al-Fihrist*, the son of Kan'an and father of Nūmrūd. Compare Genesis 10: 6-8. 27
- Kushājīm, Abū al-Faḥ Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ramlī. He was a secretary and poet at the time of *Sayf al-Dawlah*. He died in 961 and is omitted in the Beatty MS. See *Khallikān*, I, 301, n. 4; *Mas'ūdī*, VIII, 318, 394, 399; *Hājī Khalīfah*, I, 224; 172; V, 107. 305, 372
- Kūshānī (al-). A scholar of the Muḥbirah from Kūshān in Central Asia. For his home, see *Yāqūt*, *Geog.*, IV, 320. 451
- Kutanjī (al-). A court jester of the middle 9th century, who wrote about buffoonery. 336
- Kuthayyir ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Abū Ṣakhr. He was a poet of al-Madīnah, who lived in Egypt, dying in 723. He was known for his love of 'Azzah. See *Qutaybah*, *Shī'r*, p. 261; *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part VIII, 27; *Tammām* (Rückert), p. 89, sect. 492; *Khallikān*, II, 529. 243, 319, 719
- Labīd ibn Rabī'ah al-Āmirī. He wrote the fourth poem of the *Mu'allaqāt* and became a Companion of the Prophet, dying soon after 661. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part XIV, 93; XV, 137; *Qutaybah*, *Shī'r*, p. 148; *Nicholson*, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 119. 345
- Lahab (Abū) ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The Prophet's uncle and bitter opponent, who was chief of the Banū Hāshim, also known as 'Abd al-'Uzzā. He died 624. See *Qur'ān*, 111: 1-5. 71, 515
- Lāḥiq ibn 'Ufayr, Abū 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. An 8th century poet of secondary importance. For his more famous grandson, see *Abūn* ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. 359
- Lahīyah (Ibn) Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh. He lived from about 711 to 790 and was an authority on the Ḥadīth. He came from the Ḥaḍramawt, but died in Egypt. See *Nawawī*, p. 364. 87
- Lajlāj (al-), Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh. He left Baghdād to serve 'Aḍud al-Dawlah at Shīrāz, where he was a noted chess player. He died soon after 970. *Ziriklī*, VII, 140. 341
- Laqīf (al-) ibn Bakīr al-Muḥaribī, Abū Hilāl. He was a poet and authority on information about al-Kūfah, who died 805/806. See *Yāqūt*, *Irshād*, VI (6), 218; *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part I, 44, bottom. 203, 316
- Laqwah. See *Yūsuf* Laqwah.
- Lawhaq ibn 'Arfaj. An early authority who wrote about the jinn. Goeje, *ZDMG*, XX (1866), 487, calls him Lawhaq ibn 'Arfajah. 728
- Laylā. The name of Arab girls loved by several poets. See (1) 'Amr ibn Zayd al-Ṭā'ī; (2) *As'ad* al-Muzanī. See also names which follow. 719, 720
- Laylā al-Akhyaliyah bint 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Raḥḥāl. She was a poetess loved by *Tawbah* and favored by high government officials. She died soon after 700. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part X, 67; *Kaḥḥālāh*, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part IV, 321. 244, 719
- Laylā bint Sa'd. The Arab girl made famous by the love of Majnūn Laylā. See *Qays* ibn al-Mulawwah, *Kaḥḥālāh*, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part IV, 308. 719
- Laylā bint 'Urwah ibn Zayd. She was the granddaughter of an early Islamic hero. The scholar Ḥammād ibn Sābūr was given to her as a slave in the late 7th century. See *Kaḥḥālāh*, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part IV, 334. 198

- Laylā bint Zubayr ibn Yazīd al-Nahdīyah. An Arab girl loved by her cousin and made famous by poetry. See *Murrah* ibn 'Abd Allāh. See also Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part IV, 304. 720
- Laylā (Ibn Abī), Abū 'Isā Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. A man of al-Kūfah who became a judge and reader of the Qur'ān. He died 765/766. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 248; Schacht, pp. 51-52. For his father, see Khallikān, II, 84. 69, 502
- Layth (al-), Abū al-Ḥārith ibn Khālid. He was a disciple of al-Kisā'i and a scholar at Baghdād. He died 845. See Flügel edition of *al-Fihrist*, note 3 for p. 30. 67
- Layth ibn al-Bakhtarī al-Murādī, Abū Yaḥyā. A Shī'ī jurist and author. See Tūstī, p. 262, sect. 576. 536
- Layth (al-) ibn Dūmām. He quoted the poetry of *Dhū* al-Rummah, probably during the early 8th century. The name is not clear in the manuscripts. 347
- Layth (al-) ibn Muẓaffar ibn Naṣr ibn Sayyār. The grandson of a famous governor of Khurāsān. He may have completed the dictionary of al-Khalīl. He lived in the late 8th century. See Nawawī, p. 231. 94-95
- Layth (al-) ibn Sa'd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He lived in Egypt from 713 to 791 and was a leading jurist who corresponded with Mālik. See Nawawī, p. 529; Ziriklī, Part VI, 115. 495
- Laythī (al-), al-Ḥasan ibn Badr. He wrote a book on "Refutation of the Ignorant." 377
- Lihyānī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Mubārak (Khāzim). An apprentice of al-Kisā'i, who became a scholar in the late 8th and early 9th century. See Khallikān, IV, 300, n. 7; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 299. 105, 191
- Lisān al-Ḥummarah. See *Wiqā'* ibn al-Ash'ar. 105, 191
- Lisayn (al-) al-Jurhumī. An early genealogist of secondary importance. 194
- Lubnā bint Ḥubāb. An Arab girl loved by the poet Qays ibn Dharīf. 719
- Lu'lu'ī (al-). See al-Ḥasan ibn Ziyād.
- Lu'lu'ī (al-) Abū 'Isā Ahmad ibn 'Isā. He was probably from Lu'lu'ah near Damascus, and lived in the 9th century. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 19, bottom. 79
- Luqmān. He is mentioned in Qur'ān, 31: 12 ff., as a wise man. He was honored in later times as the author of fables. 57
- Luzah (Ibn) Bundār ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Abū 'Amr al-Karkhī al-Iṣbahānī. He was brought up at al-Karkh and lived in al-'Irāq at the time of al-Mutawakkil (caliph 847-861). He was known as a grammarian. Both Suyūfī, *Bughyat*, p. 208, and the Beatty MS spell his name as given above, but Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 178, calls him Mīndād. 181
- Lycus: (1) A Roman philosopher and commentator on Aristotle. See Qifī, p. 268. (2) A native of Naples of the early 1st century, who wrote about medicine. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 859. Compare Pauly, IV, 1276. 614
- Mu'add Abū Tamīm ibn Ismā'īl al-Manṣūr. The fourth Fāṭimid caliph, called al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, 952-975. See Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, II, 541; Khallikān, III, 377; "al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh," *Enc. Islam*, III, 706. 467
- Mu'add ibn 'Adnān. The legendary ancestor of one of the tribal divisions of Arabia. See "Mu'add," *Enc. Islam*, III, 58. 8
- Ma'bad, Abū 'Abbad ibn Wabb. The son of a Negro freedman and a great singer

- at al-Madīnah. Later he was popular at the courts of al-Walīd and al-Yazīd II. He died about 743. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part I, 19; Khallikān, II, 374, n. 5. 309
- Ma'bad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Juhānī. He went from al-Baṣrah to al-Madīnah, where he taught heretical views about predestination. He was executed in 699. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 225, 271, 301; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 33, 119, 121; Ziriklī, Part VIII, 177. 381
- Ma'badī (al-), Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān. A scholar and copyist, who died 904/905. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 141. 174
- Mahrimān (al-), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ismā'il. He came from 'Askar Mukram in Southern Persia and was a pupil of al-Muḥarrad and a grammarian at al-Baṣrah. He died 956. See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 131; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 74. 131
- Madā'inī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad. He was born at al-Baṣrah 753, but lived at al-Madā'in and Baghdād. He was a mosque leader and scholar who died about 846. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 309. 79, 178, 202-204, 216, 220, 227, 228, 737
- Ma'dān. The tutor of the family of Ziyād ibn Abīh at al-Baṣrah and then at al-Kūfah. He was called *al-Fil* as his employer gave him an elephant. See Khallikān, IV, 290, n. 13. For his son, see 'Anbasah. 91
- Ma'dān (Ibn). A calligrapher and the teacher of the famous penman, Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh. 17
- Madanī (al-), Abū Ja'far Yazīd ibn Qa'qa'. He was a reader of the Qur'ān, using his own system. He probably lived until the early 9th century. See the Flügel edition of *Al-Fihrist*, note 9 for p. 30. 68
- Madīnī (al-), Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥajjāj. A man of al-Madīnah and the father of a master calligrapher, who went to Baghdād, 911, and contributed a Ḥadīth about the Qur'ān. 49
- Maḍraḥī (Abū al-). A tribal scholar and author; perhaps the father of the poet Maḍraḥī ibn Kilāb, who lived in the late 7th century. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 155; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 496; Ziriklī, Part VIII, 152. 104, 191, 361
- Maghnam (al-), Abū al-Ḥasat Muḥammad ibn Sāmī al-Sha'bānī al-Miṣrī. He was a poet attached to Sayf al-Dawlah (ruler at Aleppo 944-967). The name is not in the Beatty MS and may be meant for al-Mughannī. 373
- Magnus al-Ḥimṣī (Emesenus), also called Macarius Magnes. He was known for his book on urine, but his date is uncertain. See Qifī, p. 322; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 33; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 901; Diels (1906), pp. 59, 60. 689
- Māgus. See Ostanes.
- Maḥāmālī (al-). See al-Ḥusayn ibn Ismā'il.
- Māhān (Ibn). See Ya'qūb ibn Māhān.
- Māhānī (al-), Muḥammad ibn 'Isā, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was a mathematician at Baghdād who died between 874 and 884. See Ṭuḡān, p. 177; Qifī, p. 284; Sartori, I, 597, bottom; Heath, *Euclid's Elements*, I, 85; Suter VI (1892), 25; X (1900), 26. 635, 646-47
- Mahbūd. He quoted a remark about books and was an unimportant man whose name may not be given correctly. 20
- Mahdī (al-). The third 'Abbāsīd caliph, who ruled at Baghdād 775-785. 198, 204, 223, 258, 267, 275, 277, 356, 544, 804

- Mahdī (al-). The founder of the Fātimid Dynasty. See Sa'īd ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh.
- Mahdī (al-). A man of al-Kūfah who transcribed copies of the Qur'ān at the time of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). 11
- Mahdiyāh (Abū). A Bedouin scholar, perhaps the poet Abū Mahdī quoted by Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 359; II, 823. 101
- Mahmūd ibn al-Ḥasan, al-Warrāq. A poet and scholar who died 840. See Ziriklī, Part VIII, 42. 80
- Mahmūd al-Marwazī. A scribe who provided a list of the books written by the jurist, Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī. 531
- Majnūn Laylā. See Qays ibn al-Mulawwah.
- Makhlad ibn Kaydād, Abū Yazīd al-Muhtasib. He was called Šāhib al-Ḥimār and was a Berber, who revolted against the second and third Fātimid caliphs in North Africa. He was killed 947. See Khallikān, I, 219; "Abū Yazīd," *Enc. Islam*, I, 113; Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, II, 530. 466-67
- Makhlū' (al-). The nickname of al-Amīn (caliph 809-813). See Muḥammad al-Amīn; Mas'ūdī, VIII, 275.
- Makhūl al-Shāmī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Makhūl ibn Abī Muslim. A jurist of Kābul who lived at Damascus and traveled extensively. He died between 731 and 735. See Sha'rānī, Part I, 38; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 230; Taghūrī-Birdī, Part I, 272. 8, 550
- Makhzūm, Ja'far. A leading Ismā'īlī propagandist in Northern Persia during the late 9th and early 10th century. See Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 112 with n. 8. Blochet, p. 67, where the name is confused with that of his successor. 468
- Makkī (al-). See Ja'far ibn 'Alī.
- Malak. She was the slave girl of Zaynab, daughter of al-Manšūr (caliph 754-775). She was a singer and writer of verses, later associated with Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī. See Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part V, 102. 361
- Malchus of Philadelphia. A Sophist of Constantinople, famous as a historian. He lived in the 5th century. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 907. 590
- Malīḥ (al-) ibn al-Ḥasan. A transcriber of the Qur'ān. 12
- Mālik (Abū) 'Amr ibn Kirkirah. He was an Arabian noted for his knowledge of vernaculars and connected with the scholars of al-Baṣrah. He belonged to the heretical sect of al-Ṭayyār. See Ḥājj Khalīfah, III, 173; Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 45. 96, 97
- Mālik (Abū) al-Naḍr ibn Abī al-Naḍr. He was called al-A'raj and was a poet at the court of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIX, 150. 357, 377
- Mālik ibn Anas, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He lived from 715 to 795 and was the great jurist of al-Madīnah; founder of the Mālikī school of law. See Khallikān, II, 545. 75, 82, 493-98, 503, 517, 521, 564, 569
- Mālik ibn Asmā' ibn Khārījah al-Fazācī. He was the son of a tribal chief, who died 686. See Mas'ūdī, V, 299; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVI, 41. 722
- Mālik ibn Dīnār, Abū Yalyā. He was the son of a slave and a protégé of the tribe of Sāmāh ibn Lawṭ. He became a disciple of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and was noted for learning and piety. He died when about 90, soon after 740. See Nawawī, p. 537; Khallikān, II, 549. 456, 459
- Mālik ibn Mas'ūd. A scholar and teacher of the middle 8th century, 11

- Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā. See Abū 'Ubaydah.
- Ma'mar ibn Rāshid, Abū 'Urwah. A man of 'Irāqī origin, who went to al-Yaman. He was a scholar and student of the Ḥadīth who died 769/770. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 253; Zirikī, Part VIII, 190. 49, 75, 203
- Ma'marī (al-). See al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Shabīb.
- Ma'mūn (al-). The son of Hārūn al-Rashīd and caliph at Baghdād 813-833. 143, 162, 254, 261, 363, 583-84, 751-53
- Ma'n (Abū) al-Ghifārī. A man of early Islām about whom stories were told. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 8. 735
- Ma'n ibn Aws al-Muzanī. A poet who lived at the time of the Prophet and the first five caliphs. See Tammām (Rückert), select. 398, 399; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part X, 164. 346
- Ma'n ibn 'Isā al-Quzzāz. A jurist who died 813/814 and was probably a pupil of Mālik. See Nawawī, p. 534, l. 14; "Malik B. Anas," *Enc. Islam*, III, 208. 495
- Ma'n ibn Zā'idah, Abū al-Walīd al-Shaybānī. A military leader, who wrote some poetry during the last half of the 8th and early 9th century. See Khallikān, III, 398; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 42-46. 359
- Manānī (al-). A Mu'tazilī scholar, whose ancestors were probably Manichaeans. 429
- Manhāl (Abū al-) 'Uyaynah ibn al-Manhāl (ibn al-Muhallab). Compare with the men mentioned by Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1413. 105
- Manḥalah. An Arab girl loved by the poet 'Alī ibn Ādam. 720
- Mānī. He was the son of Futtaq and was born 215/216, began preaching his new religion openly, 242 A.D., and was executed by Bahrām I, King of Persia, 277. See Flügel, *Mani*; Puech, *Manichéisme*; Bürkit, *Religion of the Manichees*. 32, 773-804, 806
- Manjūf al-Sadūsī. A scholar of Arab lore and traditions, probably in the first half of the 8th century. For the name Manjūf, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 212. 240
- Markah the Indian. See *Kankah*.
- Manṣūr (al-). The second 'Abbāsid caliph who reigned 754-775. He was known as Abū Ja'far and he founded Baghdād. 228, 258, 259, 273, 586, 793, 822
- Manṣūr (al-). See *Ismā'il*, Abū Ṭāhīr. He was the third Fātimid caliph.
- Manṣūr (Abū). See al-Qāhīr.
- Manṣūr (Abū) Abān al-Munajjim. A Persian astrologer and the ancestor of a famous family of scholars and court astrologers. He lived in the early 9th century. See Khallikān, III, 605. See also *Munajjim* Family. 311
- Manṣūr Abū al-'Ajab. A magician, who lived in the last part of the 10th century. 732
- Manṣūr (Abū) ibn Abī Barrāk. He was a 10th century poet and teacher. The father's name is not certain. 372
- Manṣūr Abū al-Qāsim ibn al-Zabīqān. See al-Nanarī.
- Manṣūr al-Hindī. A young man evidently of Indian background, who was attached to a well-known tax expert, *Ḥaṣṣuwayh*. 364
- Manṣūr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Manṣūr. A secretary who wrote poetry and was favored by al-Muktafi (caliph 902-908). See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2279. 369
- Manṣūr ibn Aḥmad al-Barmakī. An unimportant member of the Barmak family, to whom Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, dedicated a book, probably in the late 8th century. 858

- Manṣūr ibn 'Amunār ibn Kadūr, Abū al-Sarī. A scholar from Khurāsān, who was educated at al-Baṣrah, visited Baghdād, time of al-Rashid, preached in Egypt and returned to al-'Irāq, and died 839/840. See 'Aḥḥār, p. 197; Khallikān, II, 545, n. 3; Sha'rānī, Part I, 71; 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān, XVII (1911), 126. 457
- Manṣūr ibn Hāzim, Abū Ayyūb. He was a scholar of the Zaydiyyah. See Tūsi, p. 339, sect. 739. 444
- Manṣūr ibn Ishāq ibn Aḥmad, Abū Ṣāliḥ. He was appointed governor of al-Rayy, 903. Al-Rāzī addressed his *Kutūb al-Manṣūrī* to him. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 901, l. 17; Elgood, *Medical History*, p. 201. 704
- Manṣūr ibn Ismā'il ibn 'Amr, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Miṣrī. He was a jurist of Egyptian origin, who followed the code of Abū Thaur. He died 918. See Nawawī, p. 579; Taghri-Birdī, Part IV, 18; Shīrāzī, Part II (Ḥusaynī), p. 12; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 476. 521, 701
- Manṣur ibn Salamah, or ibn al-Zabriqān. See al-Namārī.
- Manṣūr ibn Sarjūn (Serjius) ibn Manṣūr. He followed his father as keeper of the government records at Damascus in the late 7th century. His grandfather had the same name. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 195, and n. 4. 583
- Manṣūr ibn Ṭalḥah ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn. The grandson of the great ruler of Khurāsān and son of another governor who died 828/829. He himself was also a governor as well as a scholar. For his father, see Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1064, 1065, 1099. 256, 707
- Manṣūrī (al-), Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ. He was a follower of the jurist *Dā'ūd* ibn 'Alī. The name is not given clearly in the manuscripts and may not be correct. Compare Miskawayh, V (1), 233 (208), bottom. 532
- Mantias. A physician who probably lived in the 3rd century B.C. in Italy and wrote on pharmacy and medicine. See Sarton, I, 215; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 921. 679
- Ma'qil ibn 'Isā. He was a singer and poet of Persian origin, who lived at Baghdād during the first part of the 9th century. See Ishbāhānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 194. For his more famous brother, see Abū Dulaf. 363
- Ma'qil ibn Ṭawq. A poet of secondary importance. In the Beatty MS the name is more like Ma'bad. 362
- Marāghī (al-), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Alī. He was at al-Mawṣil in the middle of the 10th century. For al-Marāghah in Ādharbayjān, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 476. 187
- Marāghī (Ibn al-), Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Ḥamdānī. A teacher, scholar, and man of letters who died 981. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 28. 186, 363
- Marcion. He was probably a Christian shipmaster in Pontos, who went to Rome about 140 A.D., becoming the famous founder of a heretical sect. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 295; "Marcionism," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, VIII, 407-409. 775-76, 806-807
- Marḍā (Abū al-). Probably a contemporary of Dhū al-Rummaḥ about 700, as he quoted his poetry. Flügel calls him Ibn al-Marḍā. 347
- Mardān (Ibn), Abū Mūsā 'Isā al-Kūfī. A 9th century grammarian at al-Kūfah. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 370. 155
- Mardān Shāh ibn Zād Infarrīkh. He was the son of the secretary of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf and himself a member of the secretariat in the late 7th and early 8th century. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 466. 582

- Māri.** He was an heretical leader, who formed a sect based on dualistic doctrines. 812
- Marianus.** A Syrian monk, who taught *Khālīd ibn Yazīd* during the second half of the 7th century. See *Ruska* (6), pp. 8, 11, 26, 31-33, 42, 51; *Fück, Ambix*, p. 120, 718, 849
- Marinus of Alexandria.** He was a physician and anatomist, who lived just before the time of *Galen*. See *Sarton*, Part I, 281; *Qifāi*, p. 71, bottom; *Uṣaybi'ah*, Part I, 103; *Smith, GRBM*, II, 951. 689
- Marisī (al-), Bishr ibn Ghiyāth (Ghayyāth) ibn Abī Karīmālī.** He was an heretical scholar, said to be an Egyptian Jew, who hid during the reigns of al-*Rashīd* and al-*Amīn*. He died 833/834. The name may be al-Marrisī. See *Baghdādī (Halkin)*, p. 5, n. 4; *Steiner*, p. 78; *Khallikān*, I, 260; *Yāqūt, Geog.*, IV, 515. 394, 452, 457
- Māriyah (Maria) al-Qibṭiyah.** A Jewess, famous for her interest in alchemy in the 1st century. See *Sarton*, I, 238; *Lippmann*, p. 499; *Ruska* (6), p. 7; (10), pp. 70, 108; *Berthelot, Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 192, 201, 235; II, 90, 236, 255; III, 26, 364. 849, 851-52, 868
- Marqūnas.** A legendary King of Egypt. See *Fück, Ambix*, p. 119, sect. 21. 733, 849
- Marqus the Jacobite, al-Badawī.** He was Jacob, the Metropolitan of the Syrian Orthodox Church, which was nicknamed for him. He was called *Burādā* (*Burdeānā* or *Baradaeus*) because he went about disguised as a nomadic beggar. See "Jacobite Church," *Enc. Britannica*, 11th edit., XV, 119a; "Syrian Literature," *idem*, XXVI, 315, a.; *Wright, Short History*, p. 85. 46
- Marrār (al-) al-Faq'asī.** A poet of the late 7th and early 8th century. See *Iṣbahānī, Aghānī*, Part VII, 46, 47; *Qutaybah, Shi'r*, p. 440. 346
- Marthadī (al-) Abū Aḥmad ibn Bishr.** He was an author and secretary to the caliph's brother. See al-*Muwaffaq*, in the second half of the 9th century, 191, 283, 330
- Ma'rūf ibn Firūz al-Karkhī, Abū Maḥfūz.** He was born near Wasiṭ. He became a Muslim, lived as a mystic in the Karkh Quarter of Baghdad, and died 815/816. See *'Aṭṭār*, p. 178; *Nicholson, Mystics of Islam*, p. 14; *Khallikān*, III, 384. 455
- Marwān.** The caliph at Damascus 683-685. He was called *Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam*. 201, 223, 257, 267, 581
- Marwān ibn Abī Hafsah al-Rashīdī.** He was the ancestor of a family of poets. He lived at the time of the third caliph, 644-656. 353
- Marwān ibn Abī al-Janūb ibn Marwān, Abū al-Samṭ (Sinuṭ), al-Aṣghar.** He was a poet of the middle 9th century. See *Iṣbahānī, Aghānī*, Part XI, 2, *Ṭabarī, Annales*, Part III, 741, 1324, 1465, 1467. 354
- Marwān II, ibn Muḥammad, al-Ja'dī.** The last Umayyad caliph, 744-750. 223, 274, 543, 803-84
- Marwān ibn Sulaymān ibn Yaḥyā ibn Yazīd, ibn Abī Ḥafṣah, also called al-Rashīdī and Abū al-Samṭ (Sinuṭ).** He came from Arabia to Baghdad, and composed poetry praising al-*Rashīd* and al-*Ma'mūn*. See *Khallikān*, III, 343; *Iṣbahānī, Aghānī*, Part IX, 36. 314, 322, 354
- Marwān ibn Zinbā' al-Qaraz.** He was one of the well-known heroes of the Pre-Islamic period. See *Durayd, Geneal.*, p. 169. 208

- Marwarrūdihī (al-) ibn Khālīd. He was either Muḥammad or another son of Khālīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik, said to have made the first circular astrolabe. The name varies in different texts but probably comes from Marw al-Rūdh near Marw. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 506. His father was Khālīd ibn Abd al-Malik. 671
- Marwazī (al-). See Abū Yahyā.
- Marwazī (al-), Abū al-'Abbās Ja'far ibn Aḥmad. A scholar and author, whose books were sold at Baghdād, 887/888, after he had died at al-Ahwāz. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 400. 329
- Marwazī (al-), Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad. He was a distinguished Shāfi'ī jurist of al-'Irāq, who died in Egypt, 951/952. See Nawawī, p. 650; Shīrāzī, p. 92; Khallikān, I, 7. 522
- Marwazī (al-), Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥajjāj, Abū Bakr. A pupil or associate of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. He died about 853. See Baghdādī, Khaṭīb, IV, 423, sect. 2318; Taghri-Birdī, Part II, 293. 554
- Marwazī (al-) Aḥmad ibn Naṣr. A Shāfi'ī jurist of the 9th century. 522
- Marwazī (al-), Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm. He was a reciter of the Qur'ān according to the system of al-Kisā'ī. 67
- Maryam (Ibn Abī), Abū 'Abd Allāh Sa'īd ibn al-Ḥakam. A man of al-Baṣrah, who was a traditionalist and who went to Egypt, where he died 838/839. See Mas'ūdī, VII, 143; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 714, l. 6; 844, l. 13. 205
- Marzubān (Ibn al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Khalaf. A man from near Baghdād, who was a scholar and prolific author. He died 921/922. See Khallikān, III, 657, 666, n. 1; Zirikli, Part VI, 348. 327
- Marzubānī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Imrān. A man of Khurāsān, who lived from about 910 to the end of the century. He was an authority on history and traditions, who lived at Baghdād and was a prolific writer. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 50; Khallikān, III, 67. xv, 189, 288-95
- Mas'adah ibn 'Amr (or Abū 'Amr). He was a secretary named 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn 'Adī, who served al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). A street in West Baghdād was named for him. See Šābī, *Wuzurā'*, p. 162; Ishāhānī, *Aghānī*, Part I, 93; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1038, 1069, 1064, 1766. 274-75
- Mas'adah ibn Khālīd. He served as secretary to al-Manṣūr (caliph 754-775). 274, 741
- Māsarijs (Māsariwayh). He was a Jewish physician who wrote and translated books during the late Umayyad period. He probably became a Muslim and joined the 'Abbāsids in al-'Irāq. See Qifṭī, p. 324; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 163, 204; Gregorius, p. 111, bottom. 698
- Māsawayh (Ibn), Yūhannā ibn Māsawayh, Abū Zakariyā'. He was known as Mestué Major, who lived from 777 to 857. He was a Nestorian physician employed by al-Rashīd and his successors to translate books on Greek science. See Qifṭī, p. 380; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 175; Sarton, I, 574; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 363. 584, 695-96, 742
- Mā Shā' Allāh. A Jew named Mīshā ibn Athrā (Jethro), one of those who introduced astrology and astronomy to Baghdād in the late 8th and early 9th century. See Qifṭī, p. 327; Sarton, I, 531; Ṭūqān, pp. 112, 135; Suter, VI (1892), 27, 61; X (1900), 5. 650-51, 655
- Ma'shar (Abū) Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Balkhī. He was called Albomasar and was an authority on mathematics, astronomy, and other

- subjects at Baghdād. He died at Wāsiṭ in 886 when about 100 years old. See Qifṭī, p. 152; Khallikān, I, 325; Sarton, I, 568; Suter, VI (1892), 31, 65; X (1900), 28. 576, 578, 626, 644, 654, 656-58, 660
- Mash'arī (al-), 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Wahb. He was a disciple of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim during the first half of the 9th century. Flügel gives the grandfather's name incorrectly. 157
- Māshūṭah (Ibn al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan. He was probably nicknamed for his mother, a hairdresser. He was a tax authority, who wrote a history of the viziers. See Mas'ūdī, I, 17. 298
- Mashūr (al-). A transcriber of the Qur'ān, who used the Kūfic script. 12
- Masīḥ al-Dimashqī, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Isā ibn al-Ḥakam. He was a physician of Damascus, who wrote a medical pendectae and probably went to Baghdād at the time of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). See Qifṭī, p. 249; Uṣaybī'ah, Part I, 120; Gregorius, p. 138, top. 698
- Maskīn al-Darāmī, Rabī'ah ibn 'Āmir. A genealogist and poet of the late 7th and early 8th century. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (4), 204. 195
- Maslamah. The secretary of *Khuzaymah* ibn Khāzim, a general and governor during the reign of al-ʿAmīn (809-813). He may be the same as Maslamah ibn Salm, a secretary who wrote poetry. 275, 367
- Maslamah ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hishām al-Makhzūmī. An authority who lived before 870 and was quoted by his followers. 244
- Maṣqalah ibn Ḥubayrah. He was an early convert to Islām, who left 'Alī to join *Mu'āwiyah*, and died as governor of Ṭabaristān. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 205. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 105, 106, for his relations with the Nājīyah Tribe. 223
- Masrūr al-Awsī. He was a man of early Islām about whom anecdotes were told. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 8. He may be the servant of Hārūn al-Rashīd mentioned by Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 33, 34. Khallikān, I, 310; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 493. 735
- Massāb (Ibn). A Mālikī jurist, who wrote marginal notes and appendices. 497
- Maṣṣīṣī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Maṣṣīṣī (Miṣṣīṣī). An astrologer, who probably lived in part of the 9th century. See Suter, X (1900), 66. For al-Maṣṣīṣah, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 557. 660
- Maṣṣīṣī (al-), Ya'qūb ibn Muḥammad, Abū Yūsuf al-Ḥāsib. A mathematician. See Qifṭī, p. 378; Ṭūqān, p. 265; Suter, VI (1892), 71; X (1900), 66. 665
- Mas'ūd ibn 'Amr al-'Ālakī. A tribal chief, who became a leader at al-Baṣrah. He died 684. See Zirikī, Part VIII, 114. 117
- Mas'ūdī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī. He was the famous historian who was probably born at Baghdād. In 915 he visited Persia, going on to India, Ceylon, and Arabia. In 947 he completed the first edition of his important work. He died in Egypt 956. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 147; Mas'ūdī, I, iii; "al-Mas'ūdī," *Enc. Islam*, III, 403. 338
- Mattā ibn Yūnus, Abū Bishr. He was a Christian scholar who lived at Baghdād between 932 and 940 and was noted for his work with the Greek sciences. See Qifṭī, p. 323; Sarton, I, 629; Mieli, p. 96. 599-606, 628-29, 630-31
- Maṭ'ūn (Ibn). A poet or the hero of poetry belonging to an early period. 720
- Mawlā (Ibn al-) Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh. An Arabian poet of the middle 8th century. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 88. 356

Mawṣil (Ibn). A Ḥanafī jurist of al-ʿIrāq. See the Flügel edition of *al-Fihrist*, n. 3 for p. 208. 513

Mawṣilī (al-) Ibrāhīm ibn Maymūn. He was born in 742 and was the great musician at the court of Baghdād. His death is given both as 804 and 828, the former probably being correct. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 2; Khallikān, I, 20. 253, 276, 307-308, 312, 317

Mawṣilī (al-) Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū Muḥammad. He lived from 767 to 850 and was the son of the preceding musician. He was himself a famous singer, poet, and court companion during the reigns of al-Ma'mūn, al-Mu'taṣim and al-Mutawakkil. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 52; Khallikān, I, 183; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 197-225. 206, 253, 307-13, 317, 363

Mawṣil (Abū al-). A poet of the Banū Asad Tribe. Ibn Kunāsah, who died about 823, quoted him. 155, 347

Maximus. (1) Claudius, a Stoic philosopher of the 2nd century. (2) Maximus of Tyre, a Greek scholar and author of the 2nd century. (3) Maximus the Confessor, a Christian theologian, born at Constantinople 580 A.D., a commentator on Dionysius the Areopagite and Pseudo-Aristotle. For these names, see Smith, *GRBM*, II, 988, 1000; Sarton, I, 471, 406; Qiftī, p. 321. 614

Maymūn al-Qaddāh, Abū Shākir. He was derisively named Ibn Dayṣān. He was probably a retainer in the family of the 6th Shīʿī Imām. After spending some time in Jerusalem and al-Aḥwāz, he went to Persia, where his son, ʿAbd Allāh, helped to organize the underground Ismaʿīlī propaganda. See books by Ivanov; Lewis, *Origins of Ismaʿilism*, p. 57; Quatremère, *Journal Asiatique*, 3rd Series, Vol. II (August, 1836), 117 ff. 462, 463, 468-69

Maymūn al-Aqrān, ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī. A scholar and poet of al-Baṣrah who lived in the late 7th and early 8th century. See Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-ʿAdab*, I, 163; Khallikān, I, 666, n. 7. Flügel calls him al-Ijūṣī, evidently an error. 362

Maymūn ibn al-Aqrān. A grammarian associated with Abū al-Aswad al-Duʿālī, probably the same person as the one preceding. 90

Maymūn ibn Hārūn, Abū al-Faḍl, al-Kātib. He was probably a government secretary and official, who quoted many anecdotes and was a friend of al-Jāhīz. He lived until 910. See Khallikān, III, 249, 660; Ziriklī, Part VIII, 301. 402

Maymūn ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū al-Qāsim. A secretary who served as director of posts and in 907 was a director of taxes. See Šābi, *Wuzurāʾ*, pp. 203, 204, 250; Tabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2274; Masʿūdī, VIII, 125. 271, 369

Maymūn ibn Maymūn. See al-Faḍl ibn Rabīʿ.

Maysarah. A protégé of al-ʿĀṣ ibn Hishām, who gave his protection to a reader of the Qurʾān, named Ismaʿīl ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qusṭanṭīn. 64

Mayy bint Ṭalabah ibn Qays. An Arab girl loved by the famous poet, Dhū al-Rummah. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVI, 114 ff.; Kaḥḥālāh, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ*, Part V, 131. 720

Mayyādah (Ibn) al-Rammāh ibn Abrad. He was a popular poet at the court at Damascus during the first half of the 8th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part II, 88-120. 314, 322

Mazābā. An astrologer attached to the court of Nabonassar or Nebuchadnezzar. 644

Mazdak. He was the leader of a revolutionary and communistic sect of Northwest

- Persia. He was executed about 531. See Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, VII, 182-209; See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 291; Nizām al-Mulk, p. 245 ff.; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 169. 260, 359, 817
- Māzinī (al-), Abū 'Utlmān Bakr ibn Muḥammad. A great grammarian, who died at al-Baṣrah about 863. See Khallikān, I, 264. 91, 98, 112, 124, 126, 128, 130, 139
- Māzyār (al-) ibn Qārin ibn Bindar Hurmuz. A chief of Ṭabaristān, who revolted against al-Mu'taṣim and was cruelly executed 839/840. See Mas'ūdī, VII, 137-38. 696
- Menelaus. He was an astronomer and mathematician at Alexandria, during the 1st century. He went to Rome and conducted research probably at the time of Domitian. See Qifā'i, p. 321; Sarton, I, 253; Heath, *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, pp. 399-402. 638
- Menodorus. A 1st century B.C. authority for materia medica. See Smith, GRBM, II, 1042. 676
- Midlāji (or Marlāhī). A late 10th century translator from Syriac into Arabic. 588
- Mihṛ. He became the chief (imām) of the Manichaeans during the reign of al-Walid (705-715). See Flügel (*Mani*), p. 319. 792-94
- Mihṛādhar (Mihādhar) Jushnas. He was the vizier or framadhār of Buzurjmihr ibn Bakhtakān, who was the principal aid of King Anushīrwan of Persia. See Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, pp. 265, I. 7; 266, I. 4. 739
- Mihrajānī (al-), Aḥmad ibn 'Alī. A reader and scholar of the Qur'ān. For Mihrajān, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 698. 82
- Mihṛān (ibn). See Ibn Abī 'Arūbah.
- Mihṛān ibn Mihribundādī al-Hamadhānī. A general of the Persian army, defeated by the Muslims at Nukhaylah, 635. See Balādhuṛī, *Origins*, pp. 406-407. 224
- Mihzamī (al-). See Abū Hifṣān.
- Mikāl (Ibn). See al-Shāh ibn Mikāl.
- Mikhā'il ibn Iḥir ibn Biqrāris. A headman of the Ṣābiāns of Harrān, in the middle of the 9th century. The spelling of the name may not be correct. 768
- Mikhnaf. An unimportant grammarian, probably of the late 10th century. 185
- Mikhnaf (Abū) Lūṭ ibn Yahyā. An authority for early Muslim wars, who died 774. See Khallikān, IV, 448, n. 17; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 289; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 267. 201-202
- Mikhnaf ibn Sulaym. He fought with 'Alī at the Battle of Ṣiffīn, 657, and served him as governor of Iṣbahān. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 267; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 289. 201
- Milās. A Zoroastrian who embraced Islam, late 8th or early 9th century. See Khallikān, II, 668. 387
- Minjāb ibn al-Ḥārith. A student of historical traditions, who probably lived in the 8th century. 197
- Miqlās. The chief (imām) of the Manichaeans in al-'Irāq during the first half of the 8th century. 793-94
- Miqṛād (al-) Shafar. A bookbinder. 18
- Miqsam (Ibn), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ya'qūb al-'Aṭṭār. He was a man of Baglīdād, who was a grammarian and reader of the Qur'ān. He was forced to recant the doctrines of Ibn Shanabūdhī. See Khallikān, III, 47, n. 2; Ziriklī, Part VI, 311. The name is also spelled Muqsim. 74

- Mis'ar ibn Kidām, Abū Salamah. He came from al-Kūfah and was a scholar who studied with the great scholars of the period. He died about 772. See Nawawī, p. 547, bottom; Sha'rānī, Part I, 49. 504
- Mis'ar ibn Muḥalhil. See Abū *Dulaf*, al-Yanbū'ī.
- Miṣḥal (Abū), Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Ḥarīsh. An Arabian who was a grammarian at Baghdād in the last half of the 8th century. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 49. 101, 191
- Miṣḥal ibn Kaṣīb ibn 'Amrān ibn 'Aṣā' ibn Khaṭafā. He was a grandson of the poet *Jarir* and quoted his verses. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VII, 42, l. 27. The Beatty MS and Flügel give 'Anunār, probably an error. 348
- Miṣjaḥ (Ibn). See Sa'īd ibn Miṣjaḥ.
- Miskīn (Abū) al-Bardha'ī. A poet who wandered about in Syria and was probably a friend of al-Haytham ibn 'Adī. He died 822. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part I, 175. 375
- Misma' ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Misma'ī. A Shī'ī theologian who was refuted by al-Rāzī. See Tūsī, p. 330, bottom section. 705
- Miṣrī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. He was born at Sāmarrā 870/871 and became a jurist and an ascetic, who visited Egypt and went to Baghdād. He died 949/950. See Tūsī, p. 228; Khallikān, I, 86, n. 10; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 301; Massignon, *Ḥallāj*, I, 262, n. 6; Miskawayh, IV (1), 84, 85. 460
- Miṣrī (al-), Ibn al-Imām. He wrote the introduction to a commentary on the Qur'ān. 76
- Miṣṣīṣī (al-). A grammarian. For the spelling, see Khallikān, I, 112. Compare with Maṣṣīṣī, Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 557-58. 185
- Miswar (al-) ibn Makhramah al-Zuhrī, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. A young Companion of the Prophet, who was killed 683. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 1529, 1534; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 218; Ziriklī, Part VIII, 123. 558
- Mitham ibn Yaḥyā al-Tammār. He was a slave, set free by 'Alī. He became one of the well-known men of early Islām. See Sa'd (Ibn), Part VI, 280; Ziriklī, Part VIII, 294. 437
- Mithqal, Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Wāsiṭī. He was a pupil of the poet Ibn al-Rūnī and himself a poet, probably belonging to the late 9th or early 10th century. See Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, Supplementband, I, 124, top. 366
- Morietus. See *Marianus*.
- Mu'addab (al-). See *Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī*.
- Mu'adh (Abū) al-Faḍl ibn Khālid. A grammarian who wrote on the Qur'ān, probably in the early 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 80. 77
- Mu'adh ibn Jabal ibn Aws. He was appointed by the Prophet as judge of al-Yaman. He helped to collect the revelations of the Qur'ān. He died about 639. See Khallikān, IV, 50, n. 10, 554; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 397. 62
- Mu'adh ibn Muslim al-Ḥarrā'. He was called both Abū Muslim and Abū 'Alī, and lived from about 722 to 803. He was a cloth dealer of Harāt, who composed some poems. See Khallikān, III, 370. 142-44
- Mu'adhdhal (Ibn al-). A Mālikī jurist of the 9th century. The Tonk MS adds that his name was 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Ghaylān al-Miṣrī. Compare 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn al-Mu'adhdhal. 496
- Mu'adhdhal (al-) ibn Ghaylān. A man of al-Baṣrah, who was a poet and who was

- in his prime about 800. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part XII, 57, 58; XX, 74, 75. Compare *Ziriklī*, Part VIII, 183. He may have been the father of the preceding scholar. 364
- Mu'āfā' (Abū al-). A scholar of secondary importance, who lived at al-Baṣrah and wrote about the Qur'ān. 81
- Mu'āfā' (al-) ibn 'Imrān, Abū Mas'ūd. A scholar of al-Mawṣil, and an ascetic, who traveled extensively to find Ḥadīth. He died 800. See *Khallikān*, I, 259, n. 7; *Ṭūsī*, p. 331, sect. 722; *Taghrī-Birdī*, Part II, 117. 456, 546
- Mu'āfā' (al-) ibn Zakariyā' ibn Yaḥyā al-Nahrawānī, Abū al-Faraj. He was nicknamed Ibn Ṭarārā (Ṭarān). He lived from about 915 to 1000 and was a judge at Baghdād. See *Baghdādī* (Khaṭīb), Part XIII, 230, sect. 7199; *Taghrī-Birdī*, Part IV, 201; *Khallikān*, III, 374. 563, 567-68
- Mu'āfī (Abū al-). A man of al-Madīnah who became a poet, probably at the court of al-Ḥādī (caliph 785-786). See *Mas'ūdī*, VI, 269; *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part IV, 122. The name may be more correctly given as Abū al-Mu'āfā. 359
- Mu'allā (al-) ibn Ayyūb ibn Ṭarīf. An important provincial governor during the reign of al-Raṣhīd (786-809). See *Yāqūt*, *Geog.*, IV, p. 846, l. 2. 156
- Mu'allā ibn Maṣṣūr al-Rāzī, Abū Ya'lā. He was a judge and follower of the jurist Abū Yūsuf. He died at Baghdād 826/827. See *Wafā'*, Part II, 177, bottom; *Ṭabarī*, *Annales*, Part III, 2425; *Ziriklī*, Part VIII, 189. 503
- Mu'allim (Ibn al-) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān. A man of Baghdād, who lived from about 950 to 1023. He was a theologian of the Imāmīyah school of thought. See *Ṭūsī*, p. 314, sect. 685; *Taghrī-Birdī*, Part IV, 258. xxxiii, 443, 491
- Mu'ammal (al-) al-Raqqī. He may have been one of the poets named al-Mu'mmal. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part XVI, 166; XIX, 147; *Tammām* (Rückert), select. 407. 356
- Mu'annar. A pupil who served *Mu'annur* ibn al-Ash'ath in the late 8th and early 9th century. 220
- Mu'ammār ibn 'Abhād al-Sulamī, Abū 'Amr. He was a Mu'tazilī scholar, who upheld the spiritual existence of the soul and introduced the idea of concepts. See *Baghdādī* (Seelye), pp. 118, 159; *Shahrastānī* (Haarbrücker), Part I, 67; *Nādir*, *Système philosophique*, pp. xv, 36, 208, 275-77. 393, 395, 417, 422, 429
- Mu'ammār (Ibn), Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Kūfī. A Shī'ī jurist called al-Karkhī. See *Ṭūsī*, p. 372, sect. 827. 541
- Mu'ammār ibn al-Ash'ath. A Mu'tazilī scholar who lived during parts of the 8th and 9th centuries and taught a group of students. See *Khallikān*, I, 438, n. 8. 220, 417
- Mu'arraj ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ḥārith al-Sadūsī, Abū Fayd. A man of al-Baṣrah, who was a pupil of al-Khaṭīb. He was a grammarian, who went to Khurāsān with al-Ma'mūn, but died at al-Baṣrah 810. See *Ziriklī*, Part VIII, 266. 76-77, 101, 104, 105
- Mu'āwīyah. The fifth caliph who ruled 661-680. He was the son of Abū Sufyān and founder of the Umayyad dynasty. 65, 194, 197, 201, 223, 325, 405, 437, 486, 555, 583
- Mu'āwīyah (Abū) al-Yamān al-Aswad. An ascetic connected with both Ṭarsūs and al-Baṣrah. Compare al-Yamān ibn Ribāb. See *Shā'rānī*, Part I, 53. 456

- Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far. He was the son of a man who died about 700 and was a leader in the early Islāmic community. See Mas'ūdī, IV, 181. 222
- Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Ammār al-Duhnī. A Shī'ī jurist, author and student of the Ḥadīth. See Tūsī, p. 332, sect. 725; Tabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2340. 536
- Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Amr, Abū 'Amr al-Azdī. He was a scholar who quoted historical traditions. He died at Baghdād 830/831. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 259. 199
- Mu'āwiyah ibn Muḍāq al-Jurhumī. The ancestor of the Banū Jurhum. For this tribe, see "Djurhum," *Enc. Islām*, I, 1066. 8
- Mu'āwiyah II, ibn Yazīd. The caliph at Damascus, 683. 223
- Mūbadhān-Mūbadh. He was a Zoroastrian priest of Fars, who was named Zaradasht ibn Ādhrakhūrah. He was summoned to Baghdād by the Caliph al-Mutawakkil. He became a Muslim and Persian scholar, nicknamed al-Mutawakkilī. Flügel gives a different name. 717
- Mubārak ibn Sa'īd. A brother of *Sufyān* ibn Sa'īd al-Thawrī. The brother died about 778. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 250. 546
- Mubārakī (al-). He was a court intimate, probably a jester of the 9th century. The name is garbled by Flügel, but clear in the Beatty MS. 336
- Mubarrad (al-), Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad ibn Yazīd. He was a great scholar of philology who was born at al-Baṣrah about 826 and died at Baghdād 898/899. He was known for his book *Al-Kāmil*. See Khallikān, III, 31; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 137, l. 15, which explains the spelling of the name. 76, 101, 112, 118, 120, 125-26, 127, 130-32, 135, 164, 398
- Mudabbir (al-). See (1) *Aḥmad*, (2) *Ibrāhīm*, (3) *Muḥammad* ibn al-Mudabbir. For the family name, see Khallikān, IV, 389; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XV, 93. 371
- Muḍarras ibn Rib'ī. An early poet of the Banū Asad 'Tribe. See Ziriklī, Part VIII, 153; Tanīmām (Rückert), select. 434, 741, where the name is given as Muḍarris. 347
- Mudrik ibn Muḥammad al-Shaybānī. He was a poet at the time of al-Mutawakkil (caliph 847-861). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XX, 90. 371
- Muḥaddal (al-), Abū al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'lā al-Ḍabbī. A scholar of al-Kūfah who was involved in a rebellion but pardoned, and under the patronage of al-Mahdī compiled the famous *Al-Muḥaddaliyāt*. He died 784/785. See Khallikān, III, 23, 26, n. 3. 77, 85, 118, 151, 152
- Muḥaddal (al-) ibn Salamah al-Ḍabbī, Abū Ṭālib. He came from al-Kūfah and was a well-known scholar of the Qur'ān and literature. He died 903. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 170; Khallikān, II, 611. 96, 135, 137, 161, 179, 350, 742
- Mufajja' (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ('Abd Allāh). He was a pupil of *Tha'lab* and a Shī'ī scribe and poet of al-Baṣrah who died 932. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 314; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 13; Ziriklī, Part VI, 198. 182, 370
- Mughallas (Ibn). See 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad.
- Mughallas (Mughlis) ibn Taybā. The headman of the Ṣābiāns of Ḥarrān during the middle of the 9th century. 768
- Mughāzālī (al-). A mathematician during the early 10th century. See Qiftī, p. 288, l. 4; Tūqān, p. 227; Suter, X (1900), 49, 71. His name may be Ibn 'Amr (or Abū 'Amr) al-Mughāzālī. 667
- Mughīrah ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥarsī. A man of al-Madinah, who was a Mālikī jurist. He lived from 742 to 802. For the last name, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 240. 495

- Mughīrah ibn Miqsam al-Qabbī, Abū Hishām (Hāshim). A blind jurist who died 752/753. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 114, 265; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 240. 547
- Mughīrah ibn Muḥammad. One of the Muhallab Family, probably the brother of the 9th century poet, Yazīd ibn Muḥammad. 240
- Mughīrah (al-) ibn Shu'ayb. See al-Tanūmī.
- Mughīrah (al-) ibn Shu'bah. He took part in the Battle of al-Qādisiyyah, 637, and later was governor of al-Kūfah. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 410-12, 427, 440, 472, 481; Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 196-97; Wāqidi (Jones), III, 595-98; 962-68. 224
- Mughīth (Abū al-) al-Awdī. He helped to edit the poetry of Jarīr, and probably lived in the early 8th century. 348
- Muḥabbar (al-) ibn Iyās ibn Marhūb. A nobleman of Khurāsān during the early period of Islām. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 298. 218
- Muḥabbib (Abū al-) al-Rabī'ī. A tribal language scholar. Flügel calls him Abū al-Mujīb. The last name may be al-Rib'ī. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 170, l. 7. 153
- Muhalhil ibn Rabī'ah. He was a Pre-Islāmic poet and the uncle of Imru' al-Qays, perhaps the first poet to use the ode or *al-qasidah*. See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 164; Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Part II, 23. 345
- Muhallab (al-) ibn Abī Ṣufrah, Abū Sa'īd. An officer who lived from about 630 to 702. He led the invasion in Afghanistan, conducted the Azraqī war, and was governor of Khurāsān. See Khallikān, III, 508. 229, 239, 241
- Muhallabī (al-). See (1) Aḥmad ibn Yazīd; (2) Mughīrah ibn Muḥammad; (3) Yazīd ibn Muḥammad.
- Muhallabī (al-), Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. An Egyptian grammarian, probably of the 10th century. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 58. 185
- Muhallabī (al-), Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad. A man of al-Baṣrah, who lived from 903 to 963. He was a poet, man of letters, and the vizier of Mu'izz al-Dawlah. See Khallikān, I, 410; Miskawayh, VII, index (Muhallabī) for many references. 296, 315, 375
- Muhallabī (al-), Muḥammad ibn 'Abbād ibn Ḥabīb. He was the governor of al-Baṣrah during the reign of al-Ma'mūn. He died 831. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 97; Ziriklī, Part VII, 50. 377
- Muḥallim (Abū). A grammarian, who wrote about al-anwā', Compare him with the scholar who follows. 191
- Muḥallim (Abū) Muḥannad (Aḥmad) ibn Sa'd. He was also called Muḥannad ibn Hishām ibn 'Awf al-Sa'dī. He was a grammarian of tribal origin, who died about 860. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 758; Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 48. 100
- Muḥannad. The Prophet of Islām, called the Apostle of Allāh. 190, 378, 475, 695, 814, 868
- Muḥammad. The 9th Shī'ī Imām. He was called al-Jawād. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. 536
- Muḥammad (Abū). A judge who upheld the doctrines of the heretic, Ibn Kullāb. 449
- Muḥammad (Abū). See al-Ḥasam ibn 'Ubayd Allāh.
- Muḥannad (Abū) 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Shāmī. A Syrian pupil of Tha'lab, in the second half of the 9th century. 164
- Muḥammad (Abū) ibn Abī Sa'īd. He was a shaykh, who was a friend of the author of *Al-Fihrist*. He may have been a son of the jurist Abū Sa'īd al-Strāfi.

- Muḥammad (Abū) ibn Ma'rūf, al-Qāḍī. His true name was 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ma'rūf. He was a scholar and judge, who died at Baghdād 991. See Khallikān, I, 379, note. 136
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abbās ibn Muḥammad, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Yazīdī. A friend of al-Jāhīz, who was tutor to the sons of al-Muqtadir. He died 922. See Huart, p. 147; Zirikli, Part VII, 52. 399
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh. See Ibn Sa'nān. Also Ibn al-Sayrafi.
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was spoken of as a grandson of Maymūn al-Qaddāh. See references, footnotes and Appendix, given with the translation for the passage about the Ismā'īliyah. 464
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, Abū Naṣr al-Kalwadhānī. A late 10th century mathematician, interested in Indian arithmetic. See Suter, VI (1892), 75; X (1900), 74. 670
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, Abū Bakr al-Bardha'i. He was a jurist of the Shūrah group of the Khawārij, who met the author of *Al-Fihrist* 951/952. He died ten years later. See Zirikli, Part VII, 97. xiii, 570
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Hārīnī, Abū al-Hārith. He was a secretary who compiled a fifty-leaf anthology of poetry. 367
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Abū 'Abd Allāh. A jurist who lived in Egypt, from about 798 to 882. See Khallikān, II, 598, 600, n. 4; Shirāzī, p. 81; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 175, 260; III, 44, 240. For his father, see 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Hakam. 521, 564
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ghālib. See Bāh.
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Hārīb. The secretary of the well-known general al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah during the late 8th century. 277
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī. He was a descendant of the Prophet, who revolted against the Caliph al-Manṣūr and was killed at al-Madinah 762. See Mas'ūdi, VI, 189, 199-203; Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 290-91. 118, 247
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, Abū Bakr al-Abharī. He was born at al-Abhar near Hamadhān 891/892 and was a Mālikī jurist and author. He died 985/986. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 105, l. 16; Zirikli, Part VII, 98. 498
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī. He came from al-Kūfah, and was also called Abū Ja'far al-Muṭayyin ibn Ayyūb. He lived from about 817 to 909 and was a reliable authority for the Ḥadīth. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 171, 306; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 26, 220, 422; Zirikli, Part VII, 95. 558
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn. He inherited the autonomous governorship of Khurāsān, but surrendered it to his nephew and then served as chief of police at Baghdād. He died 908/909. See "Ṭāhirids," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 614. 256, 355
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar, al-Bāzyār. He was a falconer, who wrote a book about birds of prey. 739
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ya'qūb ibn Dā'ūd al-Ya'qūbī, Abū 'Abd Allāh. A secretary and poet, whose father was attached to al-Mahdī (caliph 775-785). See Ṭabari, *Annales*, Part III, 490. 369
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm. He was either a Mu'tazilī or Murji'ī theologian of secondary importance. See Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, V, 264. 430
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik. See al-Anṣārī.

- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abān al-Zayyāt, Abū Ja'far. He was the vizier of three caliphs and also a poet. He died 847/848. See *Khallikān*, III, 249.
234, 268, 367, 400, 402, 408, 683, 804
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Rabbah ibn Sulaymān, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He came from Tirkān in Eastern Persia and was nicknamed "Mule Head." He was an author who died 820/821. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 905. 236
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī Shabbah. A poet of secondary importance. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IV, 92, top. The latter part of the name is garbled by Flügel, and the Beatty MS does not indicate the vowels, so the spelling is uncertain. It may be Subbah. 357
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Mughīrah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Abī Dhī'b (Fīshām), Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān. He was a jurist and judge, who lived from about 700 to 775. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part II, 296, sect. 787; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 244; Taghribirdī, Part I, 191, 237. 546
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb. See al-Jubbā'ī.
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abdūs. See al-Jahshiyārī.
- Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh. See Ibn al-'Anūd.
- Muḥammad ibn Abī al-'Atāhiyah, Abū 'Abd Allāh. A poet and ascetic. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 127, 182; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 497. For his famous father, see 'Atāhiyah. 355
- Muḥammad ibn Abī Badr al-Sulamī. An unimportant poet. 363
- Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr. He was a son of the first caliph, appointed as governor of Egypt by 'Alī (caliph 656-661). See Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 358; Mas'ūdī, IV, 180-83, 327, 421; V, 32-38. 201
- Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Muqaddamī. A scholar who wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān. 76
- Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥamzah al-'Uqaylī. A man who composed a small amount of poetry. 363
- Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥikmah. He was a secretary who wrote some poetry. Flügel calls him Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ḥakīmah. 369
- Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudayfah. The governor of Egypt who revolted against the Caliph 'Uthmān, 656. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 357, 358. 201
- Muḥammad ibn Abī Umayyah. An Arabian poet. For his father, who died 613, see Abū Umayyah. 358
- Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Uyaynah. The governor of al-Rayy at the time of al-Manṣūr (caliph 754-755). Later he was put in prison. He was a poet and student of traditions. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 9. 356
- Muḥammad ibn Abī Zaynab, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb. He was one of the early agitators of the conspiracy, which became the Ismā'īlī movement and a teacher of Maymūn al-Qaddāh. He was killed 755. See Baghdādī (Halkin), pp. 32, 62-65, 74; Lewis, pp. 21, 35; Maqrīzī, *Iti'āz*, p. 48. 462
- Muḥammad (ibn), Abū 'Abd Allāh. See al-Khuzaymī.
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. See Ibn Shanabūdh; also Abū al-Faḍl.
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. He was a secretary who wrote some poetry. His name occurs in the text after 'Alī ibn Fīṣayn but is omitted in the translation. His nickname is Mujūn in the Flügel edition, but Muḥriz or Muḥarrar in the Beatty MS. 368
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣafwānī. He was the judge of al-Mawṣil

- 957/958. He met the author of *Al-Fihrist* and also left some books about the law and other subjects. See Tūsi, p. 271, sect. 595. 490
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Thalj, Abū Bakr al-Kātib. He was a pious and democratic Shīʿi scholar and secretary interested in the Qurʾān and Ḥadīth. See Tūsi, p. 272, sect. 596. 76
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Khayār. A tax expert and secretary. For his father, see Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Khayār. 298, 369
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (al-Ḥasan) al-Ṣanawbarī, Abū Bakr. He was a well-known North Syrian poet, who died 945. He was associated with Sayf al-Dawlah. See Thaʿālabī, Part I, 462; III, 95, bottom; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 667, l. 22; II, 311. 372
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm. See Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf.
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿIsā ibn al-Manṣūr, Abū Aḥmad. A descendant of the royal family, known for his poetry. He probably lived in the 10th century. 330
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Thalj, Abū Bakr al-Kātib. He was a secretary, jurist, and disciple of al-Ṭabarī during the 10th century. 561, 566
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Naṣr ibn Jayḥān ibn Jurjān al-Jayḥānī. He was a secretary and vizier of Naṣr ibn Aḥmad. He was influenced by the Manichaeans. He died 941/942. See Athīr, Part VIII, 59, bottom, and 66, l. 9; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 293; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 181. In *Al-Fihrist* he is called Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. 302-303, 337, 804
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Thawābah. See Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Thawābah.
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ashʿarī al-Qummī, Abū Jaʿfar. A Shīʿi jurist and author. See Tūsi, p. 273, sect. 598 and bottom. 540
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Zuhayr ibn ʿIṣṣar, Abū ʿAbd Allāh. He was a jurist, whose grandfather died 848 and his father 892/893. See *Khaythamah* Family. 555
- Muḥammad ibn ʿĀṣṣah, Abū Jaʿfar. A singer and poet of al-Madinah, whose father was unknown and who died about 718. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part II, 62; Ziriklī, Part VII, 48. 309, 324
- Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, Abū al-Ḥusayn. A secretary from Diymart near Iṣbahān, probably belonging to the 10th century. 300
- Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, Abū Jaʿfar. See al-Bāqir.
- Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Bukhārī, Abū al-Ṭayyib. A secretary who wrote a hundred pages of poetry. 370
- Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Ḍabbī. He was called al-Ṣinī in the Beatty MS, and was the author of some poetry. 363
- Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, Dayḍān (Dīdān). A secretary who composed some poetry. 369
- Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāshimī. He was the father of the two first ʿAbbāsīd caliphs. See Khallikān, II, 592; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 289. 222, 378
- Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Fayyād, Abū ʿAlī. A secretary who wrote some poetry. 371
- Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā ibn Bābawayh, Abū Jaʿfar. He went to Baghdād in 966 as a young man and became an author known for his good memory. See Tūsi, p. 304, sect. 661; Ziriklī, Part VII, 159. 487, 488

- Muhammad ibn 'Alī ibn Jānī. He is mentioned by Flügel, but omitted in the Beatty MS. He helped to write a commentary. 75
- Muhammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muqlah, Abū 'Alī. He was the famous vizier of al-Muqtadir and al-Qāhir, noted for his skill as a penman. He lived from 886 to 948. See Khallikān, III, 266. 17, 70, 134, 273, 277, 285, 371
- Muhammad ibn 'Alī al-Jawālīqī. He composed fifty pages of poetry. For the last name, see Khallikān, III, 501. 364
- Muhammad ibn 'Alī al-Makkī. See Abū Zafar.
- Muhammad ibn 'Anbasah, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was the maternal uncle of Abū al-Wafā', with whom he studied and shared an interest in mathematics, during the 10th century. See Qifī, p. 288, l. 5; Tūqān, p. 227, where he is called Muhammad ibn 'Anbah. 667
- Muhammad ibn 'Arūs Abū 'Alī, al-Kātib. A secretary who composed a small amount of poetry. 370
- Muhammad ibn Baḥr al-Iṣbahānī, Abū Muslim. He lived from 868 to 934 and was a government secretary, who became governor of several provinces in Persia. He was also a Mu'tazilī theologian, who translated foreign books into Arabic. See Suyūfī, *Bughyat*, p. 23; Ḥājjī Khalīfah, II, 508; VI, 289. 76
- Muhammad ibn Bahrām ibn Miṣyār al-Iṣbahānī. He translated Persian books into Arabic. The spelling of the grandfather's name is uncertain. 589
- Muhammad ibn Bahrām al-Mawṣiqī al-Sijistānī, Abū Sulaymān. He was a shaykh and scholar, who died 986/987. See Qifī, pp. 30, l. 20; 35, l. 10; 84, l. 9; 224, l. 8; 235, l. 5. Compare Muhammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām. 585, 742
- Muhammad ibn Bakr. A government secretary, who made a collection of epistles and was also a poet. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2426. 367
- Muhammad ibn Bashīr. (1) Al-Khārījī, Abū Sulaymān. He was a well-known poet of the time of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809); (2) Al-Riyāshī. A poet associated with al-Baṣrah at the time of al-Mu'taṣim (caliph 833-842). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIV, 148; XII, 129. 363
- Muhammad ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn 'Uthmān. He was the director of posts and public works at Makkah, 838/839. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 668, l. 1; 942, l. 17; III, 767, l. 20. 244
- Muhammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī, Abū Bakr. He was the son of the famous jurist and himself a legal authority and man of letters. He died about 909. See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 254, 277; Shirāzī, p. 148; Taghri-Birdī, Part III, 171. 523, 531
- Muhammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāh, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He lived from about 858 to 908 and was a poet, expert copyist, and secretary. He was killed in 908 because of his part in the plot to make 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz caliph. See Khallikān, I, 25, n. 6; II, 360-61; Miskawayh, IV (1), 4 ff. 106, 242, 244, 280, 283, 325, 342, 355, 366
- Muhammad ibn Dhu'ayb of al-Baṣrah. A poet at the court of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVII, 78; Mas'ūdī, VI, 322. 358
- Muhammad ibn Dīnār al-Aḥwal, Abū al-'Abbās. A copyist and scholar of the Qur'ān, language, and poetry, who was also active as a teacher during the 9th century. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 482, where he is called Muhammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Dīnār. 77
- Muhammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Jarjārī. He was a secretary and poet and the vizier of al-Mutawakkil (caliph 847-861). See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 55, l. 1; Mas'ūdī, VII,

- 197; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1379, 1407, 1514; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 69; XVII, 127, where the locality name seems to be incorrect. 369
- Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Sukūnī. He wrote some poetry. His name is omitted by Flügel. 363
- Muḥammad ibn al-Fuḍayl ibn Ghazwān al-Ḍabbī, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He came from al-Kūfah and was a conservative jurist, who died 810/811. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 9, 31, 148. 348
- Muḥammad ibn Ghālib al-Iṣbahānī. See *Bāḥ*.
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, Abū Ja'far. He was an authority for tribal dialects, poetry, and folklore, who died at Sāmarrā, 859/860. See Khallikān, III, 622, 627, n. 36. 98, 104, 191, 234, 344
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb al-Fārisī. A Persian ascetic whose father may have been Abū Muḥammad Ḥabīb al-'Ajamī of Fars. He died 772/773. He is described by 'Aṭṭār, p. 44. 456
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥajjāj ibn Nuṣayr al-Anbārī. A man who quoted earlier authorities. Compare Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 2382. 100
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdān al-Mawṣilī, Abū Ja'far. Called by Flügel Naṣr ibn Muḥammad ibn Jahān. He was a 10th century jurist who composed some poetry. 371
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdān al-Ṭarā'ifī, Abū 'Abd Allāh. A Shāfi'ī jurist of the late 9th and perhaps early 10th century. Compare with Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭarā'ifī mentioned by Nawawī, p. 61, bottom. 519
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥamzah, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-'Alawī. He was a member of the family of the Prophet about whom al-Marzubānī wrote a book. 294
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah, Abū al-Qāsim. He was a son of the Caliph 'Alī who lived at al-Madīnah, about 642-700 and whose followers claimed that he had not died but would reappear. See Khallikān, II, 574; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 35, 48, 49. 222, 382, 823
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb. A secretary of al-'Amīn (caliph 809-813). 275
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥārith, Abū Ja'far. He was called both al-Tha'labī and al-Taghlibī. He was a singer attached to the brother of al-Mutawakkil during the 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part X, 161; Mas'ūdī, I, 12. 324
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥārith al-Miṣrī. A poet not to be confused with the famous singer. Compare Taghrī-Birdī, Part I, 174. 365
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥārith al-Tamīmī, Abū al-Ḥasan. He was the author of an epistle. 378
- Muḥammad ibn Hārūn ibn Muḥannad. See Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq.
- Muḥammad ibn Hārūn ibn Mukhlid ibn Abān, Abū Bakr. He was a government official who wrote some poetry. He may have been the general of al-Mu'taḍid (caliph 892-902). See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 209. 368
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan. See Ibn Durayd.
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Warrāq. He was a friend of the author of *Al-Fihrist*. 701
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār. A Shī'ī jurist and author. See Tūsi, p. 289, sect. 623. 536
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Walid al-Qummī, Abū Ja'far. He was a Shī'ī jurist. See Tūsi, p. 284, sect. 618. 542
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, the nephew of Hishām al-Shatawī. He was surnamed

- Abū 'Abd Allāh and was an astronomer interested in sundials and measuring instruments. See Suter, VI (1892), 69; X (1900), 67. 663
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Dīnār. See Abū al-'Abbās al-Aḥwāl.
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ramaḍān. An unimportant grammarian of the late 10th century. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 33; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 495. 184
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Makḥzūmī. An authority quoted by al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār. 244
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Muntazar bi-Allāh, Abū al-Qāsim. He was the last of the twelve official Shī'ī imāms. He disappeared at Sānuarrā, 878, was called al-Mahdī and was expected to reappear. See Khallikān, II, 581; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. 409, 439
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was born at Wāsiṭ, brought up at al-Kūfah, and studied with al-Awzā'i, Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfah, and other scholars. He was also a judge under al-Rashīd. He died at al-Rayy 804/805. See Wafā', Part II, 42; "al-Shaybānī," *Enc. Islām*, IV, 271; Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part V, 121. 496-97, 504, 507-509, 514, 516, 519, 523, 568
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥāshim ibn Wa'lāh, Abū Bakr. He was one of the two brothers from al-Khālidiyah near al-Mawṣil, who served as poets and librarians at the court of Sayf al-Dawlah (ruler at Aleppo, 944-967). He died about 990. See Khallikān, I, 557; II, 337; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 390; Zirikli, Part VII, 353. xvii, 373-74
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥāzim al-Bāhilī. A poet living in al-'Irāq during the first half of the 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XII, 158; Qutaybah, 'Uyūn, I, 246, l. 4; II, 373, l. 13; Flügel gives the name incorrectly. 363
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥujr (Ḥajar) ibn Sulaymān. He belonged to a family of Ḥarrān, served as secretary to the governors of Armenia and Syria, and made a collection of his epistles. He lived during the late 8th or early 9th century. 259, 274-75
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd, Abū Ja'far. A poet and government official. See Khallikān, III, 664; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 92; XII, 160; XV, 103; Taghūrī-Birdī, Part II, 203, 209, 211. 365
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd ibn Ḥayyān al-Rāzī, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was an authority for the Ḥadīth, who taught al-Ṭabarī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥaṭṭab, and other scholars. He died 862/863. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part II, 259, sect. 733; Taghūrī-Birdī, Part II, 329. Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 798, l. 15; II, 386, l. 9. 563
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥumrān ibn A'yan. A Shī'ī scholar of the second half of the 8th century. See Tūsi, p. 290, sect. 629. 536
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn. He was a wealthy official who lived during the late 8th century and secretly helped the Ismā'īliyah. His popular name may have been Daydān, Dandān, Dhaydhān, or Zaydān, the texts are not clear. See Silvestre de Sacy, I, ccccxlii ff.; Baghdādī (Halkin), 108, n. 2; 109; Lewis, pp. 56, 69. 469-70
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū 'Abd Allāh. A poet attached to Sayf al-Dawlah (ruler at Aleppo 944-967). See Tha'ālibī, Part II, 273. 373
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū Ba'rah. A man of al-Ḥadīthah, who was a book collector and whose friend at Kūfah gave him a valuable collection. See Khallikān, I, 667, n. 4, which gives the name Abū Ba'rah. 88-89
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū Ja'far al-Ṣā'igh. He was a Shī'ī jurist of al-Kūfah,

- who sympathized with extreme Imāmīyah doctrines. See Tūsī, p. 289, sect. 624. 543
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-ʿAnūd, Abū al-Faḍl al-Kātib. A secretary and vizier, who wrote some poetry. He died 970. See Šābi, *Wuzurāʾ*, p. 5; Ziriklī, Part VI, 328. 376
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn (al-Ḥasan) ibn Jamhūr al-Baṣrī. A Shīʿī jurist, who was intimate with the 8th Shīʿī Imām, in the late 8th and early 9th century. See Tūsī, p. 284, sect. 617, where he is called al-Qummī. The manuscripts call him al-ʿAmrī. 541-42
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Shuʿayb. A secretary who wrote some poetry. Compare Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1948 ff., for Muḥammad ibn Shuʿayb. 367
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ajurtī, Abū Bakr. He was a Shāfiʿī jurist, who lived at Makkah, dying 970. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part IV, 60, 62; Ḥājj Khalīfah, I, 188, 204, 230. 526
- Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm. See al-Fazārī.
- Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm. A bookbinder, following his father's craft. 18
- Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir, al-Naysābūrī, Abū Bakr. He was a Shāfiʿī jurist, famous for his scholarship and books on the law. He died at Makkah, 921/922. See Nawawī, p. 675; Shīrāzī, p. 89; Khallikān, II, 612. 527
- Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kātib. He was born at al-Ḥasanīyah 894/895, a secretary, who pretended to be a Shāfiʿī, but was secretly one of the Imāmīyah. See Tūsī, p. 264, sect. 586. For the place of his birth, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 270. In one account his father is called Aḥmad, probably an error. 489, 525
- Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ibn Sulaymān. A poet of secondary importance. For his father, see Idrīs ibn Sulaymān. 354
- Muḥammad ibn ʿImrān. See al-Marzubānī.
- Muḥammad ibn ʿIsā. See (1) Ibn Abī ʿAbbād. (2) Burghūthī. (3) al-Māhānī. (4) al-Tirmidhī.
- Muḥammad ibn ʿIsā. This scholar was probably Abū ʿAbd Allāh, a teacher and author from al-Rayy, who died about 867. See Ziriklī, Part VII, 213. 78, 81
- Muḥammad ibn ʿIsā ibn al-Manṣūr. An important citizen who was at Makkah, 870. 243
- Muḥammad ibn ʿIsā ibn ʿUbayd ibn Yaqṭīn. A man of Baghdād who was an associate of the 10th and 11th Shīʿī imāms, but was one of the Ghulāt extremists. See Tūsī, p. 311, sect. 675. For the imāms, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442; for the Ghulāt, see Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 199. 542
- Muḥammad ibn Ishāq. See al-Nadīm, author of *Al-Fihrist*. See also Al-Qāshānī.
- Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Mādhārāʾī. He was a secretary who wrote some poetry. For his home town, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 381. 370
- Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm. See Abū al-ʿAnbas.
- Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Muṣʿabī. He served al-Mutawakkil and other caliphs as a provincial governor in the last half of the 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1404; Khallikān, II, 312, 313, n. 1. 313
- Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Sarrāj, Abū al-ʿAbbās. A scholar of Naysābūr, who was the historian of Khurāsān. He died 925/926, when 97 years old. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 214, l. 8; 215. 339

- Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il. See (1) *al-Bukhārī*. (2) *al-Tirmidhī*.
- Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il. He was a grandson of the 6th Shī'i imām, largely responsible for organizing the Ismā'īliyah movement. See notes for chap. V, sect. 5, of the translation. 462, 465
- Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid. He was quoted as an authority by *al-Zubayr* ibn Bakkār, who died 870. Compare *Zubaydī*, p. 315. 244
- Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il ibn Šāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Kātib. A poet and secretary of the late 9th and early 10th century. See *Taghrī-Birdī*, Part, III, 268. 371
- Muḥammad ibn Jābir ibn Sinān. See *al-Battānī*.
- Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad Abū al-Ḥasan. He was called Ibn al-Najjār, and lived from about 915 to 1011, most of the time near Baghdād, although he came from al-Kūfah. He was an authority on historical tradition. See *Yāqūt*, *Irshād*, VI (6), 467; *Yāqūt*, *Geog.*, IV, 117, l. 14; 568, l. 10; *Ziriklī*, VI, 298. 378
- Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn Thawābah, Abū al-Ḥasan. A chief of correspondence and an important official during the reign of *al-Muqtadir*. He died 924/925. See *Yāqūt*, *Irshād*, VI (6), 463; *Taghrī-Birdī*, Part III, 263, n. 1. See *Thawābah*, Family. 283-85
- Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Kātib al-Gharbālī. A secretary who wrote poetry and was living at the time of *al-Mu'taḍid* (caliph 892-902). See *Mas'ūdi*, VIII, 266. 368
- Muḥammad ibn al-Jahm, Abū Bakr. A jurist of Damascus, who completed a book of Ismā'il ibn Ishāq al-Qāḍī. He died 895/896. See *Taghrī-Birdī*, II, 243. 178, 497
- Muḥammad ibn al-Jahm al-Barmakī. He was a wealthy official at the time of *al-Mu'tasim* (caliph 833-842). He was associated with the great astronomer, Ja'far ibn Muḥammad Abū *Ma'shar*, and helped to translate from Persian into Arabic. See *Khallikān*, I, 63; IV, 68. 589, 658
- Muḥammad ibn al-Jahm ibn Hārūn, Abū 'Abd Allāh. A scholar of Sāmarrā and a government official who died 890/891. See *Yāqūt*, *Irshād*, VI (6), 471; *Yāqūt*, *Geog.*, I, 548, l. 9; II, 825, l. 10; III, 32, l. 22; IV, 70, l. 8. Compare with the preceding scholar. 178
- Muḥammad ibn Ka'b al-Qarazī. An authority for the Ḥadīth, who died 735. See *Khallikān*, III, 370, 373, n. 1. 142
- Muḥammad ibn Khalaf. See *Wakr* al-Qāḍī.
- Muḥammad ibn Khalaf. A maker of astrolabes, in the 9th century. 671
- Muḥammad ibn Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī. The son of a governor of al-'Irāq, who was known for his preaching and whose father was killed 743. See *Ṭabarī*, *Annales*, Part II, 1814-15; III, 18-20, 161-65. 274
- Muḥammad ibn Khālid ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Barqī al-Qummī. He was called both Abū 'Abd Allāh and Abū al-Ḥasan and was a Shī'i scholar and author, of the late 8th and early 9th century. See *Tūsī*, p. 291, sect. 631; see also p. 37, sect. 74 for his family. 538
- Muḥammad ibn Khālid ibn Barmak. A son of the famous official of the early 'Abbāsīd caliphs and brother of Yaḥyā, who lived from 738 to 805. See *Ṭabarī*, *Annales*, Part III, 638, 680. For the Barmak Family, see "Barmakids," *Enc. Islam*, I, 663-66. 804

- Muḥammad ibn Khālid ibn Yaḥyā ibn Barmak. A member of the Barmak Family who lived during the 9th century and was a patron of translation of the Greek sciences. 587
- Muḥammad ibn Kunāsah, Abū Yaḥyā al-Asadī. He was a poet who lived during the last half of the 8th century, and whose concubine was greatly sought after for her singing. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 111; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1366; Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, IV, 126. 198, 362
- Muḥammad ibn al-Layth, Abū al-Rabʿ al-Khaṣīb. A secretary to Yaḥyā ibn Khālid, the vizier of Hārūn al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 668. 264, 274, 739
- Muḥammad ibn Ludhdhah, a mathematician of Iṣbahān. See Suter, VI (1892), 38, Qifṣī, p. 287. 666
- Muḥammad ibn Makhliḍ ibn Ḥaṣṣ al-Aṭṭār, Abū ʿAbd Allāh. He lived from about 847 to 943 and was an authority on the Ḥadīth. See Ḥajār, *Lisān al-Mizān*, V, 374; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 280. 560
- Muḥammad ibn Maʿn ibn Hishām al-Qārī, Abū ʿAlī. A Shīʿī scholar, probably of the 10th century. Compare Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 201. 461
- Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr. He was called al-Zāj al-Muḥaddath and he probably lived in the late 9th century. He passed on a record of al-Khaṣīb ibn Aḥmad. See the Flügel edition of *al-Fihrist*, n. 3 to p. 43. 95
- Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr al-Murādī, Abū Jaʿfar. He was a Zaydī scholar and author. For the tribe of Murād, see Ḥakamī, p. 177; Khalikān, I, 520. 482
- Muḥammad ibn Marwān ibn Abī al-Janūb ibn Marwān. A poet who was active during the reigns of al-Mustaʿīn and al-Muʿtazz (862-869). See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1651, 1672; Khalikān, III, 346. 354
- Muḥammad ibn al-Mudabbir. A poet and secretary of the 9th century. 270
- Muḥammad ibn al-Mughīrah. See Abū Jaʿfar.
- Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad. See al-Bāḥilī and al-Fārābī.
- Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Būzjānī. See Abū al-Wafāʾ.
- Muḥammad ibn Mukram. A government official and man of letters, who was probably at Baghdād in the 9th century. 271, 275, 378
- Muḥammad ibn Munādhir al-Ṣubayrī. A well-known poet of the late 8th and early 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVII, 9; Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, I, 63, l. 18; 246, l. 8; II, 138, l. 8, n. 3. 361
- Muḥammad ibn Mūsā. See al-Khwārizmī.
- Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Shākīr. A patron of scientific translation and research from the time of al-Maʾmūn until he died, 872/873. See Qifṣī, pp. 315, 441-42; Tūqān, pp. 187-94; Sarton I, 561; also Banū Mūsā. 584, 645-46, 647, 666, 679, 683
- Muḥammad ibn al-Nuʾmān. See Shayṭān al-Ṭāq.
- Muḥammad ibn Nuʾmān ibn Bashīr. He was the son of the eldest of the three leading disciples of the Prophet from al-Madinah. He became important at the court of Muʿāwiyah and passed on knowledge of the Qurʾān to his son. 49
- Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim. See Ibn al-Anḥārī.
- Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim, Abū ʿAbd Allāh. He passed on accounts of al-Mubarrad. See also his brother, Jaʿfar ibn al-Qāsim. 128
- Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim, Abū Jaʿfar al-Karkhī. A secretary, who became governor of al-Ahwāz and later a vizier, during the years 935/936 and 940/941. See

- Šābī, *Wuzurā'*, p. 338; Miskawayh, IV (1), 232 (207), 380 (338); V (2), 21 (20); Bowen, pp. 327, 331-32, 334. 301
- Muḥammad ibn Qays al-Khaṭīb. A man noted for his preaching. 273
- Muḥammad ibn al-Raṣīd. See al-Mu'taṣim (caliph 833-842). Also al-Amīn (caliph 809-813). 809-813.
- Muḥammad ibn Rawwād al-Azdī. The chief at Tahrīz for whom *Bābak* worked in the early 9th century. See Wright, *Muslim World*, XXXVIII, No. 1 (January 1948), 46; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1380, l. 6. 819
- Muḥammad ibn al-Šabbāḥ. A 9th century astronomer. See Qifṭī, p. 59; Suter, VI (1892), 31; X (1900), 19. 655
- Muḥammad ibn Sa'd al-Zuhri. He lived from 784 to 845 and was the secretary of al-Wāqidi. He also helped to make his master's books available. See Khalikān, III, 64 (in which the date of his death is inaccurate); Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Indices, p. 513; Zirikli, Part VII, 6. 213-14, 215, 377
- Muḥammad ibn Sa'dān. See Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Sa'dān.
- Muḥammad ibn Sahl ibn al-Marzuḥān al-Karkhī, Abū Maṣṣūr. A secretary of the 10th century called al-Bāḥathī'an Mi'yāṣ. The Flügel version has *al-Bāḥathī'an Ma'tāṣ*, probably incorrect. 301
- Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib. See al-Kalbī.
- Muḥammad ibn Sa'id. A man known for his good literary style in the first half of the 9th century. 275
- Muḥammad ibn Sa'id ibn Shābūr. A reader of the Qur'ān according to the method of Yahyā ibn al-Hārith al-Dhamarī. 66, 79
- Muḥammad ibn Sa'id ibn Zanṣiyah (Zanjali). An imām of Naysābūr and a Mu'tazilī scholar, who lived mostly in the 10th century. See Murtaḍā, p. 93. 429
- Muḥammad ibn Sa'id al-Jarjarā'i, Abū Ja'far. He was a secretary who wrote some poetry. The translation follows the Beatty MS. The Flügel version has Muḥammad ibn Shu'bah al-Jurjānī. 371
- Muḥammad ibn Sallām. See al-Jumālī.
- Muḥammad ibn al-Šalt. A poet of Arabia known for his love of *Jannat al-Khuld*. 719
- Muḥammad ibn Sanū'ah al-Tauīmī, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was a distinguished Iḥanafī jurist and judge of West Baghdad, who conducted the funeral of al-Wāqidi in 823. He died 847/848. See Wafā', Part II, 58; Khalikān, III, 63; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1066. 214, 508
- Muḥammad ibn al-Sarī. See Ibn al-Sarrāf.
- Muḥammad ibn Shabīb. See Ibn Shabīb Muḥammad al-Baṣrī.
- Muḥammad ibn Shaddād. See *Zurqān*, Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad.
- Muḥammad ibn Shaddād al-Baladī. A maker of astrolabes, probably during the late 9th or 10th century. 671
- Muḥammad ibn al-Shadhān al-Jawharī. He wrote a book about jewels for al-Mu'tadid (caliph 892-902) and was probably a jeweler of Baghdad. 743
- Muḥammad ibn Shākir. See Banū Mūsā.
- Muḥammad ibn Shaybān ibn Abī al-Najm. He probably lived in the late 8th century and quoted the verses of his grandfather, Abū al-Najm al-'Ijlī. 347
- Muḥammad ibn Shujā al-Thalji, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was a jurist who lived from 797 to 869. He came from Khurāsān but lived at Baghdad, where he explained

- the code of Abū *Ḥanīfah*. See *Wafā'*, Part II, 60; *Taghrī-Birdī*, Part II, 14, 188; III, 42; *Zirikli*, Part VII, 28. 510-11, 516
- Muḥammad ibn Sinān al-Qazzāz. A scholar who quoted anecdotes and sayings. See *Ṭabarī*, *Annales*, Part I, 15, 35; III, 2402. 444
- Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn. He was the son of a slave, an ascetic of al-Baṣrah who was a scholar and interpreter of dreams. He died 728/729. See *Nawawī*, p. 106; *Qutaybah*, *Ma'ārif*, p. 226. 57, 227, 456, 742
- Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥāshimī. He was one of the men who made an abridgment of the history of al-*Ṭabarī* during the 10th century. 565
- Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī al-Ḥāshimī. A leader involved in the insurrection against *Mūsā al-Ḥādī* (caliph 785-786). See *Mas'ūdī*, VI, 266. 126, 390
- Muḥammad ibn al-Sumayfi'. A man of al-Yaman and the first generation of Islām who went to al-Baṣrah and had his own system of reading the Qur'ān. 69
- Muḥammad ibn Suwayd. A Mu'tazilī scholar of secondary importance, probably belonging to the 9th century. 429
- Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir. An important official under al-Mu'tamid (caliph 870-892). He died 911. See *Mas'ūdī*, VIII, 42, 44; *Ṭabarī*, *Annales*, "Indices," p. 516; *Zirikli*, Part VII, 41. 272, 355, 511
- Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī, Abū Sulaymān. He was an authority for logic and philosophy, whose home at Baghdād was a center for scholars. He wrote a commentary on *Aristotle*. He died 990. See *Qifī*, p. 282; *Uṣaybi'ah*, p. 34, bottom; *Zirikli*, Part VII, 41. See also the Flügel edition of *al-Fihrist*, n. 7 to p. 264. 632
- Muḥammad ibn Thawr. A quoter of traditions and the author of a commentary. See *Yāqūt*, *Geog.*, III, 426, l. 1; *Ṭabarī*, *Annales*, "Indices," p. 507. 507
- Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Madanī. A master penman who probably came from al-Madinah to Baghdād in the early 9th century. 13
- Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh. He was the secretary of al-Mahdī (caliph 775-785). Because he was influenced by the Manichaeans, he was executed. 804
- Muḥammad ibn 'Umar. See al-*Wāqidi* and al-*Bāhili*.
- Muḥammad ibn 'Umar. He was called Ibn al-Khansā' and was a secretary and poet, perhaps a son of the famous poetess, *Khansā'*. 370
- Muḥammad ibn 'Umar (Ibn Ḥafṣ) ibn al-Farrukhān, Abū Bakr al-Ṭabarī. He was a 9th century astronomer. For his father, see 'Umar ibn al-Farrukhān. See also *Sarton*, I, 568. 650
- Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Jurjānī. A poet who wrote an elegy for Ishāq al-Mawṣilī in 850. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part V, 86, 130. 314
- Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Abī Shaybah, Abū Ja'far. A legal authority of al-Kūfah and a Qur'ānic scholar, who went to Baghdād, where he died about 910. See *Mas'ūdī*, VIII, 276; *Baghdādī* (Khaṭīb), Part III, 42, sect. 979; *Taghrī-Birdī*, Part III, 171; *Ḥajar*, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part V, 280. 80, 553
- Muḥammad ibn Wāsi'. A soldier who became an ascetic and mystic, living in al-'Irāq and dying 738. See *Aṭṭār*, p. 42; *Khallikān*, IV, 198; *Qutaybah*, *Ma'ārif*, p. 241. 456
- Muḥammad ibn Wuhayb al-Himyarī. A poet of al-Baṣrah who went to the capital at the time of al-Mu'tasim (caliph 833-842). See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part XVII, 141. 365

- Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Adamī al-Azdī. He was a scholar and ascetic, who died 866/867. See Khallikān, IV, 386, 393, n. 2. Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 336. 220, 461
- Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī 'Abbād, Abū Ja'far al-Nadīm. He was a court companion of al-Mu'taḍid (caliph 892-902). See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 205. His nickname is not clear in the Beatty MS, but given as Maḥbarah by Flügel. 131, 133, 398
- Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr al-Munajjim. An astrologer and man of letters of the 9th century. 313
- Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Aktham. A mathematician. See Tūqān, p. 266; Suter, X (1900), 30. For his distinguished father, see Yaḥyā ibn Aktham. 665
- Muḥammad ibn Yazdād. He was an official at the time of al-Ma'mūn and a poet, who died about 833. See Qutaybah, 'Uyūn, II, 112, I. 11; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1143; Ziriklī, Part VIII, 14. A century later a vizier at al-Baṣrah had the same name. See Miskawayh, V (4), 410 (364), 416 (369). 367
- Muḥammad ibn Yazīd. See al-Mubarrad.
- Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Maslimah al-Ḥiṣnī. He was a great-grandson of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik and a poet, who lived at al-Ḥiṣn near al-Raqqah and was an authority for Bedouin folklore during the first half of the 9th century. See Mas'ūdī, VIII, 367 ff. 364
- Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqid. See al-Firyābī al-Kabīr.
- Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb, Abū 'Umar. A judge and author of works on history during the first part of the 10th century. See Khallikān, II, 88, n. 3; Mas'ūdī, VIII, 217, 246, 283. For his distinguished son, see Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī 'Umar. 250
- Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Nāqīṭ. See Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf.
- Muḥammad ibn Zayd, al-Dā'ī ila al-Ḥaqq. He followed his brother as feudal ruler of the Daylam-Ṭabaristān region in 884 and died 900. See Khallikān, IV, 325; Ḥakamī, p. 303; Mas'ūdī, VII, 343; Taghrī-Birdī, III, 122, n. 1. 482
- Muḥammad ibn Ziyād. See Ibn al-A'rābī.
- Muḥammad ibn Ziyād ibn 'Ubayd Allāh. He was a member of the family of al-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b and was a poet and writer of official correspondence, in the middle of the 8th century. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part I, 324. For his better-known brother, see Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād. 258, 274, 378
- Muḥammad ibn Zubaydah. See *Amin* (caliph 809-813).
- Muḥammad al-Jawād ibn 'Alī, Abū Ja'far. He was the 9th Shī'ī Imām, who died 835. See Khallikān, II, 580; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. 536, 538-39
- Muḥammad al-Khuzaymī. He was a copyist, who transcribed the Qur'ān in gold, during the late 9th and early 10th century. For his son, see al-Khuzaymī. 18
- Muḥammad al-Salāmī, Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. He was called after Dār al-Salām (Baghdād) but went to al-Mawṣil. Later he became the leading poet at the court of 'Aḥud al-Dawlah at Shīrāz. He died 1003. See Khallikān, III, 110; Taghrī-Birdī, Part IV, 209; Ziriklī, Part VII, 100. 373
- Muḥayy. He was probably Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥayy, the principal Qur'ānic reader at Makkah, where he died 740/741. See Khallikān, II, 422, n. 2. 68

- Muḥriz, Abū. See Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān.
- Muḥriz (Ibn). (1) Muslim, a famous Arabian singer, who died 757. See Ziriklī, Part VIII, 120. (2) Al-'Alā' ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥriz. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 628. 325
- Muhtadī (al-). The 'Abbāsīd caliph, 869-870. 322, 509-10
- Multaj (Ibn), Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr. He was a chief and general in Khurāsān, who died of the plague 955/956. See Miskawayh, V (2), 3-8 (4-8); 105-10 (100-104); 169 (158); 172 (161). 304
- Mu'izz al-Dawlah, Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad. The Buwayh officer, who became chief of the 'Abbāsīd state. He was born 915/916 and ruled at Baghdād, 946-967. See Khallikān, I, 155; Lane-Poole, p. 144. xviii, 281, 296, 471, 653, 803
- Mujadhdhar ibn Dhiyād. He was one of the heroes of the Battle of Badr, 624. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 1324-25; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 322.
- Mujālid (Ibn), Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Mūsā. He lived at Baghdād from 859 to 936 and was the famous authority, who helped the viziers Ibn Muḡlah and Ibn 'Isā to determine the seven authorized ways of reading the Qur'ān. He had 300 pupils and 44 assistants. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 116-119; Khallikān, III, 16, 18; Ziriklī, Part I, 246. 49, 70, 73, 75, 77-78, 115, 139, 282
- Mujāhid ibn Jabr, Abū al-Ḥajjāj. He was a man of Makkah, who lived from 642 to 722 and was a disciple of Ibn al-'Abbās and an authority for reading and commentary of the Qur'ān. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 242. 49, 75
- Mujālid (Abū), Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Baghdādī. He taught the Mu'tazilī scholar al-Khayyāf and was famous for his memory. He lived in the late 9th century. See Murtaḍā, p. 85; Khayyāt, *Intisār* (Nyberg), pp. 102, 207. 429
- Mujālid (Ibn). A transcriber of the Qur'ān. 12
- Mujālid ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Umayr, Abū 'Amr. He was an authority for genealogy and historical traditions at al-Kūfah, who died 761/762. See Nawawī, p. 540; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 267. 196
- Mujāshī' ibn Mas'adah ibn Sa'īd. A poet and secretary who lived during the reign of al-Rashīd and presumably of his successors. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 134, 135, 150, 171; XIII, 86. For his brother the vizier, see 'Amr ibn Mas'adah. 367
- Mujashshar (Abū al-). See 'Āṣim al-Jahdārī.
- Muḡīb (Abū al-) al-Rih'ī (Rabī'ī) Mazīd ibn Yahyā. An unimportant grammarian of tribal origin. Compare with Abū al-Muḡabbib. For spelling of Rih'ī, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 170, l. 7. 103
- Mukawwazah. A tribal scholar of language of secondary importance. 103
- Mukhlallad ibn Bakkār. A contemporary of al-Jāhiz, whom he lampooned with a poem. 410
- Mukhāriq ibn Shihāb, Abū al-Hinā'. He was a singer at the court of al-Rashīd and his successors, who died 844/845. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 74, 114; VI, 190; Khallikān, I, 18, 209, n. 13. 206
- Mukhayyas (al-) ibn Arṭāh al-A'rajī. He was a poet acquainted with Eastern Arabia. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 700, l. 23; II, 767, l. 6. 359
- Mukhtār (al-) ibn Abī 'Ubayd. At first he was with the rebel Ibn Zubayr, but he turned against him and was killed at al-Kūfah, 686/687. See Mas'ūdī, V, 166, 171-77. 201, 227
- Muknif, Abū Salamah al-Madanī. A poet living during the first half of the 9th

- century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XV, 106, bottom, where he is called Abū Salmā. 365, 388
- Muktafī (al-). The 'Abbāsīd caliph, 902-908. 38, 285, 329, 459, 648, 701
- Muktafī (Ibn al-). See *Ja'far* ibn al-Muktafī.
- Mu'min ibn 'Umar ibn Aṣṣāḥ. He was quoted by al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, some time before 870. 244
- Mumālā (Ibn) Abū Allāh al-Iṣbahānī. A Shī'ī scholar interested in the imāmate. See Tūsi, p. 300, l. abd 6, also p. 369, sect. 810. The second vowel may not be correct. 442
- Munādhīr (Ibn), Muḥammad. A satirical poet of al-Baṣrah and a protégé of the *Barmak* Family. In 813 he died as a fugitive at Makkah. See Khallikān, I, 299, n. 11. 103
- Munādī (Ibn al-), Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Ja'far. A scholar of Baghdād, who wrote books on the Qur'ān and related subjects. He died about 946. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 130. 62, 84
- Munajjim Family: Abū Maṣṣūr; Yaḥyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr; Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā; 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā; Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī; Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā; Hārūn ibn 'Alī; 'Alī ibn Hārūn; Aḥmad ibn 'Alī; Hārūn ibn 'Alī ibn Hārūn. See Khallikān, III, 605; Tha'ālibī, *Yasīmat al-Dahr*, Part II, 283; III, 207-208; Tha'ālibī, *Farīdatu'l-'Aṣr*, pp. 498-99. 312-16, 353, 382
- Munajjim (al-) al-Rāsibī. An unimportant poet and perhaps also an astrologer. 362
- Mundhīr (al-). The name of numerous kings of the Christian state of Laklun at al-Ḥīrah. See Maṣ'ūdī, III, 199, 200; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 79. See also al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhīr. 209
- Mundhīr (abū al-) Sallām ibn Sulaymān. A grammarian and reader of the Qur'ān at al-Baṣrah, who died 787/788. See Khallikān, IV, 289, n. 4; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 264, l. 21. 68, 390
- Muḥgham (Abū al-). A scholar who wrote about the poets. The Arabic texts fail to point the *gh*, but the name can hardly be Mu'mim, which is used for Allāh. 240
- Munīr (Ibn). A calligrapher, probably belonging to the 10th century. 17
- Mu'nis, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Muzaḥḥar al-Qushūrī. He was called al-Khādīm and the Eunuch and he served in Egypt. Later he became an influential political leader at Baghdād about 932. See "Mu'nis," *Enc. Islam*, III, 723. See also important accounts in Ṣābī, *Wuzurā'*, and Miskawayh, IV (1). 280
- Mu'nis al-Faḥl (al-Fiḥlī). He was chief of the guard and deputy to al-Mu'taḍid (caliph 892-902). See Maṣ'ūdī, VIII, 152, 227. 627
- Munkadīr (Ibn al-), Abū Bakr Muḥammad. He was an ascetic and authority for the Ḥadīth, who lived in Arabia, and died 748/749. See Khallikān, I, p. 580, n. 5; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 234. 456
- Munkhalī (al-). An unimportant grammarian. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, which gives al-Murḥālī. 176
- Munqidh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ziyād al-Halālī. A man of al-Baṣrah, who was accused of heresy and died about 757. See Tamīm (Rückert), select. 439; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 70; Ziriklī, Part VIII, 251. 357
- Muntajī' (al-) ibn Nabḥān. He edited the poetry of Dhū al-Rummaḥ during the 8th century. See Qutaybah, *Shī'r*, p. 428. 347

- Muntaṣir (al-). The 'Abbāsid caliph, 861-862. 160
- Mumyah. An Arab girl loved by the king of al-Ḥīrah, Qābūs ibn al-Nu'mān. 719
- Muqāffa' (Ibn al-) 'Abd Allāh. He was also called Abu 'Amr Ruzbah, and was born about 721. He became a convert from a Zoroastrian family and was a secretary of the uncles of al-Manṣūr. He was killed between 757 and 759 and was famous for translating from Persian into Arabic. See Khallikān, I, p. 431. 24, 99, 259, 275-76, 366, 381, 589, 599, 715-17
- Muqātil (Abū) Ḥafṣ ibn Salam al-Khurāsānī. A man of al-Rayy, who was a jurist and the teacher of al-Ṭabarī during the 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 409. 500, 564
- Muqātil ibn Ḥabbān al-Mufasssir, Abū Buṣṭām. A scholar of Balkh and an ascetic, who died in Afghanistan. See Nawawī, p. 573. 76
- Muqātil ibn al-Naḍr, Abū Ghālib. He was a secretary who wrote some poetry. For his father, see al-Naḍr ibn al-Munqaḍī. 371
- Muqātil ibn Sulaymān, Abū al-Ḥasan. He came from Khurāsān to al-Baṣrah, where he joined the Zaydiyyah, and died about 767. See Nawawī, p. 574; Khallikān, III, 408. 75, 80, 82, 444
- Muqlah, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh. A calligrapher of the late 9th and early 10th century. For his two famous sons, see (1) Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muqlah, the vizier, 886-948; (2) Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Muqlah. 17
- Muqlah (Ibn). See Muḥammad ibn 'Alī.
- Muqsim (Ibn), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār. A learned and heretical reader of the Qur'ān at Baghdād, from 878 to 965. See Khallikān, III, 46 and 47, n. 2. 83, 138, 164
- Muqtadir (al-). The 'Abbāsid caliph 908-932. xiv, 16, 111, 281, 301, 322, 329, 476, 723, 802
- Murāmīr ibn Murwah (Murrālī). A man of the Būlān Tribe and said to have been one of the first persons to develop Arabic writing. See Abbott, *Rise of the North Arabic Script*, p. 6. 7
- Muraqqish (al-), al-Akbār, 'Amr ibn Sa'd. He was also known as Rabi'ah ibn Sa'd ibn Mālik and was an early Arabian poet. See Aṣma'ī, *Fuḥūl al-Shu'arā'*, p. 20; Qutaybāt, *Shi'r*, p. 103; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 189. 719
- Murrah ibn 'Abd Allāh. A poet of the Naḥd Tribe, who was in love with Laylā bint Zuhayr ibn Yazid. See Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part IV, 304. 720
- Murtalīl (Ibn al-). He wrote several books about drawing lots. 737
- Mūrṭas (Muristus). He was famous for his work with organs and his machine, which was heard at a distance of sixty miles. See Qifṭī, p. 322; Farmer, *Organ of the Ancients*, pp. 13, 16-20, 60-61, 128-38. 643, 672
- Mūsā. The Prophet Moses. 42, 43, 214, 844
- Mūsā (Abū) al-Ash'arī. He was one of the great generals during the invasions of al-'Irāq and Persia and an arbiter between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah in 657. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 410, 487, 490; Mas'ūdī, IV, 390 ff.; Wāqidi (Jones), III, 916, 959. 108, 224
- Mūsā (Abū) ibn 'Ammār. One of the scribes who wrote the Qur'ān in gold. 18
- Mūsā (Abū) al-Makfūf. He was probably the poet better known as al-A'mā. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XI, 100; XX, 63-64. 364
- Mūsā (Banū). The sons of Mūsā ibn Shākir, the astronomer of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833) and therefore called Banū al-Munajjim (sons of the astrologer). They

- were great patrons of science. See Qisfī, pp. 315, 441; Nallino, *‘Ibn al-Falak*, pp. 284–86; Sartori, I, 560–61; Tūqān, pp. 187–94; Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 312–13, 375–76. For the sons of Mūsā, see *Aḥmad*, al-Ḥasan and Muḥammad (ibn Mūsā). 586, 637, 645, 672, 693
- Mūsā ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan. A descendant of the Prophet and a poet, who was imprisoned by al-Manṣūr about 763 but released to attend the court of al-Rashīd. See Mas‘ūdī, VI, 193, 200, 296 ff.; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 144, 170. 359
- Mūsā ibn ‘Abd al-Malik. A secretary and tax director. He died 860/861. See Khallikān, III, 61, n. 12, 493. 272, 367
- Mūsā ibn al-Ashyab, Abū ‘Amrān. He was a Shāfi‘ī jurist, perhaps a son of Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Ashyab, the judge. He died 824. See Ziriklī, Part II, 239, for the judge. 525
- Mūsā ibn Ḥazanbal. A poet of minor importance. The Beatty MS has Ḥarnūd. For Ḥazanbal, see the Flügel edition of *Al-Fihrist*, note 3 for p. 170. 375
- Mūsā ibn ‘Isā al-Kisrāwī. A man of Persian origin, perhaps the secretary of Mu‘nis during the early 10th century. See Tanūkhī, pp. 29, 30; “Mu‘nis,” *Enc. Islām*, III, 723. Perhaps the name should be from al-Kasr, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 273. 280, 589
- Mūsā ibn Ja‘far al-Kāzim. The 7th Shī‘ī Imām, who died 799. See Khallikān, III, 463; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. 462, 537
- Mūsā ibn Khālid. He translated *Galen* and other works from Syriac into Arabic, and also books from Persian into Arabic, during the reign of al-Mutawakkil (847–861). See Qisfī, p. 171, l. 10; Sartori, I, 613, also 587; Ḥājj Khalīfah, III, 98. 589
- Mūsā ibn Sa’dān. A Shī‘ī jurist of secondary importance. See Tūsī, p. 342, sect. 750. 543
- Mūsā ibn Shākir al-Munajjim. See Banū Mūsā.
- Muṣ‘ab. A scholar who helped to conduct his father’s funeral, 870. For his father, see al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār. 243
- Muṣ‘ab ibn ‘Abd Allāh. See al-Zubayrī.
- Muṣ‘ab ibn al-Zubayr. An important provincial governor of the early Islāmic period. See Ziriklī, Part VIII, 149. 201
- Musāfir. See Abū Umayyah.
- Musallim (Abū al-) al-Ghāḍī. An unimportant tribal scholar. 104
- Musāwir ibn Sawwār ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. A poet of al-Kūfah, who was also a copyist and student of traditions. He died 767. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVI, 167; Ziriklī, Part VIII, 105. 359, 500
- Musawwar (al-) ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abbād al-Ḥabṣī. He was called Mīsūr, and was an official at al-Baṣrah, 743/744. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1875 and n. 2. 224
- Musaylimah ibn Ḥabīb. He was the famous rebel leader, who was hostile to the Prophet and the first caliph. See Balādīnūrī, *Origins*, pp. 132–40; Iṣḥāq, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 636, 648–49; Sa’d (Ibn), Part I, sect. 2, pp. 55, bottom, 56; “Musailima,” *Enc. Islām*, III, 745. 47, 210
- Musayyab (al-) Zuhayr ibn ‘Alas ibn Mālik. A wandering composer of elegies during the last half of the 6th century. See Qutaybah, *Shī‘r*, p. 82; compare Baghdadī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Part II, 363–64. 346
- Musayyabī (al-). He quoted the poetry of Ibn al-Rūmī before it was edited by al-Ṣūfī. 366

- Musayyabī (al-), Muḥammad ibn Ishāq. A disciple of *Nāfi'* in reading the Qur'ān. 64
- Musbi' (Abū al-) al-Madanī. A poet of secondary importance. 360
- Mus-hir (Abū). A tribal language scholar, perhaps 'Abd al-A'lā ibn Mus-hir, Abū Mus-hir, who died about 736. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 697. 104
- Mus-hir (Abū) Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Marwān ibn Yaṣīrah. He was a grammarian of secondary importance, probably belonging to the 10th century. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 233. 185
- Muslim (Abū) 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muslim al-Khurāsānī. He was the famous rebel leader, who was born in Ādharbayjān and sent to Khurāsān to promote the cause of the Banū al-'Abbās. In 750 he proclaimed al-*Ṣaffāh* caliph, but he was put to death by al-*Manṣūr*, 755. See Khallikān, II, 100. 469, 823
- Muslim (Abū) Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Baḥr. A Mu'tazilī secretary of Iṣbahān who was favored by 'Alī ibn 'Isā. He died 933/934. See Bowen, pp. 41, 310; Ḥājj Khalīfah, II, 508; VI, 289; Miskawayh, IV (1), 65 (60). 300
- Muslim ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Jundab. He was an authority quoted by al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, probably in the middle of the 9th century. For 'Abd Allāh, his father, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 147, l. 15. 244
- Muslim ibn Ḥabīb al-Nahdī. A reader of the Qur'ān during the early period of Islām. For the Nahd Tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 320. 68
- Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī. He compiled a *Ṣaḥīḥ* of the Ḥadīth, almost as important as that of al-Bukhārī. He died at Naysābūr 874/875. See Nawawī, p. 548; Khallikān, III, 348; Taghūrī-Birdī, Part III, 33. 556
- Muslim ibn Ṣadaqaḥ. A Syrian who was probably a government secretary, noted for his good literary style. 275
- Muslim ibn al-Walid, Ṣarī' al-Ghawānī. A poet born at al-Kūfah, 757. He obtained a government post at Jurjān in Persia and lived during the late 8th and early 9th century. See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 528; Tammām (Rückert), select. 313, 314; Khallikān, I, 25, n. 3; IV, pp. 221-22. 314, 321, 353, 359, 374
- Mustahall (al-) ibn al-Kunayt. A man of al-Kūfah, who was the son of a poet and himself a poet, connected with the first two 'Abbāsid reigns (750-775). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XV, 122; Ziriklī, VIII, 107. 362, 719
- Musta'in. The 'Abbāsid caliph at Sāmarrā, 862-866. 280, 656
- Mustawrid (al-) ibn 'Ullafah. He was one of the Arab officers at the Battle of al-Qādisiyah, 637. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 114, 115. 201
- Mu'taḍid (al-). The 'Abbāsid caliph, 892-902. 131-32, 279, 288, 465, 626-27, 647, 699
- Mu'taḍidī (al-). See *Badr*, Ghulām al-Mu'taḍid.
- Muṭahhar ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Shākīr. A descendant of the Banū Mūsā and a court companion of al-Mu'taḍid. See Qifṭī, p. 316, l. 6. 646
- Mutalammis (al-), Jarīr ibn 'Abd al-Masīḥ. He was a poet of al-Ḥīrah in the last half of the 6th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XXI, 185; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 85; Khallikān, III, 618-19. 346
- Mu'tamid (al-). The 'Abbāsid caliph, 870-892. 268, 313, 319, 322, 326, 332, 732
- Mu'tamir (Abū al-) Zayd ibn Aḥmad ibn Zayd. He was a secretary, author, and student of the Ḥadīth. See Tabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 3006, l. 20. 338

- Mutamim ibn Nuwayrah. A deformed poet, who became a Muslim but lived in humiliation because of his brother's disloyalty. He died during the reign of the second caliph. See *Iṣbahānī, Aghānī*, Part XIV, 66; *Khallikān*, III, 648-56. 137, 346
- Mutanabbī' (al-), Abū al-Tayyib Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn. He lived from about 915 to 965 and was the famous poet at the court of *Sayf al-Dawlah* at Aleppo. See *Khallikān*, I, 102. 189, 373
- Muṭarrāf ibn al-Mughīrah. He was an important man in the Muslim community at the time of the Caliph 'Umar (634-644). See *Mas'ūdī*, V, 425-26; *Ṭabarī, Annales*, Part II, 946-48, 979-1001. 202
- Muṭarrāf ibn Abī Muṭarrāf al-Laythī. He was probably a government secretary, who was known for his excellent literary style. 275
- Mu'tasim (al-). The 'Abbāsid caliph at Sāmarrā, 833-842. 109, 223, 268, 278, 410, 412-13, 695-97, 794
- Mutawakkil (al-). The 'Abbāsid caliph, 847-861. 159, 160, 245, 255, 313, 332, 341, 398, 694-97
- Muṭawwaq (al-), 'Alī ibn al-Faṭḥ, Abū al-Ḥasan. He served al-Muqtafi (caliph 902-908), became an official, and wrote accounts of the viziers of al-Muqtafi (caliph 908-932). See *Mas'ūdī*, I, 18; *Ṭabarī, Annales*, Part III, 2220, 2231, 2238, 2243. 283
- Muṭayyin ibn Ayyūb. See *Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān*.
- Mu'tazz (al-). The 'Abbāsid caliph, 866-869. 104, 148, 160, 162, 250, 272, 285, 330, 399, 402
- Mu'tazz (Ibn al-). See 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz.
- Muthannā (Abū al-) 'Umar ibn Ḥubayrah. A Syrian chief who became governor of al-'Irāq and Khurāsān. He was imprisoned during the reign of *Hishām* and died 728. See *Balādhurī, Origins*, pp. 282, 445; *Mas'ūdī*, VI, 91; *Zirikli*, Part V, 230. 404
- Muthannā ibn Asad al-Khayyāṭ. He was a Shi'i jurist. His name may be confused with Muthannā ibn al-Walīd al-Ḥannāṭ of al-Kūfah. See *Tūsi*, p. 263, sect. 583. 536
- Muṭī' (al-). The 'Abbāsid caliph, 946-974. 287, 337
- Muṭī' ibn Iyās, Abū Salmā. He was the son of a Palestinian official, who became a protégé of a son of the Caliph al-Manṣūr (754-775) and was a poet of unreliable character. See *Iṣbahānī, Aghānī*, Part XII, 78. 314, 357
- Mutraqī (al-). The 'Abbāsid caliph, 940-944. 282
- Muwaffaq (al-), Abū Aḥmad Ṭalhah ibn al-Mutawakkil. He lived from about 844 to 892 and was the brother of three caliphs, famous for suppressing the Zanj Rebellion, 883. See *Khallikān*, IV, 85, 318; *Mas'ūdī*, VII, 366, 369, 393; VIII, 39, 57, 67, 108.; *Hitti, Arabs*, p. 468. 243, 248, 283, 314, 660
- Muẓāhim (Abū) Mūsā ibn 'Abd Allāh ('Ubayd Allāh). He was a scholar of Baghdad who died 936. See *Ḥājj Khalīfah*, II, 209. 91
- Muẓālim ibn 'Amr ibn al-Jāriṭh al-'Uqaylī. He was a well-known poet and contemporary of al-Farazdaq in the late 7th and early 8th century. See *Iṣbahānī, Aghānī*, Part XVII, 150. 173, 347
- Muẓāhim ibn Sayyār al-Minqarī. The father of the historian of al-Kūfah, *Naṣr ibn Muẓāhim*, who died 827/828. 202
- Muzakkī (al-), Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad. A man of Naysābūr, who quoted the

- historian of Khurāsān, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Sarrāj*, probably during the early 10th century. 339
- Muzanī (al-), Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'il ibn Ibrāhīm. He was a learned and pious disciple of al-Shāfi'i. His father's name may have been Yahyā. He himself died 877/878. See Khallikān, I, 200; Nawawī, p. 775, bottom; Taghribirdī, Part III, 39, 240. 498, 521-22, 523, 532, 568
- Myronianus of Amastris. A Greek author. See Diogenes Laërtius, p. 157; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 1131. 718
- Nābighah (al-). The nickname of numerous poets. (1) Al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī, Ziyād ibn Mu'āwiyah, a protégé of the princes of al-Ḥirah and Ghassān. (2) Al-Nābighah al-Ja'dī, who became a Muslim and a poet of early Islām. Nawawī, p. 777, spells the name al-Ju'dī. (3) Al-Nābighah, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mukhāriq. A man of the Banū Shaybān, patronized by the caliphs 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walīd (685-715). For these poets see Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IV, 128; VI, 151; IX, 162; Qutaybah, *Ma'ānī*, index; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 70. 164, 166, 173, 345
- Nabīl (al-) Abū 'Āṣim al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Mukhlid. He lived from 740 to 828. He was a scholar from Makkah, who worked at Baghdād and was an authority for legal and historical traditions. See Taghribirdī, Part II, 204, 207; Ziriklī, Part III, 310. 246, 376
- Nabt ibn Hamaysa' ibn Qādūr. A legendary character, supposed to have helped his grandfather in making the Arabic language a form of speech. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 1113, l. 8. 8
- Nadīm (al-), Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, Abū al-Faraj ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Warrāq. The author of *Al-Fihrist*. 1, 21
- Naḍir (Abū) ibn Humayd. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 33, bottom. For his brother, see Ishāq ibn Humayd. His name may have been Abū Naḍr. 365
- Naḍir (Abū al-) 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Malik. A man of al-Baṣrah, who was a poet favored by members of the *Barnak* family. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part X, 100. 361
- Naḍr (Abū al-) Muḥammad ibn Sā'ib al-Kalbī. See al-Kalbī.
- Naḍr (al-) ibn al-Munqaḍī, Abū Muqātil al-Daylamī. He was a secretary, who wrote some poetry. The father's name is garbled in the Flügel edition. For the person who was probably his son, see Muqātil ibn al-Naḍr. 370
- Naḍr (al-) ibn Shumayl. He studied at al-Baṣrah, but became a judge and died 819 at Marw al-Rūdh near Marw in Khurāsān. He was an authority for Bedouin lore, and was called al-Imām Abū al-Ḥasan. See Nawawī, p. 593; Khallikān, III, 549. 90, 112, 190
- Nāfi' ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Nu'aym. He was called Abān and Abū al-Ḥasan. He came from Ishbahān, but lived at al-Maḍīnah, dying 785. He was one of the seven authorized readers of the Qur'ān. See Khallikān, III, 522. 63, 70, 79, 80, 81
- Nafīs (ibn) Abū 'Abd Allāh. A leader of the Ismā'īliyah in Persia. Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq al-Sijistānī had him killed shortly before 970. 473
- Nafṣuwayh. One of the scribes of al-Kindī. See Qiftī, p. 376. For the spelling of the name, see the scholar who follows. 626
- Nafṣuwayh, Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad. He was born at Wāsiṭ about

- 858, and died at Baghdād, 935. He was a well-known scholar and teacher. See Khallikān, I, 26; Zubaydī, p. 171. The Beatty MS has Naṣṭawayh, while Flügel and Khallikān give Niṣṭawayh. 178, 431
- Nahrutīrī (al-) Yaḥyā ibn Abī Mūsā. He wrote about pigeons. For Nahr Tīrī in the region of al-Ahwāz, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 837. 376
- Nahshal (Abū). A 9th century poet. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 102, 103; XVIII, 42, 59; Khallikān, I, 353. For his well-known brother, see Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥumayd. 365
- Nahshal ibn Yazīd, Abū Khayrah al-Bāhili. He was one of the hostages spared by the Turks in 720/721 and mentioned as an authority for the Ḥadīth. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 405; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1247, 1423. 75
- Naḥwī (Ibn al-). A scholar who was quoted by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim. 157
- Nā'imah (Ibn), 'Abd al-Maṣīh ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥimṣī al-Nā'imī. He translated books on Greek science during the first half of the 9th century. See Qifī, p. 37, l. 16; Sarton, I, 406. 587, 601, 603
- Na'jah (al-) Wajh. The father of well-known calligraphers, probably belonging to the 10th century. 17
- Najāshī (al-). See Qays ibn 'Amr.
- Najdah (Abū) Ḥalīm ibn Sa'd. A man of the Numayr Tribe, who was a poet in Khurāsān about 877. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XX, 131. 358
- Najdah ibn 'Amir al-Ḥarūrī. A rebel chief of the Khawārij. He died about 648. See Ziriklī, Part VIII, 324; "Kharidjites," *Enc. Islam*, II, 906. 201
- Najīh (Abū). He was probably the father of 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Najīh. The son was an authority for the Ḥadīth. He died, probably at Makkah, 749/750. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 667; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Indices, p. 340. 75
- Najīh, Abū Ma'shar al-Madanī. A scribe of the Banū Makhzum Tribe, who was set free and became a scholar. He died at Baghdād 786/787. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 253. 201
- Nājīm (al-), Sa'd ibn al-Ḥasan, Abū 'Uthmān. He was a poet who died 926. See Ziriklī, Part III, 133. 329
- Najīranī (al-), Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb ibn Ismā'il. A man of al-Baṣrah, who became a scholar of language and grammar in Egypt and died in the early 11th century. See Khallikān, IV, 409; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 764, l. 17. 189
- Nājīyah (Ibn). He was a pupil of al-Karābisi, in the middle of the 9th century. Compare Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 477, l. 2. 450
- Nājīyah (Ibn). An astrolabe maker, who probably lived in the middle of the 10th century. Compare with name which follows. 672
- Nājīyah (Ibn), Muḥammad al-Kātib. An astronomer of secondary importance. See Suter, VI (1892), 36, 38; X (1900), 68. MS 1934 has Ibn Nāḥīyah. 663
- Najjār (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was a famous Mu'tazilī theologian, who founded the Najjāriyah school of thought. He died because of a quarrel with al-Nazzām, a little before 840. See Shahrastānī, (Haarbrücker), Part I, 92; Baghdādī, (Seelye), pp. 137, 169; *Baghdādī* (Halkin), 9 ff.; "Al-Nadjdār," *Enc. Islam*, III, 819. 395, 413, 446-49
- Najjār (al-) ibn Aws al-'Adwānī. An expert for the genealogy of the Ma'add ibn 'Adnān Tribe, in the late 7th or early 8th century. In the Beatty MS the last name might be something different, perhaps 'Adnānī. 205
- Najm (Abū al-). See Ahmad ibn al-Najm.

- Najm (Abū al-). (1) Al-Sijistānī, who was a general in Khurāsān in the late 8th century. (2) A client of al-Mu'taḍid and probably a government official in the last half of the 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 354, 2211. 407
- Najm (Abū al-) Hilāl. A man from al-Anbār, who lived in the last half of the 8th century. He was the father of literary men attached to the court. For his son, the poet, see *Aḥmad* ibn Abī al-Najm. 322
- Najm (Abū al-) al-ʿIjlī, al-Faḍl ibn Qudāmah. A poet of the first half of the 8th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 80; Qutaybah, *Shiʿr*, p. 381; Tammām (Rückert), Part II, 238, sect. 20. 347
- Namālī (al-), Abū al-Ḥassān, Muḥammad ibn Ḥassān. A man of letters, and probably a court jester, who wrote about sex. He lived at the time of al-Mutawakkilīl (caliph 847-861). 334
- Namarī (al-), Abū ʿAbd Allāh. Compare him with persons mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalīfah, I, 364; Khallikān, III, 37, n. 4. 175, 189
- Namarī (al-), Abū al-Qāsim Maṣṣūr ibn al-Zabīqān ibn Salamah. He was a poet from the Jazīrah of al-ʿIrāq, who was known at the court of al-Rashīd and died about 805. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XII, 16; Qutaybah, *Shiʿr*, p. 346; Aṣmaʿī, p. 57 and n. 4. 321, 360
- Nāmī (al-), Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. A man from old Mopsuestia near Tarsus, who followed al-Mutanabbī as court poet at Aleppo, where he died at the beginning of the 11th century. See Khallikān, I, 110; Kayyālī, p. 139; Thaʿālibī, *Yafīnat al-Dahr*, Part I, 477; II, 292. 372
- Namir (al-) ibn Tawlab. A Pre-Islāmic poet, who ended as a Muslim. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIX, 157; Qutaybah, *Shiʿr*, p. 173. 346
- Namlah (Abū) al-Numaylī. He was a secretary and author, probably during the 10th century. The Flügel edition calls him Abū Numaylah, and he is also called al-Namlī. 306
- Naq. An Indian astrologer. The name follows MS 1934; it is omitted in MS 1135 and given as Nahaq by Flügel. 645
- Nāqīṭ (al-). See Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf.
- Nāqīṭ (al-), Šālīḥ ibn ʿĀsim. One of the pupils of al-Kisāʿī in reading the Qurʾān. 67
- Naqqār (al-), Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan ibn Dāʿūd. A man of al-Kūfah who was a 10th century reader of the Qurʾān. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 142. Flügel calls him al-Naqqād, evidently an error. 73
- Naqqāsh (al-), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Anṣārī. A wall painter of al-Mawṣil, who traveled extensively and became a reader of the Qurʾān at Baghdād, about 880 to 962. See Khallikān, III, 14. 74
- Naqqāsh (al-), ʿAlī ibn Murrāh, Abū al-Ḥasan. An author of Baghdād and perhaps also a reader of the Qurʾān. 84
- Narsī (Narses) son of Bahrām. He was the King of Persia 293-301. See Firdawsī, *Shahnamā*, VI, 315-17; Sykes, I, 441 ff. 716
- Nasafī (al-), Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Nakhshabī. He followed al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī al-Marwazī as the Ismāʿīlī leader of Eastern Persia. Although the Sāmānīd ruler helped him, he was killed about 943 for dishonesty. See Niẓām al-Mulk, pp. 274 ff.; Blochet, p. 68; "Naṣr B. Aḥmad," *Enc. Islam*, III, 872; Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 113, n. 6. 467-68, 472
- Nāshī (al-), Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. He was called al-Akbar

- (the Elder) and was a poet and heretical scholar from al-Aḥbār. He lived at Baghdad, but died in Egypt 906. See Khallikān, II, 57; Mas'ūdī, II, 244; VII, 88; Murtaḍā, p. 92. 302, 369, 431, 703, 804
- Nāshī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) 'Alī ibn ('Abd Allāh) ibn Waṣīf. He was called al-Aṣghar or al-Saghīr (younger) and was a teacher, poet, and theologian who lived from about 884 to 976. He was a Shī'ī of al-Kūfah, but went to Baghdad and Aleppo. See Khallikān, II, 307. 439, 442
- Nāṣir al-Dawlah, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥamdān. The ruler of al-Mawṣil 929-968. See Sayf al-Dawlah, pp. 7, 14 ff.; "Nāṣir al-Dawla," *Enc. Islam*, III, 868-69; Khallikān, I, 404. xvii-xviii, 187, 339
- Naṣr (Abū). See al-Fārābī.
- Naṣr (Abū) ibn Mārī ibn Ayyūb. A translator of scientific books. Flügel suggests Awā for the father's name, but it may be the Syriac Marē or Marai. 587
- Naṣr (Abū) ibn Nubātah, 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Amr ('Umar) ibn Muḥammad. He lived from about 938 to 1015 and was a poet who served Sayf al-Dawlah. He died at Baghdad. See Kayyālī, p. 173; Taghrib-Birdī, Part IV, 238; Ḥājj Khalīfah, III, 258. 373
- Naṣr al-Ḥājib, Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushūrī. He was an important military officer of the late 9th century, who before he died in 928 was chamberlain to the Caliph al-Muqtadir. See Šābī, *Wuzurā'*, 54 ff., 64 ff., 231, 340 ff.; Miskawayh, IV (1), 62, 199, 206; Massignon, *Hallāj*, I, 213, 236 ff.; Tabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2144, 2241, 2289. 476-77, 479, 565
- Naṣr (ibn) Abū al-Ḥasau 'Alī ibn Naṣr. A secretary and man of letters, who died at Baghdad 986/987. See Taghrib-Birdī, Part IV, 149, l. 5. Compare Shujā', VI (H), 434 (408). He must not be confused with Muḥaddhib al-Dawlah. 287
- Naṣr ibn Ahmad ibn Ismā'īl, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Samānī. The chief of the Samānīd Dynasty in Khurāsān, 914-943. See Blochet, p. 68; Miskawayh, IV (1), 37 (33), 312 (275); V (2), 7 (7); "Naṣr B. Ahmad," *Enc. Islam*, III, 871; Mas'ūdī, IX, 6-13. 425, 467-68
- Naṣr ibn 'Alī. Compare Abū 'Amr Naṣr ibn 'Alī ibn Nūḥ, who was living 700. See Khallikān, IV, 61. 78
- Naṣr ibn 'Āṣim al-Laythī al-Du'alī. He was a legal authority and grammarian, said to have helped al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf to devise the pointing system for the Qur'ān. He died about 708. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 403; Ziriklī, Part VIII, 343. 87, 90
- Naṣr ibn Hurmuzd al-Samarqandī. The secretary of a schismatic Manichaean leader. He became his successor in the middle of the 9th century. 794
- Naṣr ibn al-Ḥusayn. A falconer whose origin was in Khurāsān and who served al-Mu'taḍid (caliph 892-902) at Sāmarrā. It is possible that the father was the falconer. 288
- Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim al-Minqarī, Abū al-Faḍl. He was a Shī'ī historian of al-Kūfah, who died 827/828. See Tūsī, p. 347, sect. 759; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 210. 202
- Naṣr ibn Sayyār al-Laythī. The governor of Khurāsān at the end of the Umayyad period. See Khallikān, II, 104. 94, 225
- Naṣr ibn Yūsuf. An 8th century grammarian and philologist of the school of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 211; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 404; Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 128. 145

- Naṣrān al-Khurāsānī.** A teacher of Ibn al-Sikkīt during the first half of the 9th century. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 404. 156, 158, 347
- Nassābah (al-),** Abū al-Ḥasam (Ḥusayn) Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Tamīmī. A genealogist of al-Baṣrah, during the late 10th century. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 925, l. 20. 251
- Nāṣifī (al-).** He was the master of *Inān*, the singer and poetess, at the time of al-Rashid (caliph 786-809). See Iṣḥāqī, *Aghānī*, Part X, 101; XX, 76. 361
- Naṣṣāh (Ibn al-),** Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Mihrān. He was a genealogist and the first scholar to write about the government of the Banū al-'Abbās. He died 866. See Mas'ūdī, I, 12; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 276; Ḥājj Khalifah, II, 110. 236, 239
- Naṣṣāhī,** Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Ismā'īl. A man of al-Anbār who was secretary to the members of the family of Ṭāhir. He died 903. Zirikli, Part I, 93, and the Flügel edition give the date of his death inaccurately. 20, 272, 369
- Nawbakhtī Family.** (1) Nawbakht (Nūbukht), a Persian astrologer at the court of al-Manṣūr. (2) Abū Sahl, Timādh, his son. (3) Al-Faḍl ibn Abī Sahl, a physician and astronomer at the court of al-Rashid. (4) Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī, Abū Sahl, a leader of the Imāmiyah who died 923. (5) Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl ibn Nawbakht. See Sarton, I, 531; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 307, n. 3; Qifṭī, pp. 165, 255, 409; "Nawbakhtī," *Enc. Islam*, III, 887. 589, 651
- Nawbakhtī (al-).** See (1) Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Nawbakhtī; (2) 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Nawbakhtī.
- Nawbakhtī (al-),** Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā. He was one of the leading Shi'ī theologians in the first half of the 10th century. See Ṭūsī, p. 98, sect. 208; Mas'ūdī, I, 156. 441
- Nawbakhtī (al-),** Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī, Abū Sahl. The great scholar of the Imāmah, who died 923. See Ṭūsī, p. 57, bottom, where the name is given as Nūbukhtī; Mas'ūdī, VIII, 233. 439-41, 475
- Nawmat al-Dubā.** An 8th century singer. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 9, n. 2; Iṣḥāqī, *Aghānī*, Part VII, 135, l. 6; 138, bottom line. 735
- Nayrizī (al-),** al-Faḍl ibn Iḥtīm, Abū al-'Abbās (Anarītius). He was an authority for Euclid and astronomy. He died 922/923. See Sarton, I, 598; Qifṭī, p. 254; Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, 176; Suter, VI (1892), 67; X (1900), 45. For the origin of the name, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 856. MS 1934 spells the name incorrectly. 635, 639-40, 661
- Naṣīf ibn Yumn (Nasif son of Jarum) the Priest.** He was a commentator on Aristotle and Euclid and a physician in the hospital of 'Aḍad al-Dawlah at Baghdād. He died about 990. See Qifṭī, p. 337; Uṣaybī'ah, Part I, 238; Sarton, I, 664; Heath, *Euclid's Elements*, I, 87; Suter, X (1900), 68. 635
- Nazzām (al-),** Ibrāhīm ibn Sayyār ibn Hānī, Abū Ishāq. A scholar of al-Baṣrah, who was a great Mu'tazilī metaphysician. He died at Baghdād about 840. See Baghdādī (Seelye), 186 ff.; 206 ff.; Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part VI, 97; Jāhiz (*Ḥayawān*), VII, index; "Al-Nazzām," *Enc. Islam*, III, 892; Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 140; Zirikli, I, 36; Klauyāt, *Intiṣār* (Nādir), index, p. 166. 19, 357, 388-89, 391, 392-93, 395, 412, 429, 446-47
- Nebuchednezzar.** The King of Babylon, 604-561 B.C. 677
- Nestorius.** The famous Cilician monk, who was appointed as Patriarch of Constantinople, 428, condemned by the Council of Ephesus, 431, banished to Egypt,

- and died about 450. The Nestorian Church was named for him. See "Nestorianism," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, IX, 324. 46, 613
- Nicanor. Aristotle's adopted son, chosen to marry his daughter upon her gaining maturity. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 1177. 596
- Nicephorus. A scholar interested in alchemy. See Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 186, 188, 199; III, 422, n. 1; Berthelot, *Origines de l'Alchimie*, pp. 16, 101. 852
- Nicolaus of Alexandria. A physician who compiled the works of Galen. See Uṣaybī'ah, Part I, 103; Qiftī, p. 71. 689
- Nicolaus of Laodicea. A philosopher of the last half of the 4th century, who wrote in particular about Aristotle's works. See Qiftī, p. 336; Uṣaybī'ah, Part II, 77, l. 19; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 1192. 605, 611, 849
- Nicomachus. He was the father of Aristotle, descended from Machaon son of Aesculapius. He came from Stageira, but 393-369 B.C. served as physician to King Amyntas II of Macedon. See Diogenes Laërtius, p. 181; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 1194, sect. 2; Qiftī, p. 336. 594
- Nicomachus. The son of Aristotle and his slave Herpyllis. After studying with Theophrastus, he probably died in a war, before the end of the 4th century B.C. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 1194, bottom. 596
- Nicomachus of Gerasa. He was a mathematician of the late 1st century from Gerash, East of Jordan. See Heath, *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, p. 61; Sarton, I, 253; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 351. 643
- Nicostratus. A physician of the 1st century. Perhaps also the commentator on Aristotle. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 1201, bottom. Compare, Pauly, V, 638. 614
- Niḍāḥ. He was the father of a reader of the Qur'ān. 68
- Niṣṭawayh. See *Naṣṭawayh*.
- Nighyānī (al-), Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. A secretary at Baghdād in the late 10th century. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 798. The identification is not certain, as Flügel gives al-Bughyānī. 299
- Nilus (Neileus). A 3rd century B.C. physician. See Smith, *GRBM*, II, 1202-1203.
- Nimrūd (Nimrod). He is called by *Al-Fihrist* the son of Cush. For the Hebrew genealogy, see Genesis 10: 6-8. See also "Namrūd," *Enc. Islam*, III, 842. 27, 718
- Ninūs (al-), Abī Ishāq Ibrāhīm. A pupil of the calligrapher Ibn Ma'dān, in the late 9th century. 17
- Niṣṭās (Qusṭās) ibn Yaḥyā ibn Zūnaq. A headman of the Ṣābiyans of Ḥarrān in the first half of the 10th century. 769
- Nizār ibn Ma'add, Abū Maṣṣūr, al-'Azīz bi-Allāh. He ruled as the fifth Fāṭimid caliph 975-996. See Khallikān, III, 525; "al-'Azīz bi'llāh," *Enc. Islam*, I, 540. 467
- Nur'aym (Abū) al-Faḍl ibn Dukayn ibn Ḥamunād. A government official and a scholar, who died at al-Kūfah, 834/835. See Ziriklī, Part V, 353. 76
- Nūbakhtī (al-). See *Nawbakhtī*.
- Nufaylī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh ('Abd al-Rahmān) Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Numayr. A traditionalist and historian, who died at Ḥarrān 848/849. See Sprenger, *ZDMG*, XIV, (1860), 289. 200
- Nūḥ. Noah of the Flood. 476
- Nūḥ (Abī). See Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ṣalt.

- Nūḥ ibn Jarīr. A son of the great poet *Jarīr* and himself a poet. He lived during the late 7th and early 8th century. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part VII, 171, l. 23; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 285; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 749, l. 2. 348
- Nūḥ ibn Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ismā'īl. The Sāmānī ruler of Khurāsān 943-954. See Niẓām al-Mulk, p. 278; Sykes, II, 90; Blochet, p. 69; "Nūḥ," *Enc. Islam*, III, 949; Lane-Poole, pp. 132-33. 467
- Nujūm (Abū). An official. For his secretary, see Ibn *Adham*. 274
- Nukhaylah (Abū). He was a composer of rajaz verse, in the 8th century. See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 381; *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 139. 356
- Nu'm. (1) A girl associated with 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'ah. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part IV, 36. (2) Nu'm hint Ḥassān. A poetess. See Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part V, 179. 719
- Nu'mān. A theologian influenced by the Manichaeans. Compare Ibn Abī al-'A'wja'. 804
- Nu'mān (Abū al-). He was a tribal scholar of language, who quoted *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥabīb. He lived in the 9th century. 104
- Nu'mān (al-) Abū Qābūs ibn al-Mundhir. The last king of the Lakhm Dynasty of al-Ḥīrah, who died about 608. See "al-Nu'mān," *Enc. Islam*, III, 953; Zirikli, Part IX, 10. See also al-Mundhir. 721
- Nu'mān (al-) ibn Thābit. See Abū *Ḥanīfah*. 448
- Nu'mān (al-) ibn Zar'ah. He conducted negotiations with the general of *Chosroes* II, about 615, and was the chief of the Banū Taghlib. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part XX, 134. 243
- Nusayān. An unimportant theologian of the Mujbirah and a foreign protégé. The name is as given in MS 1934. 448
- Nuṣayb, Abū al-Ḥajjān'. A black slave bought and set free by al-Mahdī and favored by al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809) because of his poetry. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part XX, 25; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 242. 243, 312, 359
- Nuṣayb ibn Rabāḥ al-Thaqafī, Abū Mihjan. He was a black slave and a poet, who fought in the early wars of Islām and was emancipated by a son of the Caliph *Marwān*. He died 726/727. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part I, 129; Khallikān, III, 626, n. 13. 243
- Nuṣayr ibn Qāsim. He quoted the poetry of *Dhū* al-Rumamah, probably in the late 7th or early 8th century. Flügel calls him al-Qāsim ibn Qāsim, probably an error. 347
- Nuṣayr ibn Yūsuf. A reader of the Qur'ān, following al-Kisā'ī. 67
- Nūsharī (al-), Abū Mūsā 'Isā ibn Muḥammad. He was an officer who served in al-'Irāq and Persia, later becoming the governor in Egypt, 904-909. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 155, 156, 168; Tabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2253. 465
- Nuṣās (Abū) al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥanī'. He was born at Ahwāz, educated at both al-Baṣrah and al-Kufah, and became the famous licentious poet and court companion of al-Rashīd. He died 810. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part XVII, 2; Khallikān, I, 391. 105, 173, 206, 315, 325, 331, 352, 353, 391, 398
- Olympiodorus. (1) A philosopher and commentator on *Aristotle*, who lived at Alexandria in the middle of the 6th century. (2) A Neo-Platonic philosopher of Alexandria during the time of Justinian, A.D. 527-565. See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 24, 25; Sarton, I, 389; Pauly, V, 291. 593, 604-605, 611

- Oribasius.** He was born at Pergamum A.D. 325. He wrote a medical encyclopedia in 70 books, doing much to popularize *Galen*. See Qifti, p. 74; Leclerc, I, 253; Wenrich, p. 295; Sarton, I, 372; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 44. 688
- Ostanes.** He was by origin a Persian, but called al-Rūmī, as his books were known in Greek. See Lippmann, p. 362; Ruska (6) pp. 13, 44; (10), pp. 57, 108; Fück, *Ambix*, p. 91; Bidez, Part II, 270; Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 216; III, 250; Berthelot, *Origines de l'Alchimie*, p. 163. 848-49, 852-53
- Palladius, Taurus Aemilianus.** A Roman author on medical subjects during the 4th century. See Sarton, I, 355; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 95. 679
- Panaceaia**, daughter of the great *Hippocrates*, in the late 5th century B.C. She was married to Polybus. See Sarton, I, 120 (for the husband). 678, 691
- Pappus of Alexandria.** A Greek mathematician and prolific author, of the last part of the 3rd century. See Heath, *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, p. 434; Sarton, I, 337; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 345; Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, 136. 642
- Parmenides of Elea.** He left Italy to live at Athens and was a philosopher and medical authority of the 4th century B.C. See Gordon, p. 469; Sarton, I, 85; Qifti, pp. 12, 18, 92; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 123. 674-75
- Parwiz.** He is known as Chosroes II, Parvez, King of Persia, A.D. 590-628. See Sykes, I, 518; Firdawsi, *Shahnama*, VIII, 186-96 ff. 716
- Paul of Aegina (Paulus Aegineta).** He was a leading medical authority at Alexandria about A.D. 640 and an important compiler of medical books. See Qifti, p. 261; Sarton, I, 479; Wenrich, p. 295; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 152. 678, 689
- Pelagius.** A scholar interested in alchemy, probably different from the famous heretic. See Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 175, 177, 187, 191; Berthelot, *Origines de l'Alchimie*, pp. 105, 129, 154, 176; Lippmann, pp. 37 ff., 344 ff. with notes. 853
- Pethiōn.** A Christian living in Dār al-Rūm, during the late 9th or early 10th century. For Dār al-Rūm in the Christian quarter of Baghdad, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 207-10. 448, 587
- Pethiōn.** This was a common name perhaps referring to (1) the Catholicos who died 740. (2) A Nestorian historian, who wrote about 765. See Wright, *Short History*, p. 195. 46
- Petronius.** A scholar who wrote a book on alchemy. He may have been: (1) The famous Roman. (2) A pharmacist of the 1st century. See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 215, 218; Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 75, note; Berthelot, *Origines de l'Alchimie*, pp. 149, 150, 357. 853
- Phaedrus the Greek.** A man of Athens and a friend of Plato. See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 230. The Flügel edition has Qidrūs. 575
- Phaestius.** The mother of *Aristotle*. 594
- Philargius.** A Greek physician, who was born at Epirus but probably lived at Thessalonika in the 3rd century or later. See Wenrich, p. 296; Leclerc, I, 255; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 261. 676, 687, 710
- Philemon.** A Greek writer about physiognomy, whose book was translated into Syriac. See Wenrich, p. 296; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 265. 736
- Philip, King of Macedon.** He was born 382 and reigned 359-336 B.C. 591, 594
- Philocles.** A nephew of Aeschylus and an Athenian tragic poet, who lived in the

- last half of the 5th century B.C. He was the author of many tragedies. See Pauly, V, 1518; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 301. 676
- Philon of Tarsus. A physician known for his antidote. He probably lived in the early 1st century. See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 313. 689
- Philotas of Amphissa. A scholar who started his career at Alexandria in the late 1st century, B.C. See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 330. Compare Qisfi, p. 55. 689
- Philotinus of Cos. He was a pupil of *Praxagoras* and a prominent Greek physician of the late 4th and early 3rd century B.C. See Gordon, p. 551; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 331. 675
- Photius. A Patriarch of Constantinople, who lived from about 820 to 891 and wrote on science and history. See Sarton, I, 594; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 347 ff. 587
- Plato (Aflātūn). The great philosopher, who lived from about 428 to 347 B.C. Compare Qisfi, p. 17, for an Arabic account. 19, 588, 591-95, 614, 617, 684-85, 746, 844, 849, 859
- Plotinus. He was born at Lycopolis in Egypt, A.D. 203, and died in Italy, 244. He was the founder of the Neo-Platonic School of philosophy. See Qisfi, p. 258; Sarton, I, 334; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 423; "Neo-Platonism," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, IX, 309. 614
- Plutarch. The famous Greek author of biography, who lived during the 1st century. Compare Qisfi, p. 257. 590, 611
- Plutarch, son of Nestorius. He was an Athenian who lived from A.D. 350 to 430 and was head of the Neo-Platonic School at Athens. He wrote commentaries on *Plato* and *Aristotle*. See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 431, No. 2; "Plutarch," *Enc. Britannica*, 11th edit., XXI, 860, top 593, 612, 706
- Porphry of Tyre (Porphyrius). He lived from about A.D. 233 to 305 and studied with *Plotinus* so as to become a distinguished Neo-Platonic philosopher, who opposed the Christians. See Pauly, V, 1917; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 498. 590, 598-99, 603, 606, 610, 614, 705, 742
- Praxagoras. He was a disciple of *Diocles*, the pupil of *Hippocrates*. He was a leading medical authority at Cos, who died about 350 B.C. See Gordon, p. 548; Sarton, I, 146; Diels (1906), p. 86. 678
- Proclus (Diadochus). Born at Byzantium in A.D. 410, he was brought up at Xanthus in Lycia, studied at Alexandria, and became a leading Neo-Platonic philosopher. He died 485. See Qisfi, p. 89; Pauly, VI (1), 62, bottom; Sarton, I, 402; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 533, sect. 6. 607-608, 613
- Ptolemy (Ptolemaeus Alexandrinus). He was the great mathematician and astronomer of the middle 2nd century and author of the famous *Almagest*. See Qisfi, p. 95; Sarton, I, 272; Heath, *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, p. 402; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 570. 575, 616, 638, 639-40, 649, 670
- Ptolemy the Foreign (al-Gharib). He was Ptolemy Chennus of Alexandria, who was quoted by the Arabs because of his knowledge of *Aristotle*. He lived during the late 1st and early 2nd century. See Qisfi, p. 89; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 567, sect. 13; "Aristūṭalis," *Enc. Islam*, I, 433, sect. 3 and 4. 594, 596, 614
- Ptolemy Lagus. He was Ptolemaeus Soter, son of Lagus. He founded the Macedonian dynasty in Egypt after the death of Alexander in 323. He died 283 B.C. See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 581-86, for a brief account of his life. 596
- Ptolemy II, Philadelphus. He was the great King of Egypt, 283-247 B.C. He founded the Museum at Alexandria. 576

- P'yrhron of Elis.** He lived from 360 to 270 B.C. and was a philosopher who accompanied *Alexander* to India. See Sarton, I, 136; Gordon, 587, 610; Diogenes Laërtius, p. 402; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 608. 676, 849
- Pythagorus.** He was said to be the son of Mnesarchus of Samos. He was the famous mathematician, philosopher, and inventor of Crotona, who was killed 497/496 B.C. See Qiftī, p. 258; Uṣaybī'ah, Part I, 37; Sarton, I, 73; Berthelot, *Origines de l'Alchimie*, pp. 43, 143. 590-91, 608, 676, 737, 844, 849, 852, 859
- Qabīlah.** The favorite of al-Mutawakkil (caliph 847-861). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIX, 132; Mas'ūdī, VII, pp. 270-71; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part IV, 184. 249-50
- Qabīṣī (al-).** See 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Uthmān.
- Qabūl.** An Arab girl about whom poetry was written. For the poet attached to her, see *Ghanir*. 720
- Qābūs (Abū) al-Shaybānī.** A poet of minor importance. Compare Abū Qābūs al-Naṣrānī of the 8th and early 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 126, 129. 360
- Qābūs ibn al-Na'mān ibn Mundhir.** A king of al-Hīrah, who died about 582 and was attached to *Munyah*. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XXI, 199-200; Qutaybah, *Shī'r*, p. 43, l. 7. 719
- Qaddāh (al-).** See *Maymūn*.
- Qadīd (Qudayd) ibn Ja'far.** A Murji'ī theologian and Ḥanafī jurist. See Shahrastānī (I-haarbrücker), Part I, 164. 508
- Qādim (Ibn), Abū Ja'far Muḥammad (Aḥmad).** He was a scholar of al-Kūfah, went to Baghdād, where he taught *Tha'lab*, and became tutor to al-Mu'tazz, before he became the caliph in 866. See Zubaydī, *Tabaqāt*, p. 151. The Beatty MS has Ibn Qādim, whereas Flügel gives Abū Qādim. 147, 148, 149, 160-61, 190-91
- Qādūr (Qādhūr).** A legendary ancestor, who gave distinction to Arabic writing. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 1121. 8
- Qāhūr (al-) Abū Maṣṣūr.** The 'Abbāsīd caliph, 932-934. xiv, 186, 709
- Qaḥṭabī (al-), Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad.** An 8th century man of letters, who wrote a refutation of the Christians, listing many little-known sects. See the Flügel edition of *Al-Fihrist*, n. 2 for p. 342. 690, 814
- Qā'im (al-) bi-al-Amr, Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥasan,** 893-946. He became the second Fātimid caliph. See Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, II, 523-35; Khallikān, III, 181; "al-Qā'im," *Enc. Islam*, II, 643, bottom. 465-67
- Qalūs.** A man of early Islām about whom amusing anecdotes were told. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 8; Qutaybah, *Shī'r*, p. 368, l. 10, where the name is given as Qillaws. 735
- Qa'nabī (al-).** See 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslimah.
- Qanān ibn Mattā.** He served as secretary to the sons of Abū Sufyān and also to the Caliph Yazīd (680-683), during whose reign he died. 267
- Qārī (al-).** See (1) Muḥammad ibn Ma'n; (2) Sa'd ibn 'Ubayd, Abū Zayd; (3) Sallām ibn Sulaymān Abū al-Mundhir; (4) Ḥadramī (al-), Abū Muḥammad Ya'qūb; (5) 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd, treasurer at al-Madīnah at the time of the second caliph. See Ziriklī, Part IV, 81.
- Qarībah Umm al-Buhlūl.** A woman scholar of tribal origin from the Banū Asad, who studied dialects and language. 103

- Qariṣ al-Jarrāhī, al-Mughannī. A singer who died 935/936. 319, 342
- Qarmaṭ. See *Ḥamdān ibn al-Ash'ath*.
- Qarṭalūsī (al-), Abū al-Faḍl. A jurist of the Shurāt group of the Khawārij and a prolific writer from Tall Ukbārā near Baghdād, who probably lived in the late 8th and early 9th century. 570
- Qārūn. He was a man of great wealth in Patriarchal times. See Qur'ān 28:79; 29:39; 40:24. In Numbers 16:1-5 the name is Korah. See also "Qārūn," *Enc. Islām*, II, 780. 844
- Qāshānī (al-), Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, Abū Bakr. He was a jurist of Persian origin, who first followed *Dā'ūd* and later al-Shāfi'ī. See Shīrāzī, p. 149. 523
- Qāsim (Abū al-). See al-*Anṣārī*.
- Qāsim (Abū al-) 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāh. A secretary who wrote about taxes in the early 10th century. He was called Ibn Asnā, as his mother was a sister of the vizier 'Alī ibn 'Isā. See Bowen, pp. 34, 38. 283
- Qāsim (Abū al-) 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ishāq al-Zajjājī. He was a grammarian of Baghdād, who died at Damascus 948/950. See Zubaydī, *Tabaqāt*, p. 129; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 297; also Ḥājj Khalīfah, index for many references. 175
- Qāsim (Abū al-) 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Kūfī. A scholar of the Imāmīyah sect. See Tūsī, p. 211, sect. 455. 480
- Qāsim (Abū al-) al-Ḥadīthī. He was a jurist of the Shurāt group of the Khawārij, who lived in the last half of the 10th century. 570
- Qāsim (Abū al-) al-Ḥasan. See al-Qāsim bi-al-Amr.
- Qāsim (Abū al-) ibn Abī al-'Alā. A secretary from North Syria, who wrote some poetry. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 190, l. 20; 217, l. 21; IV, 503, l. 15; 674, l. 16. 371
- Qāsim (Abū al-) ibn Abī al-Khaṭṭāb ibn al-Farrāt. He was a man of importance at Baghdād in the 10th century. He owned the manuscript of a book by *Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb*. 235
- Qāsim (Abū al-) ibn al-'Arād. A disciple of al-*Ṭabarī*. 566
- Qāsim (Abū al-) ibn al-Baqqāl al-Mutawassiṭ. The author of a book refuted by al-*Junayd*. 487
- Qāsim (Abū al-) ibn Saḥalwayh. He was called Qashūr (Qushūr) and was a pupil of the Mu'tazilī scholar Abū Ḥāshim ibn al-Jubbā'ī. See Murtaḍā, p. 111. 434-35
- Qāsim (Abū al-) 'Isā ibn 'Alī ibn 'Isā ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāh. He was a student of logic and other studies and at one time a diplomatic agent of *Mu'izz al-Dawlah*. He died 1000. See Šābī, *Wuzurā'*, pp. 348, 357, 374, 376; Miskawayh, V (II), 91 (88); Bowen, 397, 398. 282, 587, 590
- Qāsim (Abū al-) Ja'far ibn al-Ḥusayn. He helped his brother 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn in a court case about the estate of Ibn *Thawābah*. 283
- Qāsim (al-), Abū Muḥammad, ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm. He was a calligrapher, whose father and grandfather were also well known for their hand-writing. He lived in the 10th century. 17
- Qāsim (al-), Abū Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Bashshār al-Anbārī. He was a pupil of al-Farrā' and *Tha'lab*. For his more famous son, who lived from 885 to 940, see Ibn al-Anbārī. 104, 165, 568
- Qāsim (al-) ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl al-'Alawī al-Rasī. He was a descendant of the

- Prophet and the feudal lord of Şa'dah in al-Yaman, where he founded the Zaydī rule in 860. See Ḥakamī, pp. 185, 302, table, 314; "Rassids," *Enc. Islam*, III, 1126; Lane-Poole, p. 102 and table. 482
- Qāsim (al-) ibn 'Isā al-'Ijlī. See Abū Dulaf.
- Qāsim (al-) ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ishāq, Abū Muḥammad. A man of the 10th century and the member of a family famous for calligraphy. For his father, see Ismā'īl ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm. 17
- Qāsim (al-) ibn Khalīl. See al-Dimashqī.
- Qāsim (al-) ibn Ma'n ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān. He was a judge of al-Kūfah and man of great learning, who died 791/792. See Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 146; Khallikān, III, 24, 26, n. 4. 152-3
- Qāsim (al-) ibn al-Manṣūr. A son of the 'Abbāsīd caliph, who ruled 754-775. 12
- Qāsim (al-) ibn Muḥammad. A man noted for his good literary style. He lived in the first half of the 8th century, probably at al-Baṣrah. 275
- Qāsim (al-), ibn Muḥammad al-Anbārī. See Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim.
- Qāsim (al-) ibn Muḥammad al-Karkhī, Abū Muḥammad. A secretary and poet of the late 9th and early 10th century. Compare Tanūklī, p. 174; Ḥājj Khalīfah, II, 393, 478. 370, 442
- Qāsim (al-) ibn al-Qūqālī (Qūqā'ī). A headman of the Šābians of Ḥarrān in the early 10th century. 769
- Qāsim (al-) ibn Šabīh. He was a man of importance, whose son was a well-known official. For his son, see Yūsuf ibn al-Qāsim. 266, 366
- Qāsim (al-) ibn Sallām. See Abū 'Ubayd.
- Qāsim (al-) ibn Sayyār al-Kātib. A secretary who wrote some poetry. Compare Abū al-'Abbās al-Sayyārī, who died 953/954. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 309. 363
- Qāsim (al-) ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Sulaymān. He was the vizier to al-Mu'taḍid and al-Muḥtafī. He also wrote poetry and translated the *Categories* of Aristotle. He died 904. See Šābī, *Wuzurā'*, pp. 4, n. 6; 382 ff.; Miskawayh, IV (1), 20 (18), 268 (238); Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 107-108, 128-33, 268; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 2207-13. 131-32, 181, 325, 370, 627, 700
- Qāsim (al-) ibn Yazīd al-Jarmī. A conservative jurist, who died 809/810. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 146. 546
- Qāsim (al-) ibn Yūsuf ibn Šabīh al-Sulamī, Abū Muḥammad. A poet and government secretary of al-Kūfah whose brother was the secretary of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XX, 56. For the brother, see Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, Abū Ja'far al-Kātib. 268, 363, 367
- Qaṣrānī (al-). A mathematician, probably of the late 10th century. See Suter, VI (1892), 75. 670
- Qasrī (al-). See Asad ibn 'Abd Allāh.
- Qatādah ibn Diyāmah ibn 'Azīz, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Sadūsī. A man of al-Baṣrah, who lived from about 679 to 735. He was a blind scholar, noted for his knowledge of genealogy and said to have been the first to use the name al-Mu'tazilī. See Khallikān, II, 513; Jār Allāh, p. 2. 75, 91, 381
- Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'ah. A chief of the Azraqī rebels of Eastern Persia, who led a revolt in 686. He was killed in 698. See Khallikān, II, 522. 273
- Qaṭī'ī (al-), Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā. A student of the Ḥadīth. See Ḥājj Khalīfah, V, 135. 78, 80

- Qaṭṭān (al-). (1) Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd, Abū Sa'īd. A Shī'ī authority for the Ḥadīth, who lived from 737 to 813. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 301; Taghri-Birdī, Part II, 277. (2) Aḥmad ibn Sinān, Abū Ja'far. An expert for the Ḥadīth, who died at Wāsiṭ in 873. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 1146; Ziriklī, Part I, 130. 531
- Qayrawānī (al-). See 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Zayd.
- Qays. A shaykh of the Shī'ah whose well-known son was Sulaym ibn Qays al-Hilālī. 535
- Qays (Abū) ibn 'Abd Manāf ibn Zuhrah. He was said to have introduced Arabic writing to Makkah. 9
- Qays ibn 'Amr ibn Mālik al-Najāshī. A poet of Najrān, who became a Muslim and lived until 660, writing flattering verses about *Mu'āwiyah*. See Ziriklī, Part VI, 58; Brockelman, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, supplement, I, 73. 226
- Qays ibn Dhariḥ. A poet of al-Madīnah, who died about 688 and was known for his love of *Lubnā*. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VIII, 112; *Fuḥūlat al-Shu'arā'*, p. 20; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 399. 719
- Qays ibn Khaḍīm, Abū Zayd. A Pre-Islāmic poet of Yathrib. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part II, p. 159; Aṣma'ī, p. 20. 173
- Qays ibn al-Mulawwal. He was the famous Majnūn Laylā, a poet of Najd who died 688. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part I, 167; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 355; "Madjnūn," *Enc. Islam*, III, 96. 244, 719
- Qays ibn Qanān ibn Mattā. A secretary to the caliphs Yazīd, Marwān, 'Abd al-Malik and Hishām, during whose reign (724-743) he died. For his father, see Qanān. 267
- Qayṭawār. One of the keepers of the seven shrines at Babylon or Borsippa. 644
- Qayyūmā (Ibn). He was tutor to al-Qāsim, son of al-Manṣūr (caliph 754-775) and the master of two famous scribes, *Shuqayr* and *Ṭunāḥ*. 12
- Qibbah (Ibn) Abū Ja'far ibn Muḥammad. He was a theologian, who was at first a Mu'tazilī but later changed to the Imāmah group of the Shī'ah. See Ṭūsī, p. 297, sect. 648, with footnote, and also the note on p. 372. 439
- Qirān (Abū). A man from Nisibis, who was the author of works on alchemy. See Fück, *Ambix*, p. 140. 850, 865
- Qiriābī (al-). A transcriber of the Qur'ān. Flügel gives al-Firyābī. See also Pope, II, 1717, note. The name may also be Quryānī. For Quryān, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 76. 12
- Qirriyah (Ibn al-). Ayyūb ibn Zayd ibn Qays. He was a famous orator, who was with al-Ḥajjāj, the governor of al-'Irāq. He died 703. He was called after his mother, and the name may be meant for Ibn al-Qirriyah. See Khallikān, I, p. 241; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 202; Ziriklī, Part I, 381. 273
- Qubād ibn Fīrūz (Kobad son of Fīrūz), King of Persia 487-531. See Firdawsi, *Shahnama*, VII, 183-211; IX, 166; Sykes, I, 477-83. 817
- Qudāmah ibn Darrār al-Quray'ī. He was a friend of *Daghfal* interested in genealogy at the time of *Mu'āwiyah* (caliph 661-680). See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 265, where he is called *Ibn Jarād*. For his tribal name, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 155. 193
- Qudāmah ibn Ja'far ibn Qudāmah, Abū al-Faraj. A scholar and secretary, noted for his book on the land tax. He died 948/949. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 203-205; Mas'ūdī, I, 17; Taghri-Birdī, Part III, 297-98. 285, 603
- Qudāmah ibn Maẓ'ūn. An adherent of the Caliph 'Uthmān, who was punished by

- 'Umar and refused to fight with 'Alī in Persia 658. See Mas'ūdī, IV, 295; Balād-hurī, *Origins*, p. 125. 88
- Qudāmah ibn Yazīd. He served as secretary of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Šālīh until the time of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809), when he was killed by an axe. See Ṭabari, *Annales*, Part III, 689. Flügel gives the father's name as Zayd. The name is also given as Qumāmali. 260, 275
- Qummi (al-), Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad. An unimportant grammarian of Persian origin, probably belonging to the 10th century. Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 233. 185
- Qunbarah, Abū Muḥammad Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad. A Shi'ī scholar from Qumīn. MS 1934 gives the name as written, whereas Flügel has Qanbarah. See Ṭūsī, p. 60, sect. 114. 480
- Qurāṭīsī (al-). He was known for writing poetry, probably in the middle of the 10th century. 372
- Qurqubī (al-), Abū Muḥammad Zuhayr ibn Maymūn al-Ḥamadānī. A reader of the Qur'ān, and also a grammarian and genealogist, who died 771/772. 196
- Qurrah. A Šābian of Ḥarrān. For his famous descendants, see Thābit ibn Qurrah and Sinān ibn Thābit. 751
- Qurrah (Abū) al-Kilābī. A tribal scholar of language. 103
- Qurrah (Ibn Abī), Abū 'Alī. He was an astrologer who first served the famous rebel 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Šāhib al-Zanj and then wrote a book for al-Muwaffaq, in the second half of the 9th century. See Qifī, p. 409; Suter, VI (1892), 67; X (1900), 33. 660
- Qurrah ibn al-Ishtar. The headman of the Šābians of Ḥarrān during the late 9th century. 769
- Qurrah ibn Qamīṭa al-Ḥarrānī. He made a description of the world, which Thābit ibn Qurrah plagiarized. He was evidently a Šābian of Ḥarrān living in the early 9th century. 672
- Qurrah ibn Thābit ibn Iliyā. The headman of the Šābians of Ḥarrān at the end of the 8th century. 768
- Quryānī (al-). See al-Qiriābī.
- Quṣayy ibn Kilāb. A chief who gained control of Makkah for the Quraysh Tribe, before the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad. See Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 48 ff. 207
- Qushūrī (al-). See Naṣr al-Ḥājib.
- Quss ibn Sā'idah al-Iyādī. An ascetic and wise man of the Pre-Islāmic period, who was probably a Christian. See Mas'ūdī, I, 133; III, 256, 257; "Kuss ibn Sā'ida," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1161. 138
- Qusṭā ibn Lūqā al-Ba'labakkī. He was the famous Christian of Baalbek, who went to Asia Minor to collect books, many of which he translated, adding compositions of his own on science and medicine. He died some time before 922 in Armenia. See Qifī, p. 262; Uṣaybī'ah, Part I, 244; Leclerc, I, 157; Sarton, I, 602. 584, 588, 594, 602, 604, 611, 694, 743
- Qutaybah (Ibn), Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim. He was born 828/829, lived in the Baghdād region, served as judge of Dīnawar, and was a great authority on grammar, tribal poetry and folklore. He died about 889. See Khallikārī, II, 22. 77-78, 134, 138, 170, 171, 190-91, 250, 352, 427, 491, 742

- Qutaybah ibn Muslim. He was born about 670. He became governor of Khurāsān 704 and conquered Balkh, Bukhārā, Samarqand, and Khīvā. See Khallikān, II, 514. 108, 225
- Qutaybah ibn Ziyād, al-Qādī. A Ḥanafī jurist and a judge, during the earliest period of the history of Baghdād. See Wafā', Part I, 413. 511-12
- Qutb al-Raḥḥā. He was one of the first persons to introduce juggling and sleight of hand to the Muslim community. MS 1135 gives the name as al-Rajā'. 732
- Qutbah. The first great master of Arabic penmanship during the Umayyad period, who probably developed the Jaḥil, Tumār, Niṣf, and Thuluth scripts. See Abbott, *Rise of the North Arabic Script*, p. 31. 12
- Qutham ibn Ja'far ibn Sulayman. He was the governor of al-Madīnah about 825, and he took part at the funeral of 'Isā ibn Abān, 835/836. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 858. 507
- Qutrabbulī (al-), Abū Muḥammad ibn Sa'd. A pupil attached to Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid at Baghdād in the first half of the 10th century. For his home city, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 133. 167, 377
- Qurub the Grammarian, Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Mustanīr. A man of al-Baṣrah, who became a well-known scholar of grammar and linguistics. He died 821. See Khallikān, III, 29. 76, 83, 114, 190-91, 234
- Quwayrī. See *Ibrāhīm ibn Quwayrī*.
- Rabāb. She was the daughter of Imru' al-Qays, who married al-Ḥusayn, the Prophet's grandson, and was the mother of *Sukaynah*. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIV, 163, 164; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part I, 438. 721-22
- Rabāh (Ibn), Abū 'Imrān Mūsā ibn Rabāh. He was a Mu'tazilī scholar, who died in Egypt at the age of 80, about 1000. 432, 433
- Rabāhī (al-), Abū al-Baydā' As'ad ibn 'Ismaḥ. A tribesman, who became a language expert. For the scholar whose mother he married, see Abū Mālik, 'Amr ibn Kirkirah. See also Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 45. 96-97, 99
- Rabay' (Ibn al-). For the more correct form of the name, see Ibn al-Rabī'.
- Rabī' (al-) ibn Abī Mudrik, Abū Sa'īd. He was a Shī'ī jurist called Maṣlūb, because he was crucified or strung up at al-Kūfah. See Tūsī, p. 137, sect. 288. 536
- Rabī' (al-) ibn Farrās. An astrolabe maker from Ḥarrān, probably a Ṣābian of the 9th century. 671
- Rabī' (al-) ibn Khuthaym (Khaytham). He was an early ascetic. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 36, l. 7; Massignou, *Origines du lexique*, p. 141; 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Sarrāj, XXII (1914), 322. 456, 545
- Rabī' (al-) ibn Sulaymān, Abū Muḥammad. He was one of the leading disciples of 'al-Shāfi'ī and a well-known jurist in Egypt, who died 883/884. See Nawawī, p. 243; Shīrāzī, Part I, 79, II, 6; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 48, 261, 299. 516-17, 519, 520-22, 531, 564
- Rabī' (al-) ibn Yūnus ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥājib, Abū al-Faḍl. He lived from 730 to 786 and was a chamberlain to the caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī and the vizier of al-Ḥādī. See Mas'ūdī, VI, 195, 201, 207, 224, 257, 265; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 142. 507
- Rabī' (al-) ibn Ziyād. He was a chief of the Prophet's time, who served as governor at Baḥrayn and in 671 became governor of Khurāsān, dying two years later.

- See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 2709, 2710, 2713; II, 18, 155, 156, 161; Ziriklī, Part III, 38. 382
- Rabī' (Ibn al-). See al-*Faḡl* ibn al-Rabī'.
- Rabī'ah al-Baṣrī. A tribesman, who settled at al-Baṣrah, where he wrote about nomadic poetry and folklore. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 209. 108, 376
- Rabī'ah ibn Abī 'Abd al-Raḥmān (Farūkh), Abū 'Uthmān al-Ra'ī. He was a Hanafī jurist, who died at al-Aḥbār 753/754. See Nawawī, p. 244, bottom; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 249. 501
- Rabī'ah al-Raqqī, Abū Shabbābah ibn Thābit. A poet living at the time of al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd (775-809). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XV, 38. 356
- Rābiṭah (Ibn). A scholar who translated Greek scientific works. See Ḥajj Khalīfah, III, 97. 587
- Rāḍī (al-). The 'Abbāsī caliph, 934-940. xiv, 315, 329
- Rāḍī (al-), al-Sharīf Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī. He was a nobleman descended from 'Alī, and a poet, who went on the pilgrimage 998/999. See Shujā', VI (S), 213 (202), 217 (207), 365 (340). 296, 378
- Rāfi' (Ibn Abī), Abū al-Ḥasan. An astrologer, probably at Baghdād in the 9th century. See Qifī, p. 437; Suter, X (1900), 43. 660
- Rāfi' ibn al-Layth ibn Naṣr ibn Sayyār. He was one of the leaders of a revolt against Hārūn al-Rashīd about 808, but was pardoned by al-Ma'mūn. See Mas'ūdī, VI, 358; VIII, 139. 225
- Rafī' ibn Salamah ibn Muslim ibn Rafī' al-'Abdī. He was known both as Abū Ghassan and Dammādh and was a pupil and scribe attached to Abū 'Ubaydah. He was also a historian. See Mas'ūdī, I, 10; Sūyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 248; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 198. 118
- Rāhawīyah (Ibn), Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Arrajānī, Abū Qa'ṣib. He was a mathematician who died about 853. See Suter, X (1900), 17; Tūqān, p. 210; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 404. The manuscripts spell his name incorrectly. For his locality name, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 193. 635
- Rā'ī (al-), 'Ubayd ibn Ḥusayn, Abū Jandal al-Numayrī. He was a tribal poet at Damascus, who died 709. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XX, 168; Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Part I, 49-50; II, 36, 165, 304-305. 122, 166, 346
- Rā'iq al-Khazā'ī. A young officer attached to the court of al-Muktaḍī (caliph 902-908). See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2262, 2265. 648
- Rajā' (Abū) Muḥammad ibn Sayf. He wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān and was associated with Makkah, where he owned a house. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 564, I, 11. 76
- Rajā' (Ibn), Abū al-'Abbās. A Shāfi'ī jurist and judge of al-Baṣrah, who wrote an important book about contracts. 526
- Rajā' Yazdānbakht. See *Yazdānbakht*.
- Rajjānī (al-), Ahmad ibn Muḥammad. A grammarian, who was probably in Egypt in the 10th century. For al-Rajjān, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 754. 185
- Rakān. A foreign protégé, who became a theologian of the Mujbirah, but was of secondary importance. 448
- Ramaḍān. See (1) Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ramaḍān. (2) Abū al-Jūd al-Qāsim.
- Rāmahurmuzī (al-), Abū Muḥammad, the Imām al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khallād. He was a poet and student of the Ḥadīth, who became a judge. He died 970. See Ḥajj Khalīfah, I, 80; IV, 178; V, 419, 540. 340, 435

- Raqabah ibn Maşqalah. He was a son of a great orator and himself a preacher in the first part of the 8th century. See Qutaybah, *Ma'arif*, p. 205. 227
- Raqāshī (al-), Abū al-'Abbās al-Faḍl ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad. A poet of al-Baṣrah, patronized by the *Barmak* Family during the time of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). See Ishāhānī, *Aghānī*, Part XV, 35; Khallikān, I, 318, n. 44. For his brothers, see al-'Abbas, *Aḥmad* and 'Abd al-Mubdi' (ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad). 360
- Raqīf (al-), Abū Sa'īd. A jurist following the code of Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī. 533
- Ras'anī (al-) Abū al-Jūd Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. He was a poet from Ra's al-'Ayn, probably in the late 9th or early 10th century. 375
- Rashīd (al-) Hārūn. The famous 'Abbāsīd caliph 786-809. 143, 361
- Rāshīd ibn Ishāq ibn Rāshīd, Abū Ḥakīm al-Kātib. He was a secretary and poet of the time of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). See Khallikān, IV, 41; Mas'ūdī, VII, 47. 368
- Rashīdī (al-), 'Alī ibn al-Qāsim. A scholar of secondary importance, who wrote about the Qur'ān. 80
- Rāsīb (Abū) al-Bajlī. A man who wrote some poetry. For the last name, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 119. 364
- Raṣṣaḥ (ibn Abī), Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān. He lived during the middle or late 10th century and practiced exorcism in accordance with the tenets of Islām. 729
- Rāwandī (al-). The author of *Kitāb al-Dawlah*, who taught the members of the Rawandīyah at Baghdād about 765. These Shī'ī extremists came to al-'Irāq 758/759, declaring al-Manṣūr to be divine. 238, 504
- Rāwandī (al-) or Ibn al-Rāwandī, Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Ishāq. He lived from 830 to 910 and came from Rāwand in Persia. He was a Mu'tazilī metaphysician, who became very heretical. He died at Baghdād. See Murtaḍā, p. 92, l. 14; Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), index, p. 235; Ḥājj Khalīfah, IV, 446; Khallikān, I, 76, 77. 83, 138, 419-23, 424-25, 428, 435, 440-41, 570
- Rāwaq al-Saydanānī. He wrote a book about drugs. 743
- Rawḥ. A secretary whose employer was Salamah al-Waṣīf. For his daughter, Bānah, and his grandson, see Ibn Bānah. 317
- Rawḥ (Abū). He was a secretary whose employer was 'Alī ibn 'Isā ibn Dā'ūd. Compare Abū Rawḥ ibn Yūsuf al-Madīnī in Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 454. 275
- Rawḥ (Abū) al-Ṣābī. A 9th century scholar, evidently from Ḥarrān, who translated a portion of *Aristotle* and probably other philosophical works. See Qifṭī, p. 38, l. 12. 602, 667
- Rawḥ ibn 'Abd al-'Ala, Abū Hammām. A man who composed some poetry. 364
- Rawḥ ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min. He wrote a book about the Qur'ān before he died about 848/849. 79
- Rawḥ ibn 'Abd al Salām. He composed some poetry. His name is omitted by Flügel but included in the Beatty and Tonk MSS. 363
- Rawḥ (ibn) al-Ṣābī. A mathematician evidently from Ḥarrān, who died during the 10th century. Compare Abū Rawḥ al-Ṣābī, who was perhaps his grandfather. 667
- Rawḥ ibn 'Ubādah al-Qaysī, Abū Muḥammad. A conservative jurist, who died 820/821. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part VIII, 401, sect. 4503; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 179; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 3205. 550
- Rawq (Abū) 'Aṭīyah ibn al-Ḥārith al-Hamdānī. He was an authority for the

- Ḥadīth, who also wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Indices, p. 198. 75
- Rawsham al-Miṣrī. An alchemist, who lived in Egypt before the advent of Islām. See Qifṭī, p. 186. 849
- Raym. A slave girl belonging to the poet *Ashja'* ibn 'Amr, who probably lived in the late 8th and early 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVII, 42; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part I, 482. 363
- Rayyā. The girl loved by the poet al-Ṣimmah ibn 'Abd Allāh. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 132; Tammām (Rückert), p. 39, select. 448. Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part III, 224 speaks of his love for al-'Āmiriyah hint Ghutayf, who was probably different from Rayyā. 719
- Rāzī (al-). See Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb.
- Rāzī (al-). A chess player, who wrote a book about the game and demonstrated it at the court of al-Mutawakkil (caliph 847-861). 341
- Rāzī (al-) Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyā' (Rhazes). He lived from 865 to 925 and was the great philosopher and medical authority who became chief of the hospital at Baghdād. See Qifṭī, p. 271; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 309; Khallikān, III, 311; Sarton, I, 609. 31, 82-83, 377, 427, 435, 599, 701-709, 742-43, 844, 850, 855, 863
- Rāzī (al-), Abū Ghālīb Aḥmad ibn Saḥīm. A scholar interested in astronomy. 191
- Razīn, al-'Arūḍī. He was a poet and companion of *Di'bīl*, possibly the same as Razīn ibn 'Alī, the poet who follows. See also Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 50, l. 14. 361
- Razīn ibn 'Alī ibn Razīn. A poet of secondary importance. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 24; XVIII, 47, l. 21. For his well-known brother, see *Di'bīl*. 354
- Razīn ibn Sulaymān. The grandfather of the poet *Di'bīl*. See Khallikān, I, 510. 354
- Riḍā (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Mūsā. The 8th Shī'ī Imām, who was born at al-Madīnah 770 and was an associate of al-Ma'mūn. He died 818. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442; Khallikān, II, 212. 536, 538-39, 541
- Riḍā (al-), al-Sharīf Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn. He was a descendant of the Prophet, a poet and patron of culture, who lived at Baghdād from about 970 to 1015. See Khallikān, III, 118. 189
- Ridād al-Kilābī. He was a nomadic scholar of language of secondary importance. 103
- Riyāḥī (al-), Abū al-Bayḍā'. An unimportant poet. The father's name is clear in the Beatty MS but uncertain in the other versions. 362
- Riyāshī (al-), Abū al-Faḍl al-'Abbās ibn al-Faraj. A man of al-Baṣrah, who was a grammarian, killed when the Zanj attacked the city, probably in 871. See Khallikān, II, 10. 126, 134
- Ru'āsī (al-), Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Abi Sārah al-Nīlī. He lived at the time of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809) and wrote the first book on grammar. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 480. 76, 141, 142, 145
- Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajāj. He was also known as Abū Muḥammad Ru'bah ibn 'Abd Allāh, an authority for rajaz poetry and Arab folklore, who lived at al-Baṣrah, but died as a fugitive soon after 763. See Khallikān, I, 527; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 159; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XXI, 84. 193, 252, 312, 348, 356
- Rufī' ibn Salamah. See *Rafī'* ibn Salamah.

- Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 160, 176; Sarton, I, 608; Leclerc, I, 111-12. For his father, Sahl al-Kawsaj, see Qifṭī, p. 196. 698
- Sa'd. He employed a scribe to transcribe manuscripts for al-Walid (caliph 705-715). 11
- Sa'd. A client of the Prophet's uncle, al-'Abbās. For his well-known descendant, see Abū al-'Amaythal. 106
- Sa'd. With the girl Asmā whom he loved, he was the subject of poetry and perhaps himself a poet. 719
- Sa'd. A Persian client and convert to Islām from Nūhandajān. Because of his bad pronunciation, Abū al-Aswad al-Du'ālī was said to have realized the necessity for grammar in the late 7th century. See Khallikān, I, 666, n. 7. 88
- Sa'd (Abū) al-Makhzūmī. A poet living at the time of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 29; Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, Part II, 190. Flügel and the Tonk MS have Abū Sa'id. 7, 365
- Sa'd al-Bārī. He edited the songs of al-Qutrubbulī in the 10th century. 377
- Sa'd al-Dawlah, Abū al-Ma'ālī. He was the ruler at Aleppo 967-991 and a member of the Ḥamdān dynasty. See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 457, n. 3, 460; "Iṣlamdānids," *Enc. Islāmī*, II, 248. 183
- Sa'd (Ibn). See Muḥammad ibn Sa'd al-Zuhri.
- Sa'd ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam. He was a Mālikī jurist of Egypt, who taught al-Ṭabarī, in the middle of the 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, I, 341, sect. 436; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 247, l. 13 (note error in printing). 564
- Sa'd (Ibn Abī). His statements are quoted in *Al-Fihrist*. He probably lived in the 9th century. 9, 91, 104
- Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Abū Ishāq. An early convert to Islām, who was a soldier and later a governor. He was buried at al-Madinah 675. He was also called Mālik. See Sa'd (Ibn), Part III, sect. 1, 97; Mas'ūdi, III, 209; IV, 136, 202 ff., 392 ff. 558
- Sa'd (Ibn), Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qutrubbulī. He was a government secretary and scholar, called Ibn Sa'id by Flügel. For al-Qutrubbul, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 133. 272
- Sa'd ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qummī. A Shī'ī jurist of secondary importance. 541
- Sa'd ibn Sa'id, Abū Sahl. He quoted Abū Muḥammad Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Ḥaḍramī, who died 820 and was very likely his pupil. 236
- Sa'd (Sa'id) ibn 'Ubayd ibn al-Nu'mān ibn Qays, Abū Zayd. He was one of the Prophet's helpers at al-Madinah. He collected passages of the Qur'ān and was one of the six persons who quoted Anas ibn Mālik, being called al-Qārī. He died 637. See Sa'd (Ibn), Part III, sect. 2, 30; Wāqidi (Jones), I, 159. 62
- Sa'd al-Qaṣīr. A scholar of genealogy and tribal traditions. He probably lived in the 8th century, though perhaps earlier. For Qaṣīr ibn Sa'd, perhaps his father, see Dīrāyid, *Geneal.*, p. 226, l. 10; Ziriklī, Part V, 43, bottom. 196
- Sa'dān (Ibn), Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Sa'dān al-Darīr. He lived at Baghdād from 778 to 846 and was a reader of the Qur'ān and student of language. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 12; Zubaydī, *Tabaqāt*, p. 153. 78-79, 154, 174
- Sa'dān (Ibn), Abū 'Uthmān Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'dān ibn Mubārak. A 9th century grammarian and transcriber. Compare Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 156. For his son who died 845/846, see Zubaydī, *Tabaqāt*, p. 153. 156, 174, 191, 204

Sa'dān ibn al-Mubārak, Abū 'Uthmān. A captive from Tukhārīstān, who became the protégé of the wife of an important provincial governor at the time of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809), and a linguistic scholar. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 254. 156
 Ṣadaqah (Abū). A member of the Banū Asad, who quoted their poetry, in the late 8th and early 9th century. Perhaps the same as the singer who follows. 155, 347

Ṣadaqah (Abū) Miskīn. He was a singer of al-Madīnah, who became popular at the court of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XXI, 154; Mas'ūdī, VI, 342-47. 155

Ṣadaqah ibn 'Addī ibn Mardānshāh. He was in charge of certain financial affairs for the Caliph al-Manṣūr (754-775). 507

Ṣadaqah ibn Yahyā. A reader of the Qur'ān, following the method of Yahyā ibn al-Ḥārith al-Dhamārī. 66

Ṣādiq (al-). See Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, the 6th Shī'ī Imān. 15

Ṣadūf. A girl singer and poetess. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 64, l. 27, 65, l. 5. 361

Sa'dūm ibn Khayrūn. A man of the Heracles Tribe, who unofficially served as head-man of the Ṣābiāns of Ḥarrān in the middle of the 10th century. 769

Sadūsī (al-) al-Ḥakam ibn Zuhayr. A man who passed on traditions about the Qur'ān. Compare Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 179, l. 11. 62

Saffāh (al-), Abū al-'Abbās. The founder of the 'Abbāsīd Dynasty, who was the caliph 750-754. 223, 330, 501, 543, 822

Ṣaffār (al-), Abū 'Alī Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad. He was an authority for the Ḥadīth, who died 952. See Khallikān, IV, 50, n. 24. xv, 125, 128

Ṣaffār (al-), Abū Ḥarh al-Baṣrī. He probably lived at al-Baṣrah during the late 8th or early 9th century. Al-Jāhiz wrote an epistle in honor of his death. See Pellat, *Le Milieu basrien*, p. 115, n. 9. 407

Ṣaffār (al-), Abū Muḥammad. A pupil attached to Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid, at Baghdād, during the first part of the 10th century. 167

Ṣafwah. An Arab girl loved by a poet, who was probably Iyās ibn al-Aratt. 720

Ṣafwān ibn Yahyā, Abū Muḥammad. A man of al-Kūfah, who was a Shī'ī jurist and author noted for his piety. See Tūsī, p. 171, sect. 364. 540

Ṣafwānī (al-). See Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh. 18

Ṣaghīr (al-), Ibrāhīm. A scribe, who wrote the Qur'ān in gold. 18

Ṣahānī. An Arab girl about whom poetry was written by 'Abqar. 720

Ṣahār-Bakht. See 'Isā ibn Ṣahār-Bakht.

Sahdā (Ibn) al-Karkhī. He was from the Karkh Quarter of Baghdād, and translated from Syriac into Arabic during the early 9th century. See Sarton, I, 547, 573. 588

Ṣāhib (al-), Abū al-Qāsim Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād. He was the vizier of both Mu'ayyad and Fakhr al-Dawlah. He wrote numerous books. He died before 1000. See Miskawayh, V (2), 181 (168); Shujā', VI (5), 2 (10), 96 (94), 173 (165), 277-78 (261-63); Khallikān, I, 212. For the Burwayid rulers at Iṣbahān, see Lane-Poole, p. 142. 297

Ṣāhib (Ibn), al-Waḍū', Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was a singer at al-Madīnah during the early period of Islām. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 19. 309

Ṣāhīr (al-). See Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥakam.

- Sahl (Abū). See *Nawbakhti* Family, and al-*Faḍl* ibn Abī Sahl.
- Sahl ibn Bishr, Abū 'Uthmān. A man of Jewish origin, who became an astrologer, the governor of Khurāsān, and then vizier, during the reign of al-*Ma'mūn* (813–833). See Qisṭī, p. 196; Sarton, I, 569; Suter, VI (1892), 28, 62. 651, 655
- Sahl ibn Ghālib al-Khazrajī. A poet of secondary importance. 361
- Sahl ibn Hārūn. He came from Dastūmīsān north of al-Baṣrah, and became director of the library attached to Bayt al-Ḥikmah at Baghdād. He died 859/860. See Khallikān, I, 511, n. 7. Compare Zirikī, Part III, 211. He was also called Ibn Rahyūn al-Kātib. 19, 262, 263–64, 274, 360, 367, 403, 715–17
- Sahl ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib. He was an Egyptian, who served as a secretary and wrote some poetry. 368
- Sahl ibn Ziyād, Abū Sa'īd al-Ādamī al-Rāzī. A Shī'ī jurist and associate of the 11th Shī'ī Imām, in the middle 9th century. After being expelled from Qumm for heresy, he lived at al-Rayy. See Ṭuṣī, p. 164, sect. 341; Shahrashūb, p. 50, sect. 374. 452
- Sahl al-Tustarī, Abū Muḥammad Sahl ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Yūnus. A Sūfī who used allegorical interpretations of the Qur'ān and was famous for his austerity and miracles. He died 896. See 'Aṭṭār, p. 176; 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān, XVII (1911), 139, 195; Khallikān, I, 590; Kalābādhī, pp. 11, 12. 461
- Sā'ib (Abū al-) 'Aṭā' ibn Fallān al-Makhzūmī. He was one of the early Muslims, who composed poetry and passed on traditions. Compare al-Sā'ib of the Makhzūm Tribe. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 1982, 2000; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 302, 659; Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 7, n. 5; Iṣḥāhānī, *Aghānī*, Tables alphabétiques, p. 366. 243, 558, 735
- Sa'īd, Abū. See Ibn *Bahriz*.
- Sa'īd (Abū), the shaykh. See Abū Sa'īd al-Sirāfī.
- Sa'īd (Abū). He was an uncle of a famous astronomer, Abū al-Wafā', and a mathematician. See Qisṭī, p. 408; Suter, X (1900), 224, sect. 167. 668
- Sa'īd (Abū) 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Iṣḥāhānī. A secretary, author, and poet of the 10th century. See Šābī, *Wuzurā'*, p. 297. For his employer, see Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī al-Baḡhl. 302
- Sa'īd, Abū 'Alī. Chief of the Manichaean schism, which followed the rule of Miqlāš in the first half of the 9th century. 794, 805
- Sa'īd (Abū) al-Kilābī. He was a grammarian and language scholar of secondary importance in the middle of the 9th century. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 363, l. 7; II, 801, l. 16. 82, 103
- Sa'īd (Abū) al-Miṣrī. An Egyptian alchemist of the late 8th or early 9th century, sometimes supposed to have written the book *al-Jārūf*, ascribed to *Jābir* ibn Ḥayyān. See Ruska, (10), p. 46. 862
- Sa'īd (Abū) Raḥā. The chief (imām) of the Manichaeans in the late 8th and early 9th century. 793
- Šā'id (Ibn). See *Yaḥyā* ibn Muḥammad ibn Šā'id.
- Sa'īd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. He was a reader of the Qur'ān and well known student of the Ḥadīth, who lived from 709 to 783. 65
- Sa'īd ibn 'Abd al-Malik. A man noted for his excellent literary style, probably belonging to the late 9th century. 276
- Sa'īd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. See Abū 'Uthmān al-Ḍarīf.
- Sa'īd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥassān ibn Thābit. A poet who was the son and

- grandson of more famous poets. He lived in the first half of the 8th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VII, 164; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 172, l. 4. 346
- Sa'īd ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥuṣayn ibn Qays. He was the secretary of the vizier Khālīd ibn Barīnak and other members of his family. He died about 800. See Khallikān, I, 597. 267
- Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ. The governor of al-Madīnah 649-651. He died at al-'Aqīq about 675, after helping to transcribe the canon of the Qur'ān. See Mas'ūdī, IV, 261-65, 296-97; V, 19; Sa'd, Ibn, Part V, 15. 48, 201
- Sa'īd ibn Aws al-Anṣārī. See Abū Zayd.
- Sa'īd ibn Bashīr al-Azdī. He came from Damascus but studied at al-Baṣrah and was an authority for the Ḥadīth. He lived from 717 to 784. See Ziriklī, Part III, 144. 75
- Sa'īd ibn Ẓarūqam. See Ibn Ẓarūqam al-Kilābī.
- Sa'īd ibn Dā'ūd. He wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān. The first name is garbled in the Beatty MS, and Flügel gives the name as Rashīd ibn Dād, evidently an error. 75
- Sa'īd ibn Dā'ūd ibn Abī Dhanbar. Like his father he was a Mālikī jurist. 495
- Sa'īd ibn Ḥammād ibn Sa'īd al-Aḥwāzī. He was the father of two distinguished jurists; al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (ibn Sa'īd). 539
- Sa'īd ibn Ḥāshim ibn Wa'lah, Abū 'Uthmān. He was one of the two brothers from al-Khālidiyah, who served as poets and librarians at the court of Sayf al-Dawlah (ruler at Aleppo, 944-967). See Ziriklī, Part III, 156. For his brother, see Muḥammad ibn Ḥāshim. 373-74
- Sa'īd ibn Ḥumayd, Abū 'Uthmān al-Kātib. A man of Persian origin, who lived at Baghdād and Sāmarrā. He was a secretary and poet, who died 864 and was accused of plagiarism. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVII, 2; Khallikān, II, 43, 44; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1473, 1514, 1645; Ziriklī, Part III, 146, calls him ibn Ḥamid. He may be the same as the secretary who follows. 270
- Sa'īd ibn Ḥumayd ibn al-Bakhtakān, Abū 'Uthmān. A secretary and theologian. For al-Bakhtakān, see Iṣṭawṣī, *Shahnama*, VII, 279. Compare with preceding scholar. 270, 367
- Sa'īd ibn Huraym al-Kātib. He was a secretary who became an associate of Sahl ibn Hārūn at the Bayt al-Ḥikmah at Baghdād. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 145, 304, 311, 676. 263, 274
- Sa'īd ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh, known as 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī. He went from Salamīyah to North Africa in 909 and established the Fātimid Dynasty. He died 934. See Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, II, 306; Khallikān, II, 77; Silvestre de Sacy, Part I, CCII. 464-67
- Sa'īd ibn Ibrāhīm al-Tustarī, Abū al-Ḥusayn. He was a secretary, referred to as of Christian origin, and a poet. He was associated with Ibn al-Furāt and al-Muqtadir (caliph 908-932). See Šābī, *Wuzurā'*, pp. 39, 60, 261 f.; Miskawayh, IV (1), 55 (52), 62 (58), 143 (128). 371
- Sa'īd ibn Jubayr. A great scholar of al-Kūfah, who was executed by al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf in 713. See Nawawī, p. 278. 76
- Sa'īd ibn Mihrān. See Ibn Abī 'Arūbah.
- Sa'īd ibn Misjah Abū 'Uthmān. He was a Negro of Makkah, who went to Asia Minor and Persia, bringing back music to Arabia. He died about 704. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 84; Ziriklī, Part III, 154. 309, 324

- Sa'īd ibn Sa'dūn al-'Aṭṭār. He wrote a book entitled "The Ancients." 377
- Sa'īd ibn Waḥīb, Abū 'Uthmān al-Kātib. A man of al-Baṣrah, who was a government secretary and poet and who worked for the *Barmak* Family. He died 824/825. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XXI, 104; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 188. 269, 357, 367
- Sā'il (al-) al-'Alawī. See 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, Abū Bakr.
- Sajāh. A soothsayer of the Banū Tamīm, married to the false prophet *Musaylimah*. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 141. 210
- Sājī (al-), Zakariyā' ibn Yahyā ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sājī, Abū Yahyā. He was a scholar of al-Baṣrah, a jurist who studied with the disciples of al-Shāfi'. He died 919/920. See Nawawī, pp. 66, 68; Shirāzi, Part I, 85; II, 13; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 90, 614. 523
- Sakadas of Argos. He won the flute playing at the Pythian Games, 590 B.C., and was also a poet and author. His name is wrongly written as Sā'āṭus in the Arabic texts. It can also be spelled Sacadas. See Farmer, *Organ of the Ancients*, p. 61; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 691, bottom. 643
- Sakan. She was a poetess and the mother of Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Warrāq, the poet who died 840. See Kaḥḥalah, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part II, 200. 362
- Sakhāwī (al-). An alchemist, probably of the 10th century. The name may come from Sakhā in Egypt. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 39, 51; Compare Uṣaybi'ah, Part II, 195, l. 29. Fück, *Ambix*, p. 92, suggests Sajjāda or Sahāwa. 850
- Sakhtawayh. A man at Naysābūr with whom a 9th century Shī'ī scholar named Dā'ūd ibn Abī Zayd lived. 488
- Salām (Sallām) al-Abrash. One of the translators of scientific books during the late 8th and early 9th century. See Qifṭī, p. 196; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 320. The name is garbled in MS 1934. 587
- Salām (Sallām) ibn Sulaymān. See Abū al-Mundhir.
- Salamah (Abū) al-Baṣrī. He was Ḥammad ibn Salamah, a jurist and mufti of al-Baṣrah, noted for his piety. He died 784/785. See Khallikān, I, 260, 261, n.4; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 56; Ziriklī, Part II, 302. 536
- Salamah ibn 'Abbād ibn Maṣṣūr. A poet and the judge of al-Baṣrah during the middle of the 8th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 96. 359
- Salamah ibn 'Āṣim, Abū Muḥammad. A grammarian of al-Kūfah, associated with al-Farrā' in the first part of the 9th century. See Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 150; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 260. For his well-known son, see al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salamah. 145, 147, 149, 165, 190-91
- Salamah ibn 'Ayyāsh. A poet of the middle 8th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XXI, 129-30. 356
- Salāmāh ibn Sulaymān al-Ikhmīmī. He practiced magic and alchemy, probably in the 10th century. For Ikhmīm in Egypt, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 165. 732
- Salamah (Umm) Hind. A daughter of Abū Umayyah, who was born in exile in Abyssinia and died at al-Madīnah, 678. She was also a wife of the Prophet. See Kaḥḥalah, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part V, 221; Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 229, 546, 589, 680. 68
- Salamah al-Waṣīf. An official of the early 9th century. See Khallikān, II, 414. 317
- Salāmī (al-). See Muḥammad al-Salāmī.
- Ṣalībā. A scholar, probably a Christian, who translated scientific books. 587

- Šālih. A dialectic metaphysician of the Khawārij. Compare Šālih ibn Musarrih. 453
- Šālih (Abū) 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yazdād. He was the son of a vizier and himself an officer at the court, as well as a man of letters. He died 874/875. See Taghri-Birdi, Part III, 35; Tabari, *Annales*, Part III, 1513, 1707, 1724, 1790-92, 1830. 271
- Šālih (Abū) Māhān al-Ḥanafī. An Arab genealogist of the generation following the Prophet. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 242. 205
- Šālih (Abū) al-Ṭā'ī. An unimportant tribal scholar of language. 104
- Šālih al-Ḥanafī. Compare with Abū Šālih Māhān al-Ḥanafī.
- Šālih ibn 'Abd al-Malik. See Abū al-Faḍl al-Tamīmī.
- Šālih ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs, Abū al-Faḍl. He was a man of al-Baṣrah, a poet executed by al-Mahdī for heresy, 777. See Khallikān, II, 465, 668; Jār Allāh, pp. 39, 40, 161; Mas'ūdī, VII, 392-93. 359, 387, 804
- Šālih ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Abū Šālih. The son of a prisoner from Sijistān, who during the first quarter of the 8th century was in the secretariat of al-Ḥajjāj, the governor of al-'Irāq, later taking charge of the tax bureau. See Balādhuri, *Origins*, p. 465; Khallikān, IV, 183, 185; Taghri-Birdi, Part I, 234. 581-83
- Šālih ibn Abī al-Aswad. A Shī'ī jurist and author. See Tūsī, p. 167, sect. 352. 536
- Šālih ibn Abī al-Najm. He lived at Baghdād, probably in the first part of the 9th century. For his brother, see Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Najm. 322, 360, 367
- Šālih ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. He was the son of the great jurist. He lived from 818 to 879 and was a judge at Iṣbahān. See Rajab, p. 164; Khallikān, I, 45; III, 41. 554
- Šālih ibn Ḥayy. He was an authority for the traditions of the Zaydiyyah, who probably died in the first half of the 8th century. For his sons, see Šālih, al-Ḥasan, and 'Alī (ibn Šālih ibn Ḥayy). 443
- Šālih ibn Janāh al-Lakhmī. A poet of Damascus, living during the last half of the 7th century. See Zirikli, Part III, 275. 356
- Šālih ibn al-Musarrih (Misrah or Mishrah). An ascetic theologian of the Khawārij, who rebelled near al-Mawṣil, 695 and was killed. See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 111, 112; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 209; Durayd, *Geneal*, p. 133, l. 9; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 448; Tabari, *Annales*, Part II, 880, 884 ff. 202
- Šālih ibn Šālih ibn al-Ḥayy. A theologian of the 8th century. 444
- Šālih al-Mudaybirī. He helped to develop a legitimate form of exorcism, probably in the late 9th or early 10th century. For the last name, compare Goeje, ZDMG, XX (1866), 487; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 450. 729
- Šālih al-Murri. An ascetic who died 788/789. See Sha'rānī, Part I, 60; 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān, XVII (1911), 396; 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Sarrāj, XXII (1914), 281, 322; Taghri-Birdi, Part II, 71. 456
- Šālih al-Nāji. He was a scholar and author of the Nājiyah Tribe and Khawārij sect. 453
- Šālihī (al-), Muḥammad ibn Muslim, Abū al-Ḥusayn. He was a scholar sympathizing with the Murji'ah but connected with the Mujaḥirah. See Murtaḍā, p. 72; Baghdādī (Halkin), pp. 8, 190. 451
- Salīl ibn Aḥmad, Abū Šālih. He was a member of the group in the middle 10th century, who made an abridgment of the history of al-Tabari. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 490. 565

- Sālim, Abū al-'Alā'. The secretary of *Hishām* (caliph 724-743). He translated a passage from *Aristotle* and helped to develop Arabic for government purposes. See *Khallikān*, II, 175. 257, 274-75
- Sālim ibn Farrūklī (Furūj). A man interested in alchemy, probably in the late 8th or early 9th century. 830
- Sālinu ibn Wābiṣāh. He was a Pre-Islāmic poet. See *Tammām* (Rückert), select. 239, 406, 418; 'Askarī, p. 357. 346
- Sallām ibn Sulaymān. See Abū al-Mundhir.
- Salm. A legendary hero who inherited a third of the world from his father *Peridūn*. See *Firdawsī*, *Shahnama*, I, 189. 23
- Salm. He served as director of the Bayt al-Ḥikmah at Baghdād and was a student of *Ptolemy's* works. He lived in the 9th century. See *Qifṭī*, p. 97, l. 22 and n. e, which suggests Salmān. 263, 639, 717
- Salm (Ibn). A 9th century maker of astrolabes. *Suter*, VI (1892), 41, calls him Ibn Salām. 671
- Salm ibn 'Amr, Abū 'Amr. A profligate poet called al-Khāsir, who lived during the last quarter of the 8th and first part of the 9th century. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part XXI, 110; *Khallikān*, I, 22, n. 2; Baghdadi (Halkin), p. 139, n. 6. 356, 804
- Salm ibn Qutaybah ibn Muslim al-Bāhilī. He was the governor of al-Baṣrah and later of al-Rayy during the reign of al-Manṣūr. He died 766. See *Ṭabarī*, *Annales*, Part II, 1659; III, 326, 327; *Ziriklī*, Part III, 168. 117, 119, 224
- Salmā hint Sa'īd. A favorite of al-Walīd (caliph 743-744) and the subject of numerous poems. See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part VI, 113-16; *Kaḥlālāh*, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part II, 243. 721
- Salmān, written Salmā(n) in MS 1934. He was the director of the Bayt al-Ḥikmah at Baghdād during the reign of al-Ma'nūn (813-833). See *Qifṭī*, p. 97, bottom, and n. e. Compare Salm. 584
- Salmurwayh. (1) A scholar who quoted historical traditions and genealogies, writing also about the government. See *Yāqūt*, *Geog.*, IV, 170. (2) One of the scribes of al-Kindī. See *Qifṭī*, p. 376. 237, 626
- Salmuwayh ibn Bunān. A Nestorian physician at the courts of al-Ma'nūn and al-Mu'taṣim, who died 839/840. See *Qifṭī*, p. 207; *Uṣaybi'ah*, Part I, 164; *Sarton*, I, 573; *Leclerc*, I, 118. 697
- Ṣalt (Ibn al-). See *Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ṣalt*.
- Sāmāh ibn Luwa'ī ibn Ghālib, Abū Yaḥyā. An ancient tribal hero surnamed Abū Yaḥyā. See *Durayd*, *Geneal.*, p. 68. 11
- Samakah, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Sa'īd. He was a secretary and the teacher of Ibn al-'Amīd, who was the vizier of Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah, in the 10th century. 305
- Sam'ān. A scholar who translated the astronomical tables of *Ptolemy* and other works for Khālīd ibn Yaḥyā ibn Barmak in the late 8th and early 9th century. 587
- Sam'ān (Ibn), Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was the apprentice of the great astronomer Abū Ma'shar. He himself became an astronomer during the 9th century and was perhaps the son of the preceding scholar. See *Qifṭī*, p. 286; *Suter*, X (1900), 31. 660
- Samarī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan. A theologian connected with the Mujbirah. He may have come from Samar or Simmar, for which place see *Yāqūt*, *Geog.*, III, 132,

- or he may have been the same as a theologian from Sāmarrā. See Abū al-Ḥasan al-Miṣrī. 448, 479
- Samḥ (Abū al-) al-Ṭāʾī. A tribal scholar brought to al-ʿIrāq by al-Muʿtazz (caliph 866-869). 104
- Samḥāk (Ibn al-), Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad ibn Ṣabīḥ. A man of al-Kūfah, who was a preacher and ascetic at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He died 799/800. See Khallikān, III, 18; ʿAṭṭār, p. 167. 456
- Šamūʿī (al-). A tribal scholar of language, quoted by Ibn al-ʿArabī. 153
- Sanad ibn ʿAlī, Abū al-Ṭayyib. A Jewish mathematician, who became a Muslim and was placed in charge of astronomical research by al-Maʾmūn. He lived until the last half of the 9th century. See Qifī, p. 206; Sarton, I, 566; Ṭūqān, pp. 208, 120, 169; Suter, VI (1892), 29, 63; X (1900), 13. 635, 646, 652, 654
- Šanawbarī (al-). See Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan. 356
- Sandī ibn ʿAlī. A 9th century scribe employed by Iṣḥāq al-Mawṣilī. He was responsible for compiling the book, *Kitāb Akhbār al-Aghānī al-Kabīr*. His shop was by the Dung Arch at Baghdād. In one place Flügel calls him al-Tustarī, perhaps an error. 236, 310
- Sandī (al-) ibn Shāhik. He was also called al-Sindī and was a protégé of al-Mawṣilī (caliph 754-775) and an officer during the following reigns. See Masʿūdī, VI, 394, 474, 476; Tabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 145, 580, 680. 372
- Sandī ibn Šadaqah. A secretary who wrote some poetry. 367
- Sandūk ibn Ḥubaybah, Abū Ṭāhir. A 10th century poet of Wāsiṭ. The name is omitted by the Beatty MS and may not be properly spelled. 373
- Šanjāhil. A scholar of Indian mathematics and medicine. See Uṣaybiʿah, Part II, 32; Leclerc, I, 287; Cureton, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, VI (1841), 107. 645
- Šaqīl (al-), Abū al-Kumayt al-ʿUqayfī. A language scholar of tribal origin and minor importance. 103
- Šaqīlī ibn al-Muntahī. An unimportant poet. 359
- Saqr (Abū al-). See ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿUthmān.
- Saqr (Abū al-) al-ʿAdawī. A tribal scholar of language of secondary importance. 103
- Saqr (Abū al-) al-Kilābī. A man of nomadic origin, who studied tribal dialects. 103
- Saqī (Ibn al-). A scribe who wrote in gold. 18
- Sarakhsī (al-). See Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib.
- Sarī (al-) Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mughallis (Mughallas) al-Saqī. A man of Baghdād, who was a leading ascetic and Šūfī theologian. He died about 868. See ʿAṭṭār, pp. 180, 200; Dermenghem, p. 157; Khallikān, I, 555. 80, 455
- Sarī (al-) ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUṭbah. He was a grandson of one of the Companions of the Prophet and a poet of al-Madīnah in the 7th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 65; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 437, l. 4; 580, l. 12; IV, 24, l. 13. 356
- Sarī (al-) ibn Aḥmad, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kindī. He was called al-Raffāʾ, also al-Kātib, and was an artisan from the region of al-Mawṣil. He became a poet attached to Sayf al-Dawlah. Later he went to Baghdād, where he died soon after 970. See Khallikān, I, 288, 557; ʿAskarī, p. 72; Taghrī-Birdī, Part IV, 67. See also Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 757; II, 147, 673; IV, 684. 20, 372, 374

- Sāriyah ibn Zunayn ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was a Companion of the Prophet, who served as a general during the invasion of Persia. He died 650. See Ziriklī, Part III, 112. 225
- Sarj (Ibn Abī) Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad. A secretary who probably lived in the 10th century. Flügel gives Ibn Abī Sarj. 279
- Sarjūn (Sergius) ibn Manṣūr al-Rūmī. He was a secretary who kept the government records in Greek during the reign of Mu'āwiyah (caliph 661-680). See Balādihurī, *Origins*, p. 301; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 205, 228, 239, 837; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 195, n. 4. 583
- Sarkhasī (al-) Abū Ṭalib 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad. A man from Sarkhas in Khurāsān, who had connections with al-Kūfah but taught in the mosque of the Tarjumānīyah, probably a quarter of West Baghdād, in the late 8th or early 9th century. For the locality, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 836. 154, 626-68
- Sarrāj (Ibn al-), Muḥammad al-Sarī, Abū Bakr. A scholar of language, grammar, and poetry at Baghdād, who died 929. See Zuhaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 122; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 44; Khallikān, III, 52. 109, 128, 135, 136, 139
- Ṣa'ṣa'ah (Abū). (1) Al-'Āmirī; the composer of a popular poem. (2) Al-Ḍarīr al-Kūfī, a poet of secondary importance, perhaps the same as (1). 363, 376
- Ṣa'ṣa'ah ibn Ṣūhān. An orator and leader, who was attached to the Caliph 'Alī. See Mas'ūdī, V, 92-115. 273
- Sa'ūdā', Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad ibn Hubayrah al-Asadī. A man of al-Kūfah, who was a grammarian and philologist. He lived in the late 9th century and was attached to a son of the Caliph al-Mu'tazz at Baghdād. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 110; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 133, where he is called Sa'ūrā'. 162
- Sāwārī (Shāwārī). He was the teacher of Yaḥyā al-Nahwī in Egypt in the early 7th century. Compare Qifṭī, p. 354. 612
- Sawrah al-A'rābī. He was a foolish tribesman about whom anecdotes were told. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 10. 735
- Sawrah ibn al-Mubārak. He wrote a book about the system of al-Kisā'ī for reading the Qur'ān. Flügel calls him al-Mubarrad. 67
- Sawwār ibn Abī Sharā'ah. He was called Abū Sharā'ah al-Qaysī and named Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. He was a poet and teller of anecdotes in the late 8th and 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XX, 35; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 183, l. 22. 244, 331
- Sawwār (Ibn) Abū 'Alī al-Kātib. A personal friend of the author of *Al-Fihrist*, who endowed a library at al-Baṣrah during the 10th century. See Pellat, *Le Milieu basrien*, p. 66. The Beatty MS gives Ibn Suwār. 304-305, 340
- Saydanānī (al-). A man interested in alchemy called Abū Mikhā'il. Compare with the name which follows.
- Saydanānī (al-), 'Abd Allāh. An astrologer of secondary importance. See Suter, X (1900), 67; MS 1934 calls him ibn al-Ḥusayn, whereas MS 1135 and Qifṭī, p. 221, have ibn al-Ḥasan. 662
- Sayf al-Dawlah. He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī of the Hamdān family. He lived from about 916 to 967. He conquered North Syria and ruled over a brilliant court at Aleppo (946-967). See Khallikān, II, 334. xvii, 288, 373, 491, 585-86, 671
- Sayf (Ibn Abī). Compare Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sayf.
- Sayf (Ibn) Aḥmad. See Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh.

- Sayf ibn 'Amrah al-Nakha'i. A Shū'ī jurist and author of al-Kūfah. See Tūsī, p. 165, sect. 346, where the name is 'Amīrah. 536
- Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan. He was the hero who freed al-Yaman from Abyssinia, A.D. 575. See "Saif B. Dhī Yazan," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 71. 208
- Sayf (Ibn) al-Fāriḍ. A Shāfi'ī jurist. In the Tonk MS two extra names are inserted, but not in a legible way. 525
- Sayf ibn 'Umar al-Asadī al-Tamīnī. A scholar of al-Kūfah often quoted for his knowledge of historical traditions. He died 815. See Hājī Khalīfah, IV, 386; Ziriklī, Part III, 220; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Indices, 262, where the name is spelled Usayyidi. 203
- Ṣaymarī (al-). See Abū al-'Anbas.
- Ṣaymarī (al-), Abū Ja'far al-'Abbādānī. A teacher of al-Baṣrah and a scholar of the middle 10th century, called *Sahak Lām* (Strong Smell) because of the public latrine by his residence. See Khallikān, III, 629. 435
- Ṣaymarī (al-), Muḥammad ibn 'Umar, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was a Mu'tazilī theologian, who lived at al-Baṣrah and Baghdād. He died 927/928. See Murtaḍā, p. 96. 136, 427, 429, 433-35
- Sayr (Ibn). A transcriber of the Qur'ān. The name may be Sic. See Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, II, 1717. 12
- Ṣayrafi (al-), Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Ḥarḥ. A theologian of the Khawārij. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 155, for Muḥammad ibn Ḥarḥ. 453
- Ṣayrafi (Ibn al-), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was a Shāfi'ī jurist attached to the vizier 'Alī ibn 'Isā. He died 941/942. See Nawawī, p. 672; Khallikān, II, 604; Shīrāzī, p. 91. 370, 524
- Sayyār al-Minqarī. He was the grandfather of the historian Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim. 202
- Sayyid ibn Muḥammad. See al-Himyarī.
- Seneca, L. Annaeus. The great Roman philosopher and tutor of Nero. He died A.D. 65. See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 778-83. 852
- Sergius of Ra's al-'Ayn. He studied at Alexandria, became a distinguished physician and died at Constantinople A.D. 536. See Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 204; Sarton, I, 423; Fück, *Ambix*, p. 123 (19); Ortiz, p. 101; Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 196; II, 26, 399; III, 27. 852-53
- Seth. See Shīth.
- Severus. (1) A physician of the late 1st century. See Sarton, I, 307; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 802. (2) A man interested in alchemy. 678, 853
- Shabābah (Ibn). A poet influenced by the Manichaeans. He lived in the 8th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 517, l. 17. 804
- Shabbah ibn 'Iqāl al-Tamīnī. A man known for his oratory, who was attached to the court of al-Manṣūr (caliph 754-775). See Khallikān, I, 522. Although spelled 'Iqāl by Khallikān, the name may be 'Uqqāl. 274
- Sha'bi (al-) Abū 'Amr 'Āmir ibn Sharāḥil. A man of al-Kūfah, who was the leading scholar of his time, especially for the Ḥadīth. He died about 722. See Sha'rānī, Part I, 37; Khallikān, II, 4. 52, 456
- Shabīb (Ibn). A scholar who wrote about spelling in the Qur'ān. Compare Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 405, l. 9; III, 651, l. 20. 80
- Shabīb (Ibn), Abū Sa'īd 'Abd Allāh. A man of the Rabī'ah Tribe, who was an unimportant historian at al-Baṣrah. 238

- Shabīb ibn al-Barṣā'. A poet whose mother, al-Barṣā', was contemporary with the Prophet, while he himself was active at the time of 'Abd al-Malik (caliph 685-705). See 'Askari, Part II, 196; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XI, 93; Tammām (Rückert), select. 395, 396, 397, 405. 346
- Shabīb (Ibn) Muḥammad al-Baṣrī. He was a disciple of the Mu'tazilī theologian al-Nazzām. He was also called Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Shabīb and lived in the first part of the 9th century. See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 37, 119; Murtaḍā, p. 71; Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), pp. 127, l. 1; 211, l. 16. 413
- Shabīb ibn Rawāḥ. An officer who killed Abū Muslim during the reign of al-Manṣūr (754-775). A square was named for him at Baghdād. The father's name is taken from Mas'ūdī, VI, 181-83, but it is given differently by other authorities. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1960; III, 110-15; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 489, l. 5; Le Strange, *Baghdād*, p. 126. 822
- Shabīb ibn Shaybah, Abū Ma'mar. He was a scholar famous for oratory during the early 'Abbāsid period. He died 780/781. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 206; Khallikān, II, 4, n. 8; IV, 69. 273
- Shabīb ibn Yazīd. He was called Abū Ḍahḥāk al-Ḥarūrī and was a Kharijī rebel leader during the governorship of al-Ḥajjāj in al-'Irāq. He lived from 647 to 697. See Khallikān, I, 616; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 209; "Shabīb," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 243. For the name al-Ḥarūrī, given in the Beatty MS, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 246. 202, 397
- Shabīb (Shabāb) al-'Uṣfurī. See *Khalīfah* ibn Khayyāt.
- Shāhūr. See *Sābūr* and *Shāpūr*.
- Shad'īd (Abū al-), al-Fazārī. A poet of secondary importance who lived during the early years of the 'Abbāsid rule. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XV, 34, 35; XVIII, 95. Flügel spells his name incorrectly. 358
- Shādhān (Ibn), Abū Muḥammad al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān ibn al-Khalīl. A man of Naysābūr who was a theologian and jurist. He died 874. See Ziriklī, Part V, 355; Tūsi, p. 254, sect. 559. 53, 57-58, 78, 178, 557
- Shāfi'ī (al-). He was the Imām Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Idris. He was born in Palestine 767, served at al-Madīnah and in al-Yaman, became the great legal authority at Baghdād, and died at Cairo about 820. He was also the founder of the Shāfi'ī school of law. See Khallikān, II, 569. 82, 326, 440, 489, 497, 507, 515-27, 531, 564, 570
- Shāfi' ibn al-Sā'ib ibn 'Ubayd. A descendant of Hāshim ibn al-Muṭṭalib and ancestor of the jurist mentioned in the preceding passage. 515
- Shāh (Ibn al-), Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Shāh al-Tāhīrī. He was a court intimate and author. Flügel and the Tonk MS call him al-Zāhīrī, but the Beatty MS names him for Tāhīr, the patron of his ancestor. 335
- Shāh (al-) ibn Mikāl, 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Mikāl. He was a client of Tāhīr, who became governor of al-Ahwāz under al-Muqtaḍir (caliph 908-932). See Khallikān, III, 38, 42, n. 1; Mas'ūdī, VIII, 305; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1532, 1562, 1574, 1610; Šāhī, *Wuzurā*, p. 49. 335
- Shahhām (al-), Abū Ya'qūb. An early scholar of the Mu'tazilah and teacher of the famous al-Jubbā'ī, who was born about 849. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 183; Jār Allāh, p. 58. 395, 429
- Shahīb ibn al-Barṣā'. See *Shabīb* ibn al-Barṣā'.

- Shahīd al-Balkhī. He was probably the same as the scholar who follows. MS 1934 gives Shahīd, whereas the other versions have Suhayl.
- Shahīd ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū al-Ḥasan. A philosopher with whom al-Rāzī had disputes. See Uṣaybī'ah, Part I, 311, l. 9. 702
- Shāhīn (Ibn), Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd. He was a grammarian of secondary importance. In the Flügel text and Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 209, his name is confused with that of another grammarian. 176
- Shāhīn (Ibn), Abū Iḥafṣ 'Umar ibn Aḥmad. A preacher, traditionalist, and historian of Baghdād, who died when 87 years old, 995/996. See Khallikān, I, 324, n. 2; Ziriklī, Part V, 196. 230
- Shahrām (Ibn), Abū Ishāq. He was sent by 'Aḥud al-Dawlah to the court of Basil II, emperor at Constantinople some time between 976 and 983. See Shuja', VI (3), 23 (28, 29), 117 (113). *Al-Fihrist* states he was also sent as an envoy by Sayf al-Dawlah between 944 and 967. 585
- Shahrbarāz. A Persian general who fought in the war with the Emperor *Heraclius* and usurped the throne 629. See Firdawṣī, *Shahnama*, VIII, 194-96; Sykes, I, 525-30. Some editions call him Shahr-Bazār by mistake. 716
- Shākīr (Abū) al-Dayṣānī. A theologian with dualistic beliefs. See Jār Allāh, p. 37, n. 4; Khayyāf, *Intiṣār*, (Nādir), pp. 37, l. 7, 103, end; Khayyāf, *Intiṣār*, (Nyberg), pp. 41, 142, bottom. 804
- Shākīr (Ibn Akhī Abī). A dualist and nephew of the preceding theologian. 804
- Shalaghlagh (Abū al-). The name is sometimes spelled Shala'la', and he is called both Aḥmad and Muḥammad. *Al-Fihrist* calls him a great-grandson of Maymūn al-Qaddāh, whereas he was more likely a great-grandson of Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il al-Maktūm. See notes accompanying passage in the translation about the Ismā'īlyah. 464-66
- Shalmaghānī (al-), Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī. He was called Ibn Abī al-'Azāqir and was a Shī'ī fanatic, teaching transmigration and divine presence within himself. After hiding at al-Mawṣil he appeared at Baghdād, where he was burned 934. See Khallikān, I, 436; Mas'ūdī, III, 267; Massignon, *Hallaq*, I, 373, note; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 296. 323, 440, 850, 867
- Shamaqmaq (Abū al-), Abū Muḥammad Marwān ibn Muḥammad. A poet of the late 8th and early 9th century and a companion of the great poets at Baghdād. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 39, 47, 71, 128, 169; Qutaybah, 'Uyūn, IV, 36; IX, 247, n. 2; Khallikān, IV, 226. 361
- Shāmī (al-), Abū Muslim. He was the secretary of a high official during the end of the Umayyad period and probably himself an official under the early 'Abbāsīd caliphs. 274-75
- Shamkh (Abū al-). A tribesman of al-Ḥīrah, who wrote about camels. Flügel calls him Abū al-Shamah. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 47. 99
- Shamkhshah. He was probably a Persian, who was attached to the jurist Abū 'Alī al-Karābīst and lived during the 9th century. 450
- Shamī. He was a scholar who translated from Greek into Arabic and lived probably in the late 9th or early 10th century. See Qifī, pp. 42, l. 5, 131, l. 6; Leclerc, I, 178; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 407. 587, 606, 684
- Shammākī (al-), Ma'qil ibn Dhirār (Shammākī ibn Dhirār). He was a poet who lived until the Prophet's time. See Tammām (Rückert), select. 377, 773; Khallikān, II, 453, n. 9; Mas'ūdī, V, 347. 163, 346

- Shamūlī (al-). A reader of the Qur'ān, probably belonging to the 10th century. 73
- Sham'un. (1) See *Simeon*. (2) A disciple of the chief of the Mughtasilah of the marsh-lands of Southern 'Irāq. 811
- Shanabūdh (Ibn) Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. A scholar of Baghdād who was flogged seven times for introducing erroneous readings of the Qur'ān. He recanted, but probably died in prison 939. See Khallikān, III, 16. 70-72, 85, 166
- Shānāq al-Hindī. An Indian who wrote about both warfare and ethics. 738, 741
- Shāpūr (Sābūr) I, King of Persia, 241-272. 575, 775-76
- Shāpūr II, King of Persia, 309-397. Called Dhū al-Aktāf. See Sykes, I, 444; "Shāpūr," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 314. 579-80, 711
- Shaqrā' (Ibn) al-Khaffāf. A Shī'ī jurist at Makkah. Compare Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 640, I, 8. 526
- Sharā'ah (Abū). See *Sawwār* ibn Abī Sharā'ah.
- Sharā'ah ibn al-Zand Būdh. He was a poet and singer of al-Kūfah during the 8th century. See Quṭaybāli, 'Uyūn, IV, 99; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 125; XII, 96. The name is also spelled Shurā'ah. 357
- Shā'rānī (al-). A skilled calligrapher, who probably lived in the late 8th or early 9th century. 12
- Shā'rānī (al-), Abū Sa'id 'Alī. He was sent to Persia to promote the Ismā'īlī propaganda in the early 10th century and was said to have been executed soon after 932. See Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 113 and n. 2; Blochet, p. 67. 467
- Sharāshūr the Egyptian. A transcriber of the Qur'ān. The name is not clear in the Beatty MS and may not be correct. 12
- Sharīk ibn 'Abd Allāh, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was born at Bukhārā 713/714 and became a judge at both al-Kūfah and al-Aḥwāz. He was famous for remembering the Ḥadīth and reading the Qur'ān and died at al-Kūfah 794. See Khallikān, I, 622; Ziriklī, Part III, 239. 69
- Sharqī (al-) Ibn al-Qaṣīmī, Abū al-Muthannā. He was named al-Walīd ibn al-Ḥuṣayn and was a scholar for genealogy and traditions, who died during the early years of Islām. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 268; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 636, I, 20. 195, 375
- Sharshūr (Ibn). A jurist refuted by Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd. He was probably a son of the 8th century Ḥanafī jurist Abū Sa'id al-Rānī, nicknamed Sharshūr, for which name see Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2510, 2511. 532
- Shāshī (al-), Abū Far'un. He was a poet of secondary importance. For al-Shāshī, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 233. 362
- Shāshī (al-), Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad. A man who probably served al-Mubarrad as a copyist in the 9th century. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 233. 129
- Shaṭawī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn 'Alī. He was a Mu'tazilī scholar of Baghdād, hanged by his children because of the harsh treatment of his daughter, 909/910. See Murtaḍā, p. 93; Fück, *ZDMG*, N.T. XV, No. 2 (1936), 303, notes. 424, 429
- Shaybah ibn Nidāh ibn Surjus ibn Ya'qūb. He was a protégé of the Prophet's wife, Hind Umm Salamah. He had his own system for reading the Qur'ān. 68
- Shaybah ibn 'Uthmān ibn Abī Ṭalḥah al-'Abdarī. He was the doorkeeper of the Ka'bah at Makkah, who died 678/679. See Taghri-Birdī, Part I, 118, 153.

- Shaybān (Ibn Umm). A transcriber of the Qur'ān, who wrote with the Kūfic script. 12
- Shaybān al-Rā'ī. He was a jurist and ascetic, who lived at Damascus but became a recluse on Mt. Lebanon. He died 774/775. See Taghri-Birdī, Part II, 32, middle. 456
- Shaybānī (al-), Abū 'Amr Ishāq ibn Mirār. He classified the poems and anecdotes of over 80 tribes. He died when very old, between the years 821 and 828. See Khallikān, I, 182. 90, 104, 150, 156, 191, 344-48
- Shaybānī (al-), Ibn al-Aswad. A poet of secondary importance. Flügel gives Abū al-Aswad. 360
- Shaykh (Ibn Abī) Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān. A poet and scholar of Wāsiṭ, who lived in the 8th and probably the early 9th century. See Mas'ūdī, V, 328; Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, XIV, 11; XVII, 124; XX, 34; Ṭabari, *Annales*, Part III, 301-303. 250, 325, 500
- Shaylamah, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl, Abū al-Ḥasan. He was connected with the Zanj rebellion but later became an official at Baghdād. He finally joined some Khawārij rebels and was killed by al-Mu'tadid (caliph 892-902). See Tanūkhī, pp. 73, 74; Ṭabari, *Annales*, Part III, 2135, 2136. 279
- Shayrmaḍī al-Daylamī. A man of the late 10th century, exiled from Baghdād, perhaps because of connections with the Ismā'īliyah. 473
- Shayṭān al-Ṭāq, Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān, Abū Ja'far al-Aḥwal. He was called by the Shī'ah Mu'min al-Ṭāq and was an 8th century Shī'ī theologian. See Tūsi, p. 323, sect. 698; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 36, 71, 72; Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 19. 438, 723
- Shayzāmī (al-). A prolific poet, who became attached to Sayf al-Dawlah (ruler at Aleppo 944-967). See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 378. 373
- Shibl ibn Munaqqā al-Azdī. He was a leading man of the Sarāw region of Ādhar-bayjān who employed *Bābak* to care for his animals in the early 9th century. See Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 325. 819
- Shihāb (Abū) al-Khayyāṭ. A poet of secondary importance, perhaps the Abū Shihāb of the time of al-Wāthiq (caliph 842-847). See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VI, 197, bottom, 198. 360
- Shihāb (Ibn), Abū al-Ṭayyib Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad. He was a Mu'tazilī scholar, who died in old age after 962. Compare Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Shihāb, who may have been his father. See Murtaḍā, p. 110. 433
- Shiklah. She was a Negress who when her father, Shāh Afrand of Ṭabaristān, was killed, was trained at al-Ṭā'if by al-Manṣūr and then taken by al-Mahdī (caliph 775-785) becoming the mother of his famous Negro son, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 48, 49. 253
- Shilī. One of the Mughtasilah or Ṣābiāns of the marshlands of Southern 'Irāq, who formed a sect of his own, deriving ideas from the Jews. For the locality and river Shilā, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 358. 812
- Shimr (Abū) al-Murji'ī. He was also called Abū Shamir and was a pupil of Mu'tazilī scholars. He became a leader of the Murji'ah in the late 8th century. See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 37, 165, n. 1; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 160. 220, 357, 388
- Shimshātī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-'Adawī. He was the tutor of

- the sons of *Nāṣir al-Dawlah* at *al-Mawṣil* in the last half of the 10th century. See *Yāqūt, Geog.*, III, 320, l. 10. 339, 565
- Shīrāzī* (al-) *Ibn Bakr*. A poet and the secretary of *al-Muṣṣī* (caliph 946-974). 337
- Shirzād* (Ibn), *Muḥammad ibn Yabyā*, *Abū Ja'far*. He served *Tūzūn* and *Mu'izz al-Dawlah* as an officer and secretary and became the governor of *Baghdād*, 944. He also acted as the vizier of *al-Muṣṣī*, but was later scourged and disgraced. See *Miskawayh*, V (2), 50 (45), 88 (85), 91 (87), 114 (111). Bowen, pp. 385-95; *Taghrī-Birdī*, Part III, 280-85. 287
- Shīṣ* (Abū al-), *Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Razīn*. He was surnamed *Abū Ja'far* and was a poet attached to the local ruler of *Raqqah*. He died 811. See *Qutaybah, Shi'r*, p. 535; *Iṣbahānī, Aghānī*, Part XV, 108; *Khallikān*, I, 510; IV, 359. 322, 354
- Shūth*. A name for the Biblical *Seth* and probably also for the Manichaean *Shātil*. See *Yāqūt, Geog.*, III, 566, which says the community of *Shūth* is that of the *Sābians*. 42, 786
- Shīrānījī* (al-), *Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz*. He was brought up with the children of *al-Mahdī*, became a poet and chess player, and lived until the reign of *al-Rashīd* (786-809). See *Iṣbahānī, Aghānī*, Part XIX, 69; *Qutaybah, 'Uyūn*, Index, p. 211. 363, 377
- Shu'ayb*. The Arabian prophet. See *Qur'ān*, 7:85, 11:84, 29:36. 7
- Shu'ayb* (Abū) *al-Ṣayrafī*. He was a *Mu'tazilī* scholar of secondary importance. See *Fück, ZDMG*, N.F. XV, No. 2 (1936), 307, n. 17. 429
- Shu'ayb ibn Ibrāhīm*. An often-quoted traditionalist. See *Ṭabarī, Annales*, Indices, p. 271. 6, 203
- Shu'bah ibn al-Ḥajjāj ibn al-Ward*, *Abū Bisṭām*. He was famous for his knowledge of poetry and the *Ḥadīth*, as well as for piety. He died when 75 in 776/777. See *Khallikān*, I, 493, n. 8, 571. 295
- Shubayl* (Abū). A scholar of secondary importance, who wrote about the virtues of the *Qur'ān*. 81
- Shubayl ibn 'Azrah al-Dubā'i*. He was a poet and scholar of genealogies, traditions, and folklore, who at one time joined the *Khawārij*. He died 757. See *Zirikli*, Part III, 230; *Zubaydī, Tabaqāt*, p. 49; *Iṣbahānī, Aghānī*, III, 48, 49. 99, 138, 375
- Shujā'*. An astrolabe maker, attached to *Sayf al-Dawlah* (ruler at Aleppo, 944-967). 671
- Shujā' ibn Aslam ibn Muḥammad ibn Shujā' al-Iṣāsib*, *Abū Kāmil*. He was an Egyptian mathematician and teacher, who died 951. See *Qifī*, p. 211; *Sarton*, I, 630; *Suter*, VI (1892), 69; X (1900), 43. 664, 666-67, 674
- Shūnīzī* (Ibn al-). A man about whom amusing anecdotes were told. See *Rosenthal, Humor*, p. 9. 735
- Shuqayr* (Abū) *Aḥmad ibn al-Iḥāsān*. He was also called *Abū Bakr ibn Shuqayr* and was a grammarian of *Baghdād* who died 929. See *Ḥājī Khalīfah*, V, 149; VII, 944, n. 451. 83
- Shuqayr*, the Servant. He was a slave of *Ibn Qayyūmā*, who was the tutor of *al-Qāsim*, son of *al-Manṣūr* (caliph 754-775). He was also a skilled calligrapher. 12
- Shuqayr* (Ibn), *Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad*. A grammarian of secondary importance, influenced by the schools of both *al-Baṣrah* and *al-Kūfah*. 181
- Shurā'ah*. See *Sharā'ah*.

Sibawayh, Abū Bishr 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān. He was a Persian who went first to al-Baṣrah, then to Baghdād, and finally back to Persia, where he died between 793 and 796. He was the author of the famous book of grammar called *Al-Kitāb*. See Khallikān, II, 396.

90, 111, 112-14, 118, 123, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137-39, 187

Sijistānī (al-). See (1) 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān, Abū Bakr. (2) *Sulaymān ibn al-Ash'ath*. (3) Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq ibn Aḥmad.

Sijistānī (al-), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Azīz. He was an authority for the Qur'ān who died 941. See Ziriklī, Part VII, 149. 77-78

Sijistānī (al-), Abū Ḥātim Sahl ibn Muḥammad. The great scholar of al-Baṣrah during the middle of the 9th century. He died about 863. See Khallikān, I, 603.

126, 134

Sijistānī (al-), Ibn al-'Alā'. He was one of the scholars who helped to compile *Kitāb al-Ayn*, probably during the late 8th century. 79, 95

Sikāl (Al-) (Sakāl or Shikāl), Muḥammad ibn al-Khalīl, Abū Ja'far. He was a scholar and author of the Imāmī school of thought, who lived in the late 8th and early 9th century. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 219; Tūsi, p. 292, sect. 634.

439

Sikkah (Abū). A man of early Islām connected with amusing anecdotes. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 8. 735

Sikkīt (al-). He was a pupil of al-Farrā' from Dawraq near al-Ahwāz. He became a scholar of literature and was the father of the scholar who follows. 159

Sikkīt (Ibn al-), Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq. He was tutor to the son of al-Mutawakkil and a great authority on grammar, killed between 857 and 861. See Yāqūt, *Iṣṣād*, VI (7), 300; Khallikān, IV, 293.

122-23, 126, 156, 158, 159, 172, 191, 345-48

Sihuf (al-) ibn 'Abuqar. The author of an ancient inscription in the Ka'bah at Makkah.

9

Simawayh (Ibn). A Jewish astrologer, who probably lived in the 9th century. See Suter, VI (1892), 66; X (1900), 38. MS 1135 has Shūmawayh. 659

Simeon (Sham'un). A disciple of Mānī, who accompanied him to his audience with Shāpūr in the year 242/243. See Puech, *Manichéisme*, p. 46; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 381. 775

Šimmah (al-) ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qushayrī. He was a poet who joined Islām. He died during the invasion of Ṭabaristān, in the middle of the 7th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 131; Tammām (Rückert), select. 448. 350, 719

Simon Hippatricus. An Athenian who was an authority on horses and wrote a book, *De Arte Veterinaria*. He lived in the 5th century B.C. See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 829. 738

Simonides. The name is given by Flügel as Simunides, but he is almost certainly the lyric poet of Veos, who was supposed to have invented long vowels and double letters. See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 835. 28

Simplicius. He taught at Athens until A.D. 531 and was one of the seven scholars who found asylum in Persia. He was called al-Rūmī. See Qifī, p. 206; Sarton, I, 422; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 837; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, I (1896), 338.

598, 605, 614, 640, 678-79

Sinān ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān. He was a grammarian and commentator on the Qur'ān. Flügel gives Sayyār, but the Beatty MS has Sinān. 75

- Sinān ibn Farḥ.** A mathematician from Harrān interested in Indian numbers, probably living in the 9th century. See Qifṭī, p. 190; Tūqān, p. 178; Suter, VI (1892), 70; X (1900), 66. 665
- Sinān ibn Jābir al-Ḥarrānī.** He was an astrolabe maker, probably of the late 9th or early 10th century. For his father, see *Jābir ibn Sinān*. 671
- Sinān ibn Jābir ibn Qurrah ibn Thābit ibn Iliyā.** The headman of the Ṣābiān of Harrān during the first quarter of the 9th century. 768
- Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah, Abū Saʿīd.** An astronomer and also chief physician of al-Muqtadir, who in 931 was placed in charge of licensing physicians. He died 942/943. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (4), 257; Sarton, I, 641; Qifṭī, p. 190; Uṣaybiʿah, Part I, 220. For his distinguished father, see *Thābit ibn Qurrah*. 377, 648, 709, 751
- Sind ibn ʿAlī.** See *Sanad ibn ʿAlī*.
- Sindī (al-), Abū al-Dīlāʾ.** A poet of minor importance. He may have come from Sind, with the name al-Dīlāʾ referring to the Indian name for a district officer, or his name may have been al-Sandī from the Arabic. 362
- Šūʿī (al-), Ḥubaysh ibn Mūsā.** He is called Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Naṣbī in the Flügel edition. He was an authority for singing, who wrote an alphabetical book of songs for al-Mutawakkil (caliph 847-861). 317
- Siqṭrī (Ibn) ibn Ashūrī.** The chief of a sect called al-Ashūrīyūn, perhaps the same as the Nestorian Assyrians. 813
- Sirāfī (al-) Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Marzubān.** He was born at Sirāf of Zoroastrian origin, studied in Arabia, served as a judge at Baghdād, and was a teacher of the author of *Al-Fihrist*. He died 979. See Khallikān, I, 377; Suyūfī, *Bughyat*, p. 221; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (3), 84. xv, 136, 183, 189, 427
- Sirāfī (al-), Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥasan.** He lived from about 941 to 995 and was a shaykh and scholar, the son of the preceding judge. See Khallikān, IV, 406. 70, 88
- Sirīn (Ibn).** See *Muḥammad ibn Sirīn*.
- Sīs (Sisinnius).** The man appointed by Mānī to be his successor, A.D. 281-282. See Puech, *Manichéisme*, pp. 53, bottom; 140, n. 223; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 316; Taqizadeh, *Mani*, p. 210, n. 4. Compare Uṣaybiʿah, Part I, 315, l. 29; Qifṭī, p. 273, l. 15. 792, 799
- Socrates (Suqrāt ibn Suqrātīs).** The great Athenian philosopher, who lived from about 470 to 399 B.C. See Qifṭī, p. 197; Uṣaybiʿah, Part I, 43-49, for Arab information. 20, 28, 590-91, 623, 859
- Soranus.** A leading medical authority, first at Alexandria and later at Rome. He lived during the late 1st and early 2nd century. See Gordon, p. 653; Sarton, I, 282; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 878; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 385. 691
- Stephanus (Stephen) of Alexandria.** A philosopher who wrote on science and medicine during the reign of Heraclius (A.D. 610-641). See Pauly, VI, 1414; Uṣaybiʿah, Part I, 103; Qifṭī, p. 71, bottom; Sarton, I, 472. 598-99, 689
- Stephanus al-Qadīm (Stephen the Ancient).** He translated Greek works on alchemy for Khālīd ibn Yazīd in the late 7th century. He may have been the same as Stephanus of Alexandria or some different person. See Ḥajj Khalīfah, III, 97; VI, 97; Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 179; II, 127, 136; III, 26. 586, 851
- Stephen son of Basil.** He was one of the scholars who translated scientific works. See Qifṭī, pp. 35, l. 19; 74, l. 7; 130, l. 7; 131, l. 2; 171, l. 10. 587

- Rufus of Ephesus. The leading medical authority of the early 2nd century, just before the time of *Galen*. See Qifī, p. 185; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 33, bottom, 34; Sarton, I, 281; Leclerc, I, 239; Wenrich, p. 220. 686
- Rūh ibn Ḥātim al-Muhallabī. He was the governor of al-Baṣrah 781-783. See Khallikān, I, 535, 539, n. 6, which gives Rūh but it may be Rawḥ. 224
- Ruhmī (al-). A tribal scholar of minor importance. 104
- Rūmī (al-). A scribe living at Baghdād about 760. He aided the jurist Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shayḥānī with his work. 505
- Rūmī (al-), 'Abd al-Jabbār. A master of calligraphy during the early years of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate. 12
- Rūmī (Ibn al-), 'Alī ibn al-'Abbas. A grandson of George the Greek. He lived from about 836 to 902 and was a popular poet of Baghdād. See Khallikān, II, 297; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VI, 185, l. 21. 283, 325, 331, 366, 374
- Rumīnī (al-), 'Alī ibn 'Isā, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Warrāq. He lived from about 908 to 994 and was a Mu'tazilī metaphysician and author, who came to Baghdād from Sāmarrā. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 280; Khallikān, II, 242; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 344; Nadīm, Cairo edition of *Al-Fihrist*, appendix, p. 6. 136, 138, 432-33
- Ruqayyah. She was the eldest daughter of Muḥammad and Khadījah, who died before her father did. See Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part I, 457. 721
- Ruqayyāt (al-), 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Qays. He was nicknamed al-Ruqayyāt for three women named Ruqayyah and was one of the five great poets of the Quraysh. He fought for Ibn al-Zubayr and died about 704. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IV, 155; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 812; Ziriklī, Part IV, 352. 244, 312, 322, 328, 346
- Rūsā (Rūshā). An Indian woman, who wrote a book on the medical treatment of women. MS 1934 gives the name in a different form, but Rūsā is taken from Uṣaybi'ah, Part II, 32, l. 27. 710
- Rustum. He was the great Persian hero. See Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, II, 23 ff. 23, 716
- Rustunī (Ibn) al-Ḥarbī. A scholar of secondary importance who wrote about the Ḥadīth, probably after 880. Compare Ḥājī Khalīfah, VI, 389; Ḥajar, *Liṣān al-Mizān*, Part I, 56. 190, 506
- Ruzayq ibn al-Zubayr al-Khalafānī. A Shī'ī jurist and author. See Ṭūsī, p. 138, bottom. 536
- Sabalān. An unimportant theologian of the Mubbirah, probably of Persian origin. 448
- Ṣabbāḥ (Banū al-). See al-Ḥasan, *Ibrāhīm* and Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ.
- Ṣābī (al-), Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥilāl ibn Ibrāhīm. He was a secretary and poet, who became chief of the secretariat of 'Izz al-Dawlah in 960. He was a Ṣābī from Ḥarrān. He was arrested in 978 and died about fifteen years later. See Shujā', VI (5), 14 (21) ff. 296
- Sābūr. See *Shāpūr*.
- Sābūr (Shāpūr) ibn al-Mubārak ibn 'Ubayd. He was called Maysarah Abū Laylā and was a freed prisoner from Daylam. He lived in the 7th century. For his distinguished son, see Abū al-Qāsim Ḥammad. 198
- Sābūr (Shāpūr) ibn Sahl. He was the son of a Christian physician of al-Ahwāz and director of the hospital at Jundī-Shāpūr. He died 869. See Qifī, p. 207;

- Stephen the Monk (Iṣṭifān al-Rāhib). He lived in a monastery at al-Mawṣil, probably in the 10th century and wrote numerous books on alchemy. See Ruska (6), pp. 9-11, 30; Fück, *Ambix*, p. 140 (18). See also the Flügel edition of *Al-Fihrist*, n. 4 to p. 195. 850, 866
- Su'ād. A girl singer from al-Kūfah at the court of al-Walīd ibn Yazīd (caliph 743-744). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VI, 112, l. 6; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part II, 182. 721
- Ṣubḥ (Ibn Abī), 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr. A tribal poet who lived at Baghdād in the last half of the 8th century. 108, 361
- Subukīkīn (Abū) Destar-Dār, Abū Maṣṣūr. He was the father of the chamberlain of 'Izz al-Dawlah (ruled 967-976). It was probably the father who had the title Destar-Dār (Keeper of the Turban), indicating that he held a high position at the court. See Ṣābī, *Wuzurā'*, p. 199; Taghrī-Birdī, Part IV, 65, 105, 108. 855
- Sudayf (ibn Ismā'īl) ibn Maymūn. He was a poet attached to the court of al-Saffāh (caliph 750-754). He died 763. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIV, 162; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 479. 330, 356
- Suddī (al-), Ismā'īl ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He was a well-known authority on early Muslim history and tradition, who came from al-Kūfah. He died about 745. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Indices, p. 223. 75
- Ṣūfī (al-). See 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Umar. 229
- Ṣufrah (Abū). The father of the famous general al-Muhallab. 229
- Sufyān (Abū). See *Wakī'* ibn al-Jarrāḥ. 377
- Sufyān (Abū). Author of the book, *Knowledge and History*. 377
- Sufyān (Abū). The merchant chief of Makkah at the time of the Prophet and the father of the fifth caliph. See "Abū Sufyan," *Enc. Islam*, I, 107; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 193. 194
- Sufyān ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab. He was appointed the governor of al-Baṣrah by al-Saffāh (caliph 750-754) and remained in the government service for a longer period. See Khallikān, I, 432; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 23, 72, 138, 142, 189, 297-300. 259
- Sufyān ibn Saḥbān. A Murjī'ī theologian and Ḥanafī jurist. See Ḥājj Khalīfah, V, 119. Compare 'Wafā', Part I, 249, for the spelling, Sufyān ibn Sakhtān. 507, 508
- Sufyān ibn Sa'īd ibn Masrūq, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Thawrī. He lived from about 715 to 778 and was a scholar famous for his knowledge of the Ḥadīth and the law, as well as for his asceticism. He died in hiding at al-Baṣrah. See 'Aṭṭār, p. 142; Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part IX, sect. 4763, p. 151; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 249; Khallikān, I, 576. 52, 90, 443-44, 456, 504, 545-46, 552
- Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah, Abū Muḥammad. A man of al-Kūfah who lived from 725 to 814 and was a well-known scholar of the Qur'ān and the law. He was famous for piety. He died on the Makkah pilgrimage. See Sha'rānī, Part I, 48; Khallikān, I, 578. 75, 76, 90, 331, 443-44, 547
- Ṣughdī (al-) Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Imrān. An unimportant genealogist, whose father came from al-Ṣughd in Central Asia. 196
- Ṣuḥār ibn al-'Abbās al-'Abdī. A genealogist and preacher of the Khawārij during the reign of Mu'āwiyah (661-680). See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 172. Compare Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 201, which gives Ṣuḥār ibn 'Ayyāsh. 194

- Suḥaym ibn Wathīl al-Riyāḥī. He was a poet of the early Islāmic period. The Beatty MS calls his father Wūthīl, and Flügel adds to his name al-'Ānīlī. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XII, 14; XIX, 5; Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Part II, 249; Khallikān, III, 613-14. 346
- Sukaynah. She was the daughter of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī. She was called Umaymah and was married to Muṣ'ab ibn Zubayr and later to others. She died 735. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part I, 47; XIV, 163, 164; Khallikān, I, 581-83; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part II, 202. 206, 495, 721
- Sukkarī (al-). He was associated with the well-known scholar Abū Zayd al-Balkhī. Flügel and Yāqūt call him Abū al-Faḍl, whereas the surname in the Beatty MS is like Abū al-Qunbul. 304
- Sukkarī (al-), Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn. An expert on ancient tradition and a well-known scholar, who died 888/889. See Khallikān, IV, 300, n. 2; Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 89. 75, 104, 132, 163, 173, 176, 317, 345-53, 356
- Sukkarī (al-), al-Ḥasan ibn Sa'īd. He was a genealogist of secondary importance. The name may not be correct, as it is not properly given in the Beatty MS. 337
- Sulamī (al-), Abū 'Abd al-Raḥman 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥabīb. He learned the Qur'ān from the Caliphs 'Uthman and 'Alī and taught at al-Kūfah, where he died 693. See Khallikān, II, 1. 64-65, 73, 190
- Sulamī (al-), al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Ayyāsh. A scholar whose book was quoted by Ḥilāl ibn al-'Alī. He died 893/894. 191
- Sulaym. He was a scribe attached to Ja'far ibn Yaḥyā al-Barmakī in the late 8th century. He may also have been the pupil of Ḥamzah ibn Ḥabīb and the teacher of Khalaf ibn Hishām. 12, 69
- Sulaym ibn Qays al-Hilālī, Abū Ṣādiq. He was the author of the first important Shī'ī book, who fled from al-Ḥajjāj, finding refuge with his friend Abān ibn Abī 'Ayyāsh. See Tūsī, p. 162, sect. 336. 535
- Sulaymān. King Solomon. 727, 729
- Sulaymān (Abū). See (1) Dā'ūd ibn Abī Zayd; (2) Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām. 381, 722
- Sulaymān (Abū) al-Mantiqī al-Sijistānī. See Muḥammad ibn Bahrām. 18
- Sulaymān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir. A member of the Ṭāhirid family of Khurāsān, who was an official and poet during the 9th century. See Mas'ūdī, VII, 395; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1524, 1725 ff. 355
- Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik. The caliph at Damascus, 715-717. 381, 722
- Sulaymān ibn Abī al-Ḥasan, Abū Aḥmad. He was a member of the family of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥlah, skilled in calligraphy. 18
- Sulaymān ibn Abī Ja'far. A general in the service of al-Ḥādī (caliph 785-786). See Mas'ūdī, VI, 266. 274
- Sulaymān ibn Abī Sahl ibn Nawbakht. A secretary and poet, whose father was Ismā'il ibn 'Alī al-Nawbakhtī. 368
- Sulaymān ibn Abī Shaykh. See Ibn Abī Shaykh. 867
- Sulaymān (Ibn), Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān. He was an alchemist, probably from Egypt and living in the late 9th or early 10th century. 867
- Sulaymān ibn 'Alī. The governor of al-Baṣrah under al-Saffāh. He died about 759. See Mas'ūdī, VI, 177; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 643; II, 619, l. 22. 99, 205
- Sulaymān ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Ishāq, Abū Dā'ūd al-Sijistānī. He was born in 817, 867

- traveled extensively, compiled one of the great collections of the Ḥadīth, and died at al-Baṣrah 888/889. See Nawawī, p. 708; Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part IX, 55, sect. 4638. 76, 80, 559
- Sulaymān ibn Ayyūb ibn Muḥammad, Abū Ayyūb. A man of al-Madīnah, who wrote books about singers and court companions. 324
- Sulaymān ibn 'Isā. He wrote about the sections of the Qur'ān. Compare Sulaymān al-Shajārī (Sijzī). See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 529, l. 12; Ḥājj Khalīfah, V, 118. 80
- Sulaymān ibn al-Muhājir al-Bajālī. A poet of minor importance during the early 'Abbasid period. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 60. 356
- Sulaymān ibn al-Qāsim ibn 'Alī. He came from Karkh al-Baṣrah and lived in the first half of the 10th century. For his brother, see Ja'far ibn al-Qāsim. 127
- Sulaymān ibn Sa'd, Abū Thābit al-Kushanī. He was a secretary in charge of government correspondence for 'Abd al-Malik (caliph 724-743). See Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 301; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 837, 838. 583
- Sulaymān ibn Sa'id al-Kaysanī. Some lectures on the law were named for him by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan. See Ḥājj Khalīfah, V, 2, 68. 506
- Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad. He was one of the five leaders of the Shī'ī band at al-Kūfah, which rebelled against 'Abd al-Malik (caliph 685-705). He was killed in the Battle of Ra's al-'Ayn. See Mas'ūdī, V, 213-20. 201
- Sulaymān ibn Wahb, Abū Ayyūb. He became secretary to al-Ma'mūn when a boy and later the vizier of al-Mu'tamid (caliph 870-892). He died about 884. See Khallikān, I, 596; Mas'ūdī, VIII, 39, 64; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 256; III, 37, 40. 268, 336, 367, 408
- Sulaymān ibn al-Walīd. A blind poet attached to the Barnak Family, who died 832. See Ziriklī, Part III, 201. See also Muslim ibn al-Walīd, his well-known brother. 359
- Sulaymān al-Taymī, Abū al-Qāsim ibn Tarkhān. A man famous for his piety, who died 760/761. See Massignon, *Origines du lexique*, pp. 146, 192, n. 2; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 240; Khallikān, IV, 285, n. 3. 456
- Ṣūlī (al-). See Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣūlī.
- Ṣūlī (al-), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā. A Persian scholar, who served the caliphs from about 902 to 940, and a famous chess player. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 136; Khallikān, III, 68; Mas'ūdī, I, 161. 329, 331, 341, 372
- Ṣu'lūk, Aḥmad ibn 'Alī. He was the military chief in Persia, who captured al-Rayy and was killed 923/924. He may sometimes be confused with al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Marwarrūdhī. See Ṣābī, *Wuzurā'*, p. 56; Miskawayh, IV (1), 54-55 (51-52), 131 (117); Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2292. 303
- Ṣu'lūk, Fāris. See 'Urwah ibn al-Ward.
- Sumaysātī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan. He made an anthology of the poetry of Abū Nuwās. 353
- Sumnah. An Arab girl, about whom poetry was written. For her lover, see 'Alī ibn Ishāq. 720
- Surayj (Ibn), Abū al-Ḥusayn Ishāq ibn Yaḥyā. A Christian secretary, who was born about 912. He evidently became a Muslim and was a tax expert. The spelling of his name is not certain. See Flügel, *ZDMG*, XIII (1859), 592, where he is called Ibn Sarīh. Compare Abū al-Ḥusayn Ishāq ibn Surayj. 286, 299, 309
- Surayj (Ibn), Abū Yaḥyā 'Ubayd Allāh. A poet and singer of Makkah, who lived from 640 to 716. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part I, 97; Ziriklī, Part IV, 348. 324

- Surayj (Ibn), Aḥmad ibn 'Umar, Abū al-'Abbās. A distinguished Shāfi'ī jurist and theologian and a judge at Shīrāz. He died 917/918. See Shīrāzī, p. 89; Nawawī, p. 739; Khallikān, I, 46. 523
- Surayj ibn Yūnus ibn Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī, Abū al-Hārith. He was a jurist and authority on the Ḥadīth, as well as an expert for reading the Qur'ān. He died 849. See Taghrī-Birdī, II, 281-82; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2488. 556
- Sūrī. See *Syrus*.
- Susanjirdī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Bisht al-Ḥamdūnī. He was a pupil of Abū Sahl Ismā'īl al-Nawbakhtī in the late 9th or early 10th century. See Tūsī, p. 279, sect. 208. For Susanjird, a village near Baghdād, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 190. 441
- Suśruta (Sasard). A famous Indian medical authority, probably called Saṃhita and belonging to an early period. He was the compiler of a great book on medicine, surgery, and drugs. See Jolly, *Indian Medicine*, p. 14; Uḡaybi'ah, Part II, 32; Sarton, I, 76. 710
- Suwayd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. He was an authority on the Qur'ān and a judge at Ba'labakk (Baalbek), who died 809. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 675, l. 12; II, 27, l. 3, 33, l. 13, 150, l. 8; IV, 758, l. 21. 66
- Syncellus. He was an eminent historian, perhaps also the author of a book on medicine. The name is also spelled Syngelus. See Sarton, I, 577; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 961. 691
- Synesius. A philosopher of Cyrene, who studied with Hypatia, but became an important Christian scholar. He died some time before A.D. 430. See Sarton, I, 388; Raska (6), pp. 19, 25; Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 129, 165, 166, 175, 187; II, 57, 432; III, 60 ff. 851
- Syrianus. A Neo-Platonic philosopher, born at Alexandria, A.D. 380. He became head of the Academy at Athens, where he died, 450. He was a commentator on Aristotle and Plato. See Qifṭī, pp. 197, 42, l. 6; Sarton, I, 386; Pauly, VI, 1547. 606, 614
- Syrus (Sūrī). He was a pupil, perhaps a brother, of the great 2nd century scholar *Ptolemy*. See Qifṭī, p. 98, l. 7; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 572, bottom. 640
- Ta'abbāṣa Sharr(an). See *Thābit ibn Jābir*.
- Ṭabarī (al-). See al-Ḥasan ibn al-Qāsim.
- Ṭabarī (al-), Abū Ishāq. A pupil attached to Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid, who lived early in the 10th century. 167-68
- Ṭabarī (al-), Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Rustum ibn Yazdibān. He was a scholar at al-Baṣrah during the 9th century. 77, 87, 130
- Ṭabarī (al-), Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr. He lived from 838 to 923 and was the great authority on history and commentary of the Qur'ān. See Khallikān, II, 597; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 423. 76, 154, 314, 432, 487, 532, 539, 563-68, 604-65, 631
- Ṭabāṭabā (Ibn), Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, Abū al-Qāsim. He was a descendant of the Caliph 'Alī, who was a secretary known for his knowledge of poetry and his good literary style. He died in Egypt, 956. See Khallikān, I, 114. 21, 300, 340
- Tadhārī. He translated scientific books from Syriac into Arabic. 587
- Tadhrus al-Sinqal. A scholar who translated works on science. His name is uncertain, perhaps intended for the well-known scholar of Constantinople, Georgius

- Syncellus, of the late 8th and early 9th century. See Sarton, I, 577; Neugebauer, p. 135. 587
- Taghlib (Abū) al-Ghaḍanfār 'Uddat al-Dawlat Faḍl Allāh ibn Nāṣir al-Dawlah. He was born 939/940, succeeded his father as ruler at al-Mawṣil 967, was defeated and killed, 979. See Khallikān, I, 405; "al-Ghaḍanfār," *Enc. Islam*, II, 134. 339
- Ṭahāwī (al-). See *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad ibn Salāmah.
- Ṭahhān (al-), Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh. A traditionalist and historian. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 310; III, 2392, I, 1. 179
- Ṭāhir (Abū) 'Abd al-Wahid ibn 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Hāshim al-Bazzāz. A leading reader of the Qur'ān at Baghdād, who died 960. Flügel calls him al-Bazzār and the Beatty MS al-Bazzāz. 72, 78
- Ṭāhir (Abū) Ṭayfur. A member of a family of Khurāsān, which supplied numerous government employees. For his well-known son, see *Aḥmad* ibn Abī Ṭāhir. 320
- Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn. He lived from about 775 to 822 and was appointed governor of the Eastern Provinces by al-Ma'mūn, becoming founder of the Ṭāhirid Dynasty. See Khallikān, I, 649; Lane-Poole, p. 128. He was nicknamed Dhū al-Yamūnayn (Ambidexter). 94, 106, 256, 265, 275, 355, 588, 651, 741
- Ṭāhirī (al-), Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm. He was a nephew of the famous governor of Khurāsān and himself governor of Baghdād. He died about 850. See Khallikān, III, 496, 498, n. 11, 612. 77
- Ṭalmūrah (Ṭahmūrah Shāh). He was a legendary king, the third member of the Pishdadian Dynasty of Persia, supposed to have given civilization to Irān. See Firdawsī, *Shahnamā*, I, 125, 128; Sykes, I, 142; Mas'ūdi, II, 111-12; III, 252 577-78
- Ṭalaqānī (al-), Muḥammad ibn Ishāq. A man interested in heretical discussion, probably during the 9th century. For his town, see Khallikān, I, 216; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 491. 449
- Ṭalḥah ibn Muṣarrif ibn 'Amr al-Ayyāmī. A man of Hamadhān who became a scholar at al-Kūfah, where he died during the first third of the 8th century. See Nawawī, p. 325. 68
- Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Taymī. An early convert to Islām, who became a general and wealthy land owner. He was killed fighting 'Alī in 656, when about 64 years old. See Wāqidī (Jones) III, Index, 1188. Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 144, 431; Mas'ūdi, IV, 136, 323. 273, 358, 436, 438, 549, 557-58
- Ṭalḥī (al-). A grammarian of secondary importance. 176
- Ṭalḥī (al-), Abū Ishāq Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh. A man of al-Basrah, who was a traditionalist and historian and who became a court companion to al-Muwaffaq. 248
- Ṭālib (Abū). See (1) *Aḥmad* ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī; (2) *Al-Mufaḍḍal* ibn Salamah; (3) 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Zayd.
- Ṭālib (Abū). He was the uncle of the Prophet and father of the Caliph 'Alī. For his family relationships, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 184, n. 2. 213, 221-22, 252, 325, 330, 543
- Ṭālib ibn al-Azhar. He was an unimportant poet. For his brother, see Ṭālūt ibn al-Azhar. 362
- Ṭālūt (Ibn). A poet influenced by the Manichaeans. He lived in the 9th century and

- served as a vizier of *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭālūt. See Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* (Nādir), pp. 104, top; Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), p. 142. 362, 804
- Ṭālūt ibn al-Azhar. An unimportant poet. For his brother, see Ṭālib ibn al-Azhar. 362
- Ṭamahān (Abū al-) Ḥanẓalah ibn al-Sharqī al-Qaynī. He was one of the Pre-Islāmic poets who became a Muslim. He died about 650. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XI, 130; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 229. 346
- Tamīm ibn Ubayy ibn Muḡbil, Abū Ka'b. A Pre-Islāmic poet, who became a Muslim and lived to be about 100 years old. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 3060; Ziriklī, Part II, 71. 173, 345
- Tamīmī (al-). See 'Alī ibn Ziyād.
- Tamīmī (al-), Abū al-Faḍl Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Malik. A man of Khurāsān, who became a master of Arabic penmanship during the early 'Abbāsīd period. 13
- Tamīmī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad. He was a prolific poet, who left Baghdad to live at al-Mawṣil, in the 10th century. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 592, l. 6. 375
- Tamīmī (al-), al-Muḡhīrah ibn Shu'ayb. He wrote a book about the system of reading the Qur'ān used by al-Kisā'ī. 67
- Tammām (Abū) Ḥabīb ibn Aws al-Ṭā'ī. He lived from about 807 to 850 and was the famous Syriac poet, who compiled the *Ḥamāsah* and also served in government positions. See Khallikān, I, 348; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XV, 100. 175, 188, 267, 295, 321, 327, 331, 339, 340, 365, 374
- Tammām (Abū) al-Ḥarār. A tribal scholar of language. The last name is not clear in the manuscripts and may not be correct. 103
- Tammām (ibn), Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Dihqān. A man of al-Kūfah, who wrote about the city in which he lived. 241
- Tārikhlī (al-), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik. He was a grammarian who wrote accounts about other scholars of grammar. See Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 114 with note. 190
- Ṭarkhān (Ibn), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan. A skilled singer, who probably lived in the second half of the 10th century. 378
- Ṭāṣarī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad. He was a Shi'ī author interested in the law and the imāmate. See Ṭūsī, p. 216, sect. 470 and note. 342, 440, 442
- Ṭathrīyah (Ibn al-), Yazīd ibn Salamah. A tribal poet who died 744 and was known for his love of *Waḥshīyah*. See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 255; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VII, 110. 314, 719
- Tawbah (Abū) Maymūn ibn Ḥafṣ. A reader of the Qur'ān, influenced by al-Kisā'ī but not in entire agreement with him. 67
- Tawbah al-Baṣrī, ibn Kaysān, Abū al-Muwarra'. He was a man of Persian lineage who was born in Arabia, went to al-Baṣrah, became a high official and died 748. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 463, l. 10; Ziriklī, Part II, 74. The name is not clear except in the Tonk MS. 362
- Tawbah ibn al-Ḥumayyir, Abū Ḥarb. He was killed in 704 and was the lover of the poetess *Laylā* al-Akhyālīyah. See Tammām, (Rückert), select. 506, 541; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part X, 67; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 269. 243, 719
- Tawbah ibn Muḍarras. A man of early Islām about whom al-Madā'inī wrote a book. 223

- Tawnā al-Ruhāwī (Thomas of Rukhā). He lived at Edessa in the middle of the 6th century and was a teacher of the Patriarch and saint, Mar Aba. See Sykes, I, 95; Scher, *Patrologia Orientalis*, VII, 171; Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, p. 318. 46
- Tawwazī (al-), 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Hārūn, Abū Muḥammad. He was a protégé of the Quraysh and a pupil of both al-Aṣma'i and Abū 'Ubaydah, who became a well-known scholar of language. He died some time after 844. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 290; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 894; Zuhaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 107. 124-25, 130, 134, 191
- Ṭayfūr (Ibn Abī) Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Jurjānī. An important historian, who wrote about the persons in whom the caliphs placed their confidence. Compare Baghdādī (Khaṣīb), I, 270, sect. 105. 241
- Ṭayfūrī (al-), 'Abd Allāh. The physician of Ṭayfūr, the influential protégé of Khayzurān, who was the mother of al-Rashīd. See Qifṭī, p. 218; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 153; Leclerc, I, 119. 694, 699
- Ṭayyāb ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī. He was a son of the famous court musician Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, and himself a singer. 307
- Ṭayyāḥān (Abū al-) 'Abd Allāh al-Taymī of al-Kūfah. He was a poet associated with Ibrāhīm and Ishāq al-Mawṣilī during the late 8th and early 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 115. 357
- Ṭayyār (Abū al-). A poet of secondary importance. Flügel gives Abū al-Bayān, but the Beatty and Tonk MSS have Ṭayyār. 358
- Ṭayyib (Abū al-). See Saūd ibn 'Alī. 366
- Ṭayyib (Abū al-) Ibn Ashnās. He wrote a book about reading of the Qur'ān. 78
- Ṭayyib (Abū al-) Ibn Idrīs. He was a brother of the great jurist al-Shāfi'i. He lived in the second half of the 8th and perhaps the early 9th century. 141-42, 145, 158, 199, 715
- Ṭayyib (Abū al-) ibn Salamah. His real name was Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl ibn Salamah, and he was a Shāfi'i jurist of Baghdād. He died 920/921. See Nawawī, p. 733; Shīrāzī, p. 90. 525
- Ṭayyib (Abū al-) al-Mulqī, a Shāfi'i jurist. See the Flügel edition of *Al-Fihrist*, note 7 for p. 214. 525
- Ṭāzādī ibn 'Isā, Abū al-Ḥasan. He was the deputy governor of Baghdād in 943, and secretary to al-Muṣṭafī, but he was scourged by Mu'izz al-Dawlah, 952/953. See Šābi, *Wuzurā'*, pp. 392-95; Miskawayh, V (2), 50 (45), 152 (145). 287
- Thābit al-Bunānī, Abū Muḥammad ibn Aslam. A man known for piety and asceticism, who died about 736. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 241; 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī al-Sarrāj, XXII (1914), 134, 322. 456
- Thābit al-Ḥarīrī. A blind Shī'i jurist. See Ṭūsī, p. 72, sect. 138; Shahrashūb, p. 25, sect. 155. 536
- Thābit ibn Abī Thābit, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Abū Muḥammad. A man of al-Kūfah, who was a scholar of tribal dialects and lived probably in the first part of the 9th century. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 396; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 210. 153
- Thābit ibn Aḥūsā. The headman of the Šābians of Ḥarrān, about A.D. 700. 768
- Thābit ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥabīb. A disciple of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim in the first half of the 9th century. 157

- Thābit ibn Dīnār, Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī. He was a companion of 'Alī, and three of his sons were killed with al-Ḥusayn. He was a reliable person for quoting the Ḥadīth, who lived at al-Kūfah and died 767. See Ziriklī, Part II, 81; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam*, Part III, 100. 75
- Thābit ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zahrūn, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī. He lived from 896 to 980 and was a Ṣābian physician at Baghdād and translator of scientific books. See Qifṭī, p. 111; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 227; Gregorius, p. 174; Ziriklī, Part II, 80. 376, 648, 688, 709
- Thābit ibn Iliyā. The headman of the Ṣābians of Ḥarrān in the second half of the 8th century. 768
- Thābit ibn Jābir ibn Sufyān. He was called Ta'abbata Sharr(an) and was a famous Pre-Islāmic poet. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 209. 151
- Thābit ibn Naṣr ibn Mālik. The governor of Ṭarsūs in the early 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 730. 156
- Thābit ibn Qumā'. This name may be meant for the name which follows but may also be the name of a translator of scientific books taken from the Syriac. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, p. 283, gives a name, Caumai. This may be an Arabic rendering of that name. 587
- Thābit ibn Qurrah (Abū al-Ḥasan). He lived from 836 to 901 and was the great scholar, who translated books on science during the late 8th and early 9th century. See Khallikān, I, 288; Sarton, I, 599; Qifṭī, p. 115. *Al-Fihrist* gives the grandfather's name as Marwān, but as he was a pagan Ṣābian of Ḥarrān it was more likely Zahrūn. 585, 603, 608, 612, 634-40, 647-48, 684-85, 691
- Thābit ibn Qurthāyā. The headman of the Ṣābians of Ḥarrān in the middle of the 8th century. 768
- Thābit ibn Sīnān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah. See Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit.
- Thābit ibn Ṭiyūn. The headman of the Ṣābians of Ḥarrān in the first quarter of the 8th century. 768
- Thābit ibn Zayd, Abū Zayd Thābit ibn Zayd ibn al-Nu'mān. A scholar who helped to collect passages of the Qur'ān. 62
- Thādhīnus, an ancient author, who wrote about floods and comets. Qifṭī, p. 99, gives Bādhīnus al-Rūmī. 642
- Tha'lab, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yahyā, of Baghdād. He lived from 815 to 904 and was a famous authority on grammar and tradition, first at al-Kūfah, and later at Baghdād. See Khallikān, I, 83. [162] 86, 191, 345, 348
- Tha'lab (Ibn). He is mentioned as writing a commentary on the Qur'ān and may have been the son of the preceding scholar. 75
- Thales of Miletus. He lived from 624 to 547 B.C. and was one of the Seven Sages, a pioneer philosopher, also interested in mathematics and astronomy. See Qifṭī, p. 107; Diogenes Laërtius, p. 14; Sarton, I, 72; Heath, *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, pp. 81, 89. 590
- Tha'libah ibn 'Amir (or Mashkān). The founder of an unimportant heretical sect. See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 147; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 102-104. 452
- Thaljī (Ibn al-). See Muḥammad ibn Shujā'.
- Thana'. She was a woman scribe, the slave of Ibn Qayyūmā during the late 8th century. 12
- Thaqafī (al-). See Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd.

- Thaqafī (al-), Isā ibn 'Umar. He was a noted grammarian of al-Baṣrah, who though blind also recited the Qur'ān. He died 766/767. See Khallikān, II, 419. 68, 91-92, 111
- Thaqafī (al-), Turayh ibn Ismā'īl, Abū Ṣalt. He was a poet at the time of al-Walīd (caliph 743-744), who lived until the reign of al-Mahdī (775-785). See Ishāhānī, *Aghānī*, Part IV, 76. 18, 314
- Tharwān (Abū) al-'Uklī. He taught language among the tribes, before the middle of the 9th century. Perhaps he was the poet quoted by Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 833, l. 10. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 49. 102, 112
- Thawābah (Abū) al-Asadī. An Arab scholar at the time of Mu'awiyah (661-680). See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 48. 100
- Thawābah Family. Yūnus, a cupper of Christian lineage; his son, Thawābah ibn Yūnus; Muḥammad ibn Thawābah; Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad; Muḥammad ibn Ja'far; Abū al-Ḥusayn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Khālīd. Compare with the names which follow. 283-85, 846
- Thawābah (Ibn), Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Thawābah ibn Yūnus. He was an official and secretary, who died between 886 and 891. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 36; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1802, 1832. 12, 15, 370, 378
- Thawābah (Ibn), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. The secretary and perhaps a vizier of al-Mu'taḍid (892-902). Compare Miskawayh, IV (1), 277 (246). 265
- Thawābah (Ibn), Abū al-Ḥusayn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Khālīd. He was the son of the vizier of al-Mu'taḍid and chief of the secretariat, also a poet. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 417. 370
- Thawr (Abū) Ibrāhīm ibn Khālīd ibn al-Yamān. A Shāfi'ī jurist, who formed a code of his own, used in Armenia and Ādharbayjān. He died at Baghdād 854. See Nawawī, p. 679; Khallikān, I, 6; Taghri-Birdī, Part III, 169, 189. 82, 520, 546
- Thawr ibn Yazīd al-Kalā'i, Abū Khālīd. He was an authority for the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, who died 770. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 687; Ziriklī, Part II, 88. 65
- Thawrī (al-). See *Sufyān* ibn Sa'īd.
- Themistius. He was the son of Eugenius of Paphlagonia, a commentator on Aristotle. After living in Asia Minor and at Rome he became prefect at Constantinople. He died about A.D. 390. See Qiftī, p. 107; Sarton, I, 366; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 1024. 579, 598-606, 610-11, 614, 630, 694, 850
- Theodocus. He was the physician of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, the governor of al-'Irāq, 694-714. See Qiftī, p. 105; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 121; Leclerc, I, 82; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 1037. 711
- Theodore. He was perhaps Theodore Abū Qurrah, a learned Christian of the 'Abbāsīd period. See Qiftī, p. 36, l. 5; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 1046. 22, 27, 599
- Theodorus. He is mentioned as the physician of al-Ḥajjāj, but it is almost certainly a mistake, the title being meant for Theodocus.
- Theodorus. A man known for his interest in alchemy. See Flügel, *Ambix*, p. 118 (11); Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 174, 177, 178, 193; II, 215; III, 4, 208; Berthelot, *Origines de l'alchimie*, pp. 100, 184. 849, 852
- Theodorus of Mopsueste. He was called the Interpreter by the Nestorians. He

- wrote books, which were translated into Syriac at Edessa and had an important influence. See Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, pp. 300, 398. 46
- Theodorus. He was a leading medical authority at Jundi-Shāpūr and the physician of Shāpūr II, King of Persia 309-379. See Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 308; Sarton, I, 372; Elgood, p. 48; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 1058, No. 8. 711
- Theodosius of Bithynia. A Greek mathematician and astronomer, who was living about 100 B.C. See Qisfī, p. 108, l. 11, which misspells the name; Sarton, I, 211; Heath, *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, p. 393. 642
- Theon. He was the father of Hypatia, a great mathematician at Alexandria, famous for his knowledge of Euclid. He lived during the last half of the 4th century. See Qisfī, p. 108; Sarton, I, 367; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 341. 641
- Theon of Smyrna. A mathematician, astronomer, and Platonic philosopher, who lived in the first part of the 2nd century. See Qisfī, pp. 17, l. 19; 18, l. 10; 35, l. 6; Sarton, I, 272; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 1079. 591-93, 598, 614
- Theophilus. See *Tiflīl ibn Thūmā*.
- Theophilus, son of Theogenes. He was known for his interest in alchemy. See Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 111; II, 90, 240; III, 98, 193. 630, 853
- Theophrastus of Lesbos. A pupil of Plato and the leading disciple of Aristotle, who developed his master's work. See Qisfī, p. 106; Diogenes Laërtius, p. 194; Pauly, VI, 1853; Sarton, I, 143. 596-99, 607, 614, 633
- Thessalus, son of Hippocrates. He lived during late 5th and early 4th century B.C. and was the physician of Achelaus, King of Macedon, and the father of the younger Hippocrates. See Gordon, p. 541; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 483. 678, 691-92
- Thrasybulus. He was a friend of Galen, who addressed several works to him during the last half of the 2nd century. See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 1109. 685
- Thumāmāh ibn Ashras, Abū Bishr al-Numayrī. A Mu'tazilī theologian, imprisoned by al-Rashīd but said to have won support to the Mu'tazilī doctrine by the Caliph al-Ma'mun (813-833). See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 73; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 177; Khayyāt, *Intisār* (Nādir), pp. 20, 78-81. 261, 395, 396, 414, 429
- Tihān (Ibn al-). A man who after accepting Islām gave information about the sect in which he was reared, probably Judaism. 42
- Timotheus. He became the Nestorian Patriarch of the East in 780, and in 805 codified the church laws. See Wright, *Short History*, p. 191; Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, p. 10. 46
- Timotheus Gazaecus. A grammarian and also a commentator on Hippocrates, who lived in the late 5th century. See Diels (1906), p. 107; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 1150. 679
- Tinkalūs. He was one of the seven wise men of Babylon, to whom a number of books were attributed. See Qisfī, p. 104; Nallino, *Ilm al-Falak*, p. 193; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 352. 573, 643
- Tinqarūs. He was one of the seven wise men of Babylon. See Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 353; Qisfī, p. 218. 573, 643
- Ṭirimmāh (al-) ibn Ḥakīm. A poet of Damascus, who lived at al-Kūfah in the first part of the 8th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part X, 156; Tamunām (Rückert), select. 51. 164, 346, 364
- Tirmidhī (al-), Abū Ismā'il Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il ibn Yūsuf. A man of Baghdād,

- noted for his reliability in quoting the Ḥadīth. He died 892/893. See Khallikān, IV, 394, 397, n. 1; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 844, l. 7. 521
- Tirmidhī (al-), the Elder (al-Kabīr). He was probably Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, a famous legal authority of Baghdād, who lived from about 816 to 907. See Khallikān, II, 600. 175
- Tirmidhī (al-), the Younger (al-Saghīr). He was Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, a disciple of *Tha'lab* and a copyist, who died in 936. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 103. 132, 176
- Tirmidhī (al-), Muḥammad ibn 'Isā ibn Sawrah, Abū 'Isā. A man of Tirmidh, who compiled one of the six great collections of the Ḥadīth, which was called both *Al-Jāmi'* and *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. He died 892. See "al-Tirmidhī," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 796; Khallikān, II, 679. 78, 81, 561
- Tufayl ibn 'Awf al-Ghanawī. He was one of the famous Pre-Islāmic poets. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIV, 88. 164
- Tūfīl ibn Thūmā. He is called Thiyūfīlī by Flügel and was Theophilus, a Christian astronomer of Baghdād, who translated Greek works into Syriac and died 785. See Qifṣī, p. 109; Sarton, I, 537. 587, 601
- Tūlūn (Ibn). See Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn.
- Tūlūnī (al-), Najīb. An epistle was addressed to him by Ibn *Durustīyah*, probably in the first half of the 10th century. 138
- Tūmā (Thomas). He lived in the 9th century and translated one of *Galen's* works and probably other scientific books. See Qifṣī, p. 131, l. 15; Leclerc, I, 185. 685
- Tūnīsī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan. He is mentioned as the author of an epistle. 378
- Tunj (Ibn al-). See Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Tunj.
- Tuqayn ibn Qaṣrūnā. The headman of the Ṣābians of Ḥarrān during the middle of the 9th century. 768
- Tūr. A legendary hero who inherited a third of the world from his father Ferīdūn. See Firdawsi, *Shahnama*, I, 189. 23
- Turāb (Abū). A grammarian of secondary importance, who criticized *Kitāb al-'Ayn*. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 232, which calls him Abū Tawwāb. 184
- Turayḥ ibn Ismā'īl. See al-*Thaqafī*.
- Turīus. He wrote about dreams. See Qifṣī, p. 217, which calls him Tūrīyūs. *Al-Fihrist* has Tūrnūs or Tūryūs. 614
- Tūsī (al-), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh of Tūs. He was a pupil of Ibn al-A'rabī at al-Kūfah in the early 9th century. See Zubaydī, *Tabaqāt*, p. 225; Khallikān, IV, 262, 269, n. 1. 153, 156, 158, 345-46
- Tustarī (Ibn al-), Abū al-Ḥusayn Sa'īd ibn Ibrāhīm. He was a scholar and author, who served as secretary to Ibn al-Furāt in the 10th century. See Miskawayh, IV (1), 55 (52), 62 (58), 143 (128); Ṣābī, *Wuzurā'*, pp. 39, 60. 295
- Tūwāl (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh. A man of al-Kūfah, who was a grammarian and who died 857/858. The name may be Tūwwāl. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 20; Zubaydī, *Tabaqāt*, p. 151, note. 147, 149, 160, 191
- Tuways, 'Isā ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was called 'Abd al-Na'im and was a singer of al-Madīnah. He died 710/711, when 82 years old. See Khallikān, II, 438; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part II, 170. 309
- Tuyyāb ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 107. For his famous brother, see Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī. 307

- 'Ubayd (Abū) al-Hazmī. He was a foolish man about whom amusing stories were told. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 10. The last name is uncertain; it may be al-Khurramī, or some other form. 735
- 'Ubayd (Abū) al-Qāsim ibn Sallām. He was the son of a Greek slave who was born at Herat, in 770, studied with al-Aḡmī'i and al-Kisā'i, and became a judge. He died about 838. See Khallikān, II, 238, 486. 67, 77-78, 80, 82, 105, 113, 156, 157, 162, 171
- 'Ubayd Allāh. See (1) Sa'īd ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh; (2) Abū al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī. 735
- 'Ubayd Allāh (Abū). He was the secretary of al-Mahdī (caliph 775-785). 275
- 'Ubayd Allāh (Abū). A friend of the author of *Al-Fihrist*, who told him stories about al-Jāhiz. 398-99
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhīr ibn al-Ḥusayn. He was the son and grandson of famous governors of Khurāsān. He became chief of the police at Baghdād. He died 913. He was also a man interested in literature. See Khallikān, II, 79. 355, 474
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ya'qub. A secretary who wrote some poetry and whose father was attached to al-Mahdī (caliph 775-785). For his father, see Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 490. 256, 369
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Sa'īd al-Warrāq. He was a copyist and unimportant scholar of history, genealogy, and poetry. 239
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad, Abū al-Faḥ. He was nicknamed Jakhjakh and was a grammarian of Baghdād, who lived in the 10th century. He helped Ibn Durayd and al-Zāhid to compile their books. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 319. 134, 167-68
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhīr, Abū al-Ḥusayn. He wrote books to supplement his father's works about the caliphs. He died after the reign of al-Muqtadir (908-932). See Khallikān, I, 291, n. 7. For his father, see Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhīr. 272, 321, 322
- 'Ubayd Allāh ('Abd Allāh) ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Zayd Ya'qub al-Anbarī. He was a Shī'ī author living at Wasīṭ, probably during the 10th century. See Ṭūsī, p. 186, sect. 400. His surname was Abū Ṭālib. 491
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Alī, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥalabī. A jurist of al-Kūfah, who went with his family to Aleppo. See Ṭūsī, p. 203, sect. 443; Shahrashūb, p. 69, sect. 510. In *Al-Fihrist* he is called 'Abd Allāh, probably a mistake. 536
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Amrān. See 'Ubayd ibn 'Amrān.
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr al-Ja'fī. He was a poet who died 687. See Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Part II, 18-21; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 463; Ziriklī, Part IV, 346. 359
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan (al-Ḥusayn). See Abū al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī.
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ishāq ibn Sallām. A grammarian and associate of al-Madā'īnī in the late 8th and early 9th century. 178
- 'Ubayd (Allāh) ibn Ismā'īl al-Habbārī. He was an authority for the Ḥadīth, who taught al-Ṭabarī and lived in the 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, III, 471, sect. 2889. 563
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ma'mar ibn 'Uthmān. A leader of the Quraysh, who took part in the early wars of Islām. He died 650. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 2697, 2699, 2830; Ziriklī, Part IV, 355. 722

- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik. He wrote books about alcoholic drinking and may be the same as the scholar who follows. 338
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt. He was a secretary who wrote poetry and essays. See Ṭaharī, *Annales*, Part III, 1376. The Beatty MS has 'Abd Allāh. For his father, who died 847/848, see Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik. 369
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Qays. See al-Ruqayyāt. 369
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Sulaymān ibn Wabḥ, Abū al-Qāsim. He was the vizier of al-Mu'taḍid (caliph 892-902), during whose reign he died. See Khallikān, I, 29, n. 4; III, 192; Mas'ūdī, VIII, 109, 116, 169. 131, 283, 336
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ṭālib. He wrote a book about the *Risālah* of al-Shāfi'ī and was refuted by Ibn al-Sayrafī, who died 941/942. 542
- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khāqān, Abū al-Ḥasan. He lived from 824 to 876 and was the vizier of al-Mutawakkil, but was dismissed by al-Muntaḥir, exiled by al-Musta'in, and reinstated by al-Mu'tamid. See Mas'ūdī, VII, 197, 258, 268, 273, 296, 325. For the caliphs mentioned, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 466. 247, 409
- 'Ubayd ibn 'Amran. He was the secretary of the governor of Armenia and other officials during the early 'Abbāsid period. 274
- 'Ubayd ibn Dhakwān. A 9th century scholar of 'Askar Mukram in Southern Persia. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 95. The Beatty MS garbles the name. 130
- 'Ubayd ibn Khalaf al-Bazzāz. The leading member of the jurists following Abū Thawr in the middle of the 9th century. Compare 'Ubayd ibn Muḥammad ibn Khalaf mentioned by Nawawī, p. 680, top. 520
- 'Ubayd ibn Khirāsh. A Syrian noted for his good literary style. 275
- 'Ubayd ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Zayd ibn Thābit ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk. He was a great-grandson of the Prophet's secretary, and like him was interested in collecting passages of the Qur'ān. 62
- 'Ubayd ibn Sharyah al-Jurhumī. A native of al-Yaman, who lived from the time of the Prophet to the end of the 7th century. He was a well-known genealogist. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 265. Flügel gives the name as 'Abīd, but the Beatty MS has 'Ubayd. For the name Sharyah, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 328. 194
- 'Ubayd ibn al-Silf. He was an early Muslim who passed on a tradition about the compiling of the Qur'ān. 47
- 'Ubayd ibn Yaqṭīn. He was taken to al-Madīnah when his father was under suspicion during the time of Marwān II, but returned to al-Kūfah when the 'Abbāsid regime began in 750. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, p. 562. For his father, see Yaqṭīn ibn Mūsā. 543
- 'Ubayd ibn Zurārah. He was a Shi'ī scholar of the second half of the 8th century. See Ṭūsī, pp. 141, bottom; 202, sect. 438. For his father, see Zurārah 'Abd Rabbah ibn A'yan. 537
- 'Ubayd al-Kayyis. One of the persons who introduced juggling and sleight of hand into the Muslim community. 732
- 'Ubaydah (Abū) ibn Jarrāh, 'Āmir ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was an early Muslim convert, who was governor of Syria during the time of the second caliph (634-644). See Sa'd (Ibn), Part III, sect. 1, p. 297; Mas'ūdī, IV, 196, 197, 211; Ziriklī, Part IV, 21. 558
- 'Ubaydah (Abū) Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā. The great grammarian of al-Baṣrah,

- who lived from about 728 to 824. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 164; Khallikān, III, 388. 76-77, 83, 87, 98, 115-18, 120, 125, 190, 312, 348
- Ubayy (Ubai) ibn Ka'b al-Anṣārī. A man of al-Madīnah, who was a helper and associate of the Prophet. He died 642. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 18, 69; Sa'd (Ibn), index for many references. 58, 62, 81
- 'Uddat al-Dawlah. See Abū Taghlib al-Ghaḍanfār.
- 'Udhāfir (Abū al-) al-'Amī. He was a blind poet of secondary importance. 360
- Uḥaybah ibn al-Julāh, Abū 'Amr. A poet who was active in the early 8th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIII, 119. 502
- 'Ujayfī (al-). A man who was a master bookbinder. 18
- 'Ukālah ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad of al-Baṣrah. A poet at the courts of al-Mahdī and al-Hādī (775-785). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 76. 357
- 'Ulayyah bint al-Mahdī. She was a half-sister of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who lived from about 776 to 825 and was both a poetess and musician. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 83; Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 302, 333, 334; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part III, 334. 361
- 'Ulayyah (Ibn), Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'il ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū Ishāq. He was an heretical Egyptian authority for the Ḥadīth. He lived from 768 to 833. See Ziriklī, Part I, 25; Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part I, 34. 498, 521
- Unāmah bint Ḥamdūn ibn Ismā'il. She was the mother of Ibn Jassām the poet. For her father, see Ḥamdūn ibn Ismā'il. 328
- 'Umar. The second caliph, 634-644, known as 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. 47-48, 223, 486, 494, 546, 557
- 'Umar (Abū al-) al-'Alā' ibn Bakr ibn 'Abd Rabb ibn Miṣhal. He was a tribal scholar of language and dialects. 103
- 'Umar (Abū) al-A'raj. A man of early Islām about whom amusing stories were told. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 7; compare Marzubānī, *Mu'jam al-Shu'arā'*, p. 251, bottom. 735
- 'Umar (Abū) Ḥaṣṣ ibn 'Umar al-'Umarī. A pupil of al-Haytham ibn 'Adī, who lived in the late 8th or early 9th century. 219
- 'Umar (Abū) Ja'far ibn 'Umar 'Abd al-'Azīz. A reader of the Qur'ān following the method of al-Kisā'i. Flügel has 'Amr, but the Beatty MS gives 'Umar. 67
- 'Umar ibn 'Abbād. He was a theologian, probably of the 10th century. For the scholar who may have been his father, see 'Abbād ibn Sulaymān. 441
- 'Umar ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ma'mar. The son of a general who fought at the Oxus. For his father, see Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1078, 1328, 1538. 222
- 'Umar (Ibn), 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. See 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar.
- 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. See al-Shīrāzī.
- 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, 'Umar II, caliph at Damascus 717-720. 11, 223
- 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Wāhid. A reader of the Qur'ān, who followed the method of Yahyā ibn al-Hārith al-Dhamārī. 66
- 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'ah, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb. He was a famous master of passionate poetry, the son of a merchant of Makkah. He died in a naval battle between 711 and 719. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part I, 30; Khallikān, II, 372. 243, 329, 719
- 'Umar ibn Abī 'Uthmān, Abū Ḥaṣṣ al-Samarī. He quoted a commentary written by a Mu'tazilī scholar who died 761. 386
- 'Umar ibn Abī Ziyād al-Ibzārī. A Shī'ī jurist, who probably lived at al-Kūfah. See

- Ṭūsī, p. 237, sect. 515 and bottom. His family came from Izbār near Naysābūr. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 90. 536
- ‘Umar ibn ‘Alī. One of the unimportant sons of the Caliph ‘Alī. See Mas‘ūdī, V, 148-49. 330
- ‘Umar ibn Bukayr, Abū Ḥafṣ. He was a friend of al-*Farrā*’ and an associate of the vizier al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl during the early 9th century. See Khallikān, IV, 65. 76, 146-47, 158, 236, 347
- ‘Umar ibn Dharr ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥamdānī. A man of al-Kūfah, who was a teacher and scholar of the Ḥadīth and theology. He died 770. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 1528; II, 1055. 504
- ‘Umar ibn Dīrār. A tribal poet of secondary importance, known for his love of *Juml*. 719
- ‘Umar ibn al-Farrukhān, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ṭabarī. He was one of the important translators of astronomical works from Persian into Arabic. He died 815. See Qifṭī, p. 241; Sarton, I, 567; Suter, VI (1892), 27, 61; X (1900), 7. 589, 640-41, 649-50
- ‘Umar ibn al-Haytham. A scholar of al-Kūfah, who wrote a book about the Qur’ān. The Flügel edition has ‘Amr ibn al-Ḥashīm al-Kūfī. 81
- ‘Umar ibn Ḥubayrah. See Abū al-Muthannā. 235
- ‘Umar ibn ‘Isā al-Anṣī (Unayyis). A judge during the reign of al-Ma’mūn (813-833). 503
- ‘Umar ibn Lajā’. He was a poet who made fun of *Jarir* at Damascus in the late 7th or early 8th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part II, 89; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 114. 235
- ‘Umar ibn al-Mubārak. A protégé of the Khuzā’ah Tribe and a poet. See Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, IV, 326, l. 17. 358
- ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad, Abū al-Faraj al-Mālikī. A jurist of secondary importance, who died 942/943. 497
- ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Khālīd al-Marwarrūdhī. He was a 9th century astronomer. See Qifṭī, p. 242; Sarton, I, 566; Suter, VI (1892), 31, 65; X (1900), 11. Compare al-Marwarrūdhī. 656
- ‘Umar ibn al-Raḍī, Abū Aḥmad of al-Baṣrah. A Shī‘ī jurist and author. The name may be meant for ‘Umar ibn al-Rabī’. See Ṭūsī, p. 238, sect. 518. 536
- ‘Umar ibn Shabbah, Zayd ibn ‘Ubaydah. He was surnamed Abū Zayd and was a poet of al-Baṣrah, who died at Sāmarrā, 876, when 90 years old. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 48; Ziriklī, Part V, 206. 8, 246
- ‘Umar ibn Udhaynah. He was also known as ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and was a Shī‘ī jurist. See Ṭūsī, p. 239, sect. 524. 536
- ‘Umar ibn ‘Uthman. An Egyptian secretary and poet. In the Beatty MS his grandfather’s name is like Istidbār, but in the other versions there are different forms. 368
- ‘Umarah (ibn Abī). A reader of the Qur’ān at Makkah. His father may have been the Abū ‘Umārah cited by Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 376. 68
- ‘Umārah ibn ‘Aqīl ibn Bilāl ibn Jarir. He was a poet known at the court during the first half of the 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XX, 183; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1358. 125, 349, 365
- ‘Umārah ibn Ḥamzah ibn Mālik ibn Yazīd. He was a secretary and important official serving al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī, who died 814/815. He was famous for

- his literary ability, generosity, pride, and vanity. See Khallikān, II, 208, n. 8, 461-63; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 164. 66, 258, 274-76
- ‘Umarī (al-). A judge of Takrīt on the Tigris, who wrote commentaries on poetry. He is omitted by the Beatty MS. 180
- Umawī (al-), ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sa‘īd ibn Abān, Abū Muḥammad. He was a student of language, who went among the tribes to study their vernaculars, probably during the late 8th or early 9th century. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 282. 100, 105
- Umawī (al-), Aḥmad ibn Sa‘īd al-Dimashqī. A scholar of tribal dialects and folklore at the time of *Mu‘āwiyah* (caliph 661-680). See Mas‘ūdī, V, 394. 156, 191
- Umayyah (Abū) Musāfir ibn Abī ‘Anūr. He was called Dhakwān, and was a grandson of the ancestor of the Banū Umayyah at Makkah. He died 613. Two of his sons and numerous descendants were poets. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VIII, 48; Ziriklī, Part VIII, 104. For his sons, see *Muḥammad* and *Umayyah* (ibn Abī Umayyah). 258
- Umayyah ibn Abd Shams ibn ‘abd manāf. The ancestor of the Banū Umayyah. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 189. 243
- Umayyah ibn Abī Umayyah. An Arabian poet and father of three poets. See ‘Abd Allāh, *Aḥmad*, and ‘Alī (ibn Umayyah). For his father, see Abū *Umayyah*. 243, 358
- Umm al-Banīn bint ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. She was the wife of al-Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, (caliph 705-715), who was admired by the poet *Waddāh* al-Yamanī. See Kaḥḥālāh, *A‘lām al-Nisā’*, Part I, 150. 719
- ‘Uqaylī (al-), Abū al-Haydhām. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 382; Mas‘ūdī, VIII, 363, 364, 367. 95
- ‘Uqaylī (al-), Abū Shunbul (Shanbal). He was called by Flügel Abū Shibl and was nicknamed al-Khalīz or al-Khalatj. He was a poet living at the time of al-Rashīd (786-809). See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 48; Fleischer, *ZDMG*, XII, 60, sect. 14. 100, 191, 364
- ‘Uqbah al-Adhra‘ī. A man who helped to develop a legitimate form of exorcism, probably in the late 9th or early 10th century. 729
- ‘Uqbah ibn Abī Mu‘ayt (Abān), Abū al-Walīd. He was a member of the Umayyah Family, who was an opponent of the Prophet and was killed at the Battle of Badr, 624. See Qutaybah, *Ma‘ārif*, p. 35; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 49; Ziriklī, Part V, 36; Wāqidī (Jones), I, 36, 37, 82, 114, 138, 282. 549
- ‘Uqī (al-). See al-*Awwāqī*.
- Uqlīdisī (Ibn al-), Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Šālīḥ. He was a well-known chess player who probably lived in the late 9th or early 10th century. 342
- ‘Urān, Abū al-Faḍl al-‘Abbās ibn Muḥammad. An unimportant grammarian and drinking companion, probably of the 10th century. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 276. 187
- ‘Urm ibn al-Aṣbagh al-Salanī. He was a nomadic scholar of minor importance. ‘Urm is a kind of egg and may be an error. It may be meant for ‘Azam. 104
- ‘Urwah ibn ‘Abd Allāh. A man about whom amusing anecdotes were told. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 7; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XXI, 168. 735
- ‘Urwah ibn Hizām. A poet of Arabia, who died about 650. He was known for his love of ‘Afrā’. See Qutaybah, *Shī‘r*, pp. 394-99. 719

- 'Urwah ibn Udhaynah, Abū 'Āmir. A pious and learned poet of the Quraysh at Makkah, who died before the middle of the 8th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XXI, 162; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 367; Mas'ūdī, V, 319. 312
- 'Urwah ibn al-Ward, al-Ṣa'īlik (sometimes written Ṣu'lik). A Pre-Islāmic poet famous for his charity. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part II, 190; Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 425; Aṣma'i, *Fuḥūlat al-Shu'arā'*, p. 21, n. 8. 346
- 'Urwan (Ibn) ibn Zayd al-Khayl al-Ṭā'i, Maysarah. He was the son of a famous hero of early Islām. For the father, who died 657, see Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 2196; III, 2361; Ziriklī, Part V, 17. 198
- 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, Abū 'Abd Allāh. A legal authority and the son of the rebel al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām. He died at al-Madīnah 711/712, when about 70 years old. See Khallikān, II, 199. 241
- Usayd ibn Abī al-'Īs. He was an unknown person in whose name a stone at Makkah was inscribed. 9, 547
- 'Ushārī (al-). An author who wrote epistles about the salaries of governors. 378
- Ushnāndānī (al-), Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Hārūn. He was a scholar and teacher at al-Baṣrah, who died 901. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (4), 244; Khallikān, III, 39. The name comes from the Ushnān Quarter of Baghdād, the D being added for euphony. See Le Strange, *Baghdād*, p. 75; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 284. 130, 181
- Ushūnī (al-). See Aḥmad ibn Sahl.
- Ushnānī (al-), Abū al-Ḥusayn 'Umar ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Mālik. A judge and historian, who died 951/952. See Taghri-Birdī, III, 304. One mention of the name in *Al-Fihrist* is confused. 251
- Ushnānī (Ibn al-). He was an 'Irāqī jurist, perhaps the son of the judge in the preceding passage. 514
- 'Uṣārid ibn Muḥammad. A mathematician and astrologer, who also wrote the earliest known Arabic book on precious stones. See Qifī, p. 251; Sarton, I, 572; Suter, VI (1892), 66. 658
- 'Utbah. She was a slave girl of al-Khayzurān, the mother of Hārūn al-Rashīd. She was made famous by a poet, Abū al-'Atāhiyah. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 151, 183; Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part III, 245. 721
- 'Utbah (Abū) Jazw ibn Qaṭan al-Nabṭī. A tribal language scholar. The name may be Jaz' as in Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 215, l. 18; Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 137, l. 18; 152, bottom. 104
- 'Utbah al-A'war al-Kūfī. A man who wrote some poetry. Compare him with the grammarian in Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVII, 16. 360
- 'Utbah ibn al-Naḥās al-'Ījī. He was a preacher of al-Kūfah mentioned as misquoting the Qur'ān. 197
- 'Utbah ibn Sallām al-Ghulām. An ascetic of al-Baṣrah, who died 783/784. See 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī al-Sarrāj, XXII (1914), 289, 322; 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān, XVII (1911), 180; Kalābādhi, p. 12. 456, 458
- 'Uṭbī (al-) Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ('Ubayd Allāh), Abū Abd al-Raḥmān. A government secretary and scholar of historical traditions, also a poet, who died 842/843. See Khallikān, III, 106; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 267. 196, 266
- 'Uthmān, Abū. (1) *Al-Jāhiz*. (2) Abū 'Uthmān al-Dimashqī.
- 'Uthmān ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He was an authority on knowledge of Makkah, who lived in the middle 9th century or earlier. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 773, l. 24. 244

- 'Uthmān ibn Abī Shaybah. His real name was 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm (Abū Shaybā), Abū al-Ḥasan. A man of al-Kūfah, who was a jurist and authority for the Ḥadīth and who traveled extensively. He died soon after 851. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part XI, 283, sect. 6054; Taglūrī-Birdī, Part I, 136; II, 301. 553
- 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. The third caliph, 644-656. 48, 65, 72, 117, 119, 201, 247, 436, 486
- 'Uthmān ibn 'Amr. See al-*Azraq*.
- 'Uthmān ibn Jinnī. See Ibn *Jinnī*.
- 'Uthmān ibn Khālid al-Tawīl. The teacher of the famous Mu'tazilī scholar Abū al-Hudhayl. See Nādir, *Système philosophique*, pp. 19, 21, 24, 36. 382, 386
- 'Uthmān ibn Mālī. The headman of the Šābians of Ḥarrān in the last half of the 9th century. 768
- 'Uthmān ibn Ziyād. He was called al-'Ābid and was a master of calligraphy during the early 'Abbāsid period. 13
- 'Uwaymar ibn Zayd, Abū al-Dardā'. He commanded a frontier garrison in 635 and was appointed to be judge by the second caliph. See Balādhuṛī, *Origins*, pp. 186, 216, 217. 62
- 'Uways (Ibn Abī). An 8th century scholar of genealogy, tribal dialects, and traditions. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2520. 236
- 'Uyaylī (al-), Abū al-Ḥaydhām Kilāb ibn Ḥamzah. He came from the provinces in the late 9th century and became a poet and scholar at Baghdād at the time of al-Muttaṭī, about 940. See Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 382; Mas'ūdī, VIII, 363, 364, 367; Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 222. 95
- 'Uyaynah (Abū) ibn al-Muḥallab. He was called al-Muḥallabī and was a poet of al-Baṣrah, who was exiled. See Iṣḥāqī, *Aghānī*, Part XIX, 51; Khallikān, IV, 182, 196; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1215, 1320. 361
- 'Uyaynah (Abū) ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Uyaynah. He was a member of a famous family of poets and himself a poet, who lived in the late 8th and early 9th century. See Iṣḥāqī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 9. 185, 361
- 'Uyaynah (Ibn). See *Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah*.
- 'Uyaynah (Ibn Abī). See 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Uyaynah.
- 'Uyaynah ibn al-Minhāl, Abū al-Minhāl. He wrote on the Qur'ān. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 53. Compare Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 370. 77, 237
- Vaghhata. A Buddhist who lived not later than the 9th century and wrote one of the great books on Indian medicine. See Uṣaybi'ah, Part II, 32, l. 26; Sarton, I, 480; Jolly, p. 11; Siggel, "Die Indischen Bücher," *Abhandlungen*, N.R. XIV, (1950), 1118 (24). 710
- Valens, Vettius. He was an astronomer during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus (A.D. 117-161). See Nalliuo, *Ṭin al-Falak*, p. 194; Suter, VI (1892), 53. In Arabic his name is Wālīs or Fālīs. 641
- Wadā' (Ibn), 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, Abū 'Abd Allāh. A scholar and transcriber of manuscripts. 175
- Wadā' (Ibn) ibn al-Faḍl al-Asadī. A man of the Quraysh, who wrote a note about the grammarian al-Tawwazī. 124

- Waddāh al-Yaman, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ismā'il. He was a poet of Arabia executed by al-Walid, 708. See Tammām (Rückert), sect. 207, 623; Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VI, 32; Ziriklī, Part IV, 69. 719
- Wafā' (Abū al-) Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Būzjānī. He lived from about 940 to 988 and was a great astronomer and mathematician of Baghdād. See Qisṭī, p. 64, l. 17; 287; Heath (*Euclid's Elements*, I, p. 77, 85-86; Sarton, I, 666; Khallikān, III, 320; Suter, VI (1892), 39, 73; X (1900), 71. 635, 642, 667-68
- Wafrawandī (al-), Yūnus ibn Muḥammad (Aḥmad) ibn Ibrāhīm. A grammarian of secondary importance, who probably lived in the 10th century. See Sūyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 426; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 313. Hājī Khalīfah, VI, 418, calls him al-Refrāwendī. 188
- Wahb, Abū Muḥammad. He was a pupil of the well-known 10th century scholar of Baghdād, Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid. 167
- Wahb ibn Ibrāhīm (Abū Sa'īd). A Christian who copied an account of the Ṣābian sacrifices. Compare with name which follows. 755
- Wahb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Tāzādī, Abū Sa'īd. He was a secretary to the vizier of al-Muqtadir (caliph 908-932) and later with Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Shīrīzād. In old age he was blinded. See Miskawayh, IV (1), 160 (143); V (2), 112 (109), 114 (110). 283-84, 287
- Wahb ibn Munabbih, Abū 'Abd Allāh. A convert of al-Yaman, who lived from 638 to 728 and helped to develop the law and to give information about the Jews. See Khallikān, III, 671. 42, 203
- Wahb ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥuṣayn. A secretary of Ja'fur ibn Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, and also of al-Faḍl ibn Saḥl and his brother. He later became governor of Kirmān and Fars, but was drowned when on a journey before the middle of the 9th century. See Khallikān, I, 597. 267-68
- Wahb ibn Sulaymān al-Dhimīārī. A 9th century scholar who was ridiculed by al-Balādhurī. See Tabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 262, 273, 462. 247, 321
- Wahbī (al-). He was the author of a book on the *amwā'*. 191
- Waḥshīyah. She was an Arab girl loved by the poet Ibn al-Ṭaḥrīyah. See also Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part V, 275. 719
- Waḥshīyah (Ibn), Abū Bakr Aḥmad (Muḥammad) ibn 'Alī al-Kalḍānī al-Nabaṭī. He was an alchemist and astronomer of the 9th century, who wrote a book on Nabataean agriculture. See Sarton, I, 634; Uṣaybī'ah, Part II, 181, l. 25; 204, l. 7; Ruska (6), p. 10; Lippmann, pp. 352, 415; "Ibn Waḥshīyah," *Enc. Islam*, II, 427. 377, 590, 731, 732, 743, 850, 863-65
- Wakī' (Ibn) al-Buṣṭānī. An unimportant theologian of the Muḥbirah. For the name al-Buṣṭānī, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 741. 448
- Wakī' ibn al-Jarrāh ibn Malīh. He was surnamed Abū Sufyān and was a man of al-Kūfah, an authority for the Qur'ān and a jurist who lived from about 746 to 811. See Nawawī, p. 614, which gives a different date for his death. See also Sha'rānī, Part I, 53, bottom; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 153. 76, 81, 152, 191, 548
- Wakī' al-Qaḍī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān. A man of Baghdād who was the secretary of the judge Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf and then himself judge at al-Ahwāz. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 848; Ziriklī, Part VI, 347; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam*, Part IX, 283. 250, 330

- Wālibah ibn Hubāb, Abū Usāmah. A poet and the teacher of Abū Nuwās. He was a favorite at the court of al-Manṣūr (caliph 754-775). See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, pp. 501-502; Khallikān, I, 395, n. 1. 314, 357
- Walid I. The caliph at Damascus 705-715, known as al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik. 11, 198, 223, 792
- Walid II. The caliph at Damascus 743-744, known as al-Walid ibn Yazid ibn 'Abd al-Malik. For the later Umayyad caliphs, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 279. 197, 202, 218, 223, 273
- Walid (Abū al-). He was the son of a well-known Mu'tazilī scholar Aḥmad ibn Abī Duwād, and served as a judge. He wrote on the law but was dispossessed by al-Mutawakkil and died 854. For references, see his father. 409-410, 531
- Walid (Abū al-) Aḥmad ibn 'Iqāl. He was a poet of the time of al-Hādī (caliph 785-786). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 153. 357
- Walid ibn Mu'awiyah ibn 'Abd al-Malik. An officer of Marwān II, killed by al-Saffāh, 750. See Mas'ūdī, VI, 70, 75. 275
- Walid (al-) ibn Muslim, Abū al-'Abbās. He was a traditionalist and historian of Damascus, who lived from 737 to 810. See Nawawī, p. 618; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 148, 304; Ziriklī, Part IX, 143. 551, 240
- Walid (al-) ibn 'Uhayd Allāh. See al-Buḥārī.
- Wallād (Ibn), Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Wallād al-Tamīmī. He originated at al-Baṣrah, but lived in Egypt as a grammarian. He died 944. See Ziriklī, Part I, 198. Compare variation in Kaḥlālāh, *Mu'jam*, Part II, 167. 185
- Wāqid ibn 'Amr al-Tamīmī. He wrote an account of Bābak, the 9th century rebel of Ādharbayjān. 818-19
- Wāqidī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar. He lived from about 747 to 823 and came from al-Madīnah to Baghdād, where he was a judge and great authority for the life of the Prophet. See Khallikān, III, 61. 49, 78, 202, 206, 213, 214-16, 519
- Wāqidī (al-), Abū Muslim 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Wāqid. A member of a family, which came to al-'Irāq from Tūs. He was probably a teacher of al-Kisā'ī in the last half of the 8th century. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 561, l. 18. 67, 146, 214
- Warraqā'. He is mentioned as quoting Abū Najīb and probably lived in the late 8th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 116. The name may be Warqā'. 75
- Waraqah ibn Nawfal ibn Asad al-Asadī. He was a nephew of Khadījah, known for his wisdom and leadership as well as his poetry. He died about 611. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part III, 13, bottom; Ziriklī, Part IX, 131. 363
- Warrās (Abū al-) al-Khuzā'i. A poet of secondary importance; whose name is omitted by Flügel. 359
- Warsnānī (al-). See Abū Hātim Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdān.
- Washshā' (Ibn al-), Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ishāq. A man of Baghdād, who was a scholar interested in history and poetry. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 277; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 7. 186, 353
- Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā' al-Ghazzāl, Abū Hudhayfah. He lived from about 699 to 748 at al-Baṣrah, and was a pupil of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. He was often said to have started the Mu'tazilī movement. See Khallikān, III, 642; Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* (Nādir), pp. 62, 68, 150-52, 155; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 25, 44; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 223; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 34, 35, 119, 121 ff. 382-86, 428

- Wāṣil ibn Ḥayyān al-Aḥḍab. He was a man of influence and a patron of the well-known reader of the Qur'ān, Abū Bakr ibn Abī Ayyāsh. See Khallikān, I, 553. 65
- Wāsiṭī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd. He was a Mu'tazilī theologian, who died 935. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 127, 134; Murtaḍā, p. 110. 83, 430
- Wāṭḥal ibn al-Asqā'. A convert who fled from Makkah to al-Madinah and took part in the attack on Cyprus under Mu'āwiyah. He died at Damascus about 704. See Balādhuri, *Origins*, p. 237; Khallikān, III, 439, n. 4; Qutaybah; *Ma'ārif*, p. 173, l. 17; Wāqidī (Jones), III, 1028-29 65, 724
- Wāṭḥiq (al-). The 'Abbāsīd caliph, 842-847. 124, 268, 309, 411, 695
- Wāṭḥiq (Ibn al-), Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz. A man of Baghdād, who studied with al-Ḍabbī, probably Abū Ayyūb al-Ḍabbī. 85
- Wayjan ibn Rustum, Abū Sahl al-Kūhī. He was sometimes called Wījān and al-Qūhī and was a mathematician and astronomer from Ṭabaristān, who made observations for Sharaf al-Dawlah (Buwayhid ruler, 989-1012). See Qifṭī, p. 351; Sarton, I, 665; Tūqān, pp. 249-53; Ḥājj Khalīfah, III, 449; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 185, sect. 106. 669
- Wiqā' ibn al-Ash'ar. He was called Lisān al-Hunamarah and Abū Kilāb, and was an early genealogist of Arabia, whose father became a Muslim during the first years of Islām. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 213; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 266, l. 1. 193
- Wizīr (Abū al-) Aḥmad ibn Khālid. He served as a high government official under three caliphs, about 833-861. See Mas'ūdī, VII, 148, 197; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1179, 1379. 369
- Wizīr (Abū al-) 'Umar ibn Muṭarrāf. He was a secretary and director of government departments from the time of al-Manṣūr to that of al-Rashīd. He died 802. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 491, 516; Ziriklī, Part V, 228. 277-78
- Wizīr (Ibn al-). See Aḥmad ibn al-Wizīr.
- Yābis (al-), 'Abbās. A scribe who copied *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* by al-Madā'inī. See Yāqūt, *Ishād*, VI (5), 312, which gives Ibn 'Abbās al-Yābis. 221
- Yad (Abū al-) al-Kilābī. A tribal scholar of language. 104
- Yaḥṣubī (al-) 'Abd Allāh. See Abū 'Amrān 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir.
- Yaḥyā (Abū) al-Marwazī. (1) A physician of Baghdād, who was also a geometrician and whose origin was at Marw. (2) A scholar of medicine and mathematics, who taught Maḥā ibn Yūnus and lived at Baghdād during the early 10th century. He came from Marw al-Rūdh. See Qifṭī, p. 435; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 506-507. 600, 629, 630, 667
- Yaḥyā (Abū) al-Ra'īs. He was a leader of the Manichaeans during the 'Abbāsīd period. 805
- Yaḥyā ibn Abān (Abū Manṣūr) al-Munajjim, Abū 'Alī. He worked for al-Faḍl ibn Sahl, later becoming attached to al-Ma'mūn. He was a court scholar and astrologer, buried at Aleppo 845. See Sarton, I, 566; Khallikān, III, 605; Suter, VI (1892), 29; X (1900), 8. 313
- Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was the son of 'Abd Allāh ibn Muṣ'ab. See Mas'ūdī, VI, 298. 242
- Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith. He was probably a son of the 'Abd Allāh, mentioned by Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2342, l. 6. 222

- Yahyā ibn Abī Bakr al-Miṣrī. An Egyptian interested in history. 378
- Yahyā ibn Abī Ḥafṣah, Abū Jamīl. A poet of secondary importance of the late 7th and early 8th century. See Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 481; Iṣḥāqānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 36; Khallikān, III, 347. For his more famous father, see Yazīd Abū Ḥafṣah. 353
- Yahyā ibn Abī Ḥakīm. See al-Ḥallāji.
- Yahyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr al-Mawṣilī. He was a man from al-Mawṣil, who wrote about music and other subjects during the reign of al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). 653
- Yahyā ibn Ādam, Abū Zakariyā'. A jurist and authority on the Ḥadīth, who died at Fam al-Ṣilḥ, 818/819. See Nawawī, p. 620; Qutaybah, *Ma'arif*, p. 258; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 188; III, 42. 67, 78, 82, 506, 549
- Yahyā ibn 'Adī, Abū Zakariyā'. He lived from 893 to 974 and was a Jacobite of Taktīr who lived at Baghdād and translated many ancient works. See Qifṭī, p. 361; Sarton, I, 629; Mieli, p. 96. 588, 592-93, 599-609, 612, 630, 631, 632
- Yahyā ibn Aktham, Abū Muḥammad. A scholar who was appointed Judge of Baghdād and who died 857. See Nawawī, p. 621. 82, 410
- Yahyā ibn 'Alī ibn Yahyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr, al-Mumajjim, Abū Aḥmad. He lived from about 856 to 913 and was a theologian and court favorite of numerous caliphs, especially al-Mu'taṣṣ. See Khallikān, IV, 84. 312-14, 327, 426, 428
- Yahyā ibn Bakr. An 'Irāqī jurist and author. See Ḥājj Khalīfah, IV, 4. Flügel calls his father Bakr. 513
- Yahyā ibn Bilāl al-'Ibādī. He was an unimportant poet. For the name al-'Ibādī, see Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 104-106; Hitti, *Arabs*, 247. 359
- Yahyā ibn al-Faḍl. He edited the poetry of Abū Nuwās. See Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 294. 352
- Yahyā ibn Ghālib al-Khayyāt, Abū 'Alī. He was also called Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad and was a pupil of Mā Shā' Allāh, who became an astronomer. He died 835. See Sarton, I, 569; Suter, VI (1892), 31, 64; X (1900), 9. 655
- Yahyā ibn Ḥamzah. A reader of the Qur'ān and probably the traditionalist from Damascus, who died 798. Mentioned by Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 204; III, 429; IV, 187. 66
- Yahyā ibn al-Ḥārith. See al-Dhamārī.
- Yahyā ibn Hārūn ibn Mukhlid, Abū 'Alī al-Kāthī. His name is omitted by Flügel. He was a government secretary, who was interested in poetry. 368
- Yahyā ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, al-Ḥādī al-Ḥusānī. He was a grandson of the founder of the Zaydī rule in al-Yaman. He died at Ṣa'dah 910/911. See Ḥakawī, pp. 185, 302 table, 315; "Rassids," *Enc. Islam*, III, 1126; "al-Zaidīya," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1196-97; Lane-Poole, p. 102 and table. 482
- Yahyā ibn Kāmil ibn Ṭulaybah, Abū 'Alī. He was a theologian, first with the Murji'ah and later with the Ibādīyah. See Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam*, Part XIII, 220. Flügel adds to his name, al-Khudrī. He lived during the middle of the 9th century. 411, 452
- Yahyā ibn Khālīd ibn Barmak. He was the famous vizier of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He died 805. See Khallikān, IV, 103. 112, 264-66, 366, 437, 503, 639, 655, 710, 742, 826, 850
- Yahyā ibn Ma'mīn ibn 'Awn, Abū Zakariyā', al-Baghdādī. An authority on the law

- and Ḥadīth. He died at al-Madīnah 847/848. See Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, VI, 768; Nawawī, p. 628; Khallikān, IV, 24. 556
- Yahya ibn Mu'adh al-Rāzi, Abū Zakariyā', of Balkh. A preacher and ascetic, who visited Baghdād but died at Naysābūr in 821/822. See 'Aṭṭār, p. 189; Khallikān, IV, 51; 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān, XVII (1911), 122. 456
- Yahyā ibn Muḥarak. See *Yazīdī* Family. See also Ziriklī, Part IX, 205. 361
- Yahyā ibn al-Muḥallab, Abū Karīmah. A man who wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān. 75
- Yahyā ibn Muḥammad, Abū al-Qāsim. He probably lived at Baghdād until the middle of the 10th century and is mentioned for passing on a tradition about the compiling of the Qur'ān. 47
- Yahya ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Thawbān, al-Azraqī. A poet who lived at Baghdād. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 724, l. 2. 244
- Yahyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Šā'id, Abū Muḥammad. He lived from about 842 to 931 and traveled extensively, becoming a jurist at Baghdād. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part XIV, 231, sect. 7537; Taghri-Birdī, Part III, 238. 561
- Yahyā ibn Muḥammad al-Zajjāj. He wrote a book on colors and was probably a glass worker at Baghdād. 743
- Yahyā ibn Naṣr al-Ḥawlānī. He was a Shāfi'ī jurist in Egypt. Compare Balr ibn Naṣr in Nawawī, p. 69. 521
- Yahyā ibn al-Nujaymī. He wrote a poem about the unusual or obscure. 375
- Yahyā ibn Sa'id. See Yahyā ibn Sa'id al-Qaṭṭān.
- Yahyā (Yūḥannā) ibn Sarāfyūn. He was a Christian physician at Damascus in the second half of the 9th century. See Qisfī, p. 380; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 109, l. 18; Sarton, I, 608; Leclerc, I, 113. 696, 709
- Yahyā ibn Watlithāb. A man of al-Kūfah, who was a reader of the Qur'ān. He died 721/722. See Nawawī, p. 631. 64, 69
- Yahyā ibn Ya'mar al-Adwānī al-Washqī. He was a pupil of Abū al-Aswad al-Dī'alī and a grammarian of al-Baṣrah, who became a judge in Khurāsān. He died about 747. See Khallikān, IV, 59. 90
- Yahyā ibn Yazīd. The son of an early genealogist from a family with much knowledge about the tribes. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 267. For his brother, see Isā ibn Da'b. 196
- Yahyā ibn Zakariyā' ibn Abī Zā'idah, Abū Sa'id. A judge at al-Madā'in, who died there 799/800. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 223, l. 23; Taghri-Birdī, Part II, 113. 548
- Yahyā ibn Zakariyā' ibn Yahya. He was called al-Uqlidīsī by the Beatty MS. He was a secretary and poet. See Ḥājī Khalīfah, I, 195. 371
- Yahya ibn Zayd ibn 'Alī (Zayn al-'Ābidīn) ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī. He was a descendant of the Prophet, who tried to escape when his family was under suspicion but was killed 742/743. See Khallikān, III, 276, 277, n. 9; "Yahyā B. Zaid al-Ḥusainī," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1151; Mas'ūdī, V, 473; VI, 2, 79. 823
- Yahyā ibn Ziyād ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, Abū al-Faḍl. He was a poet of al-Kūfah and a government secretary, who died about 776. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 81 ff.; Khallikān, II, 403. 258, 274, 314, 357, 378
- Yahyā al-Nahwī (Joannes Alexandrinus Grammaticus). He was a 7th century Jacobite bishop of Alexandria, also called Philoponus, who wrote about medicine and other sciences. See Qisfī, p. 354; Sarton, I, 480; Smith, *GRBM*, III, 321. 229, 358-607, 612-13, 674, 677, 681, 690

- Ya'la (Abū) ibn Abī Zur'ah. A scholar and friend of al-Māzinī in the 9th century. 130
- Yamān (al-) ibn Ribāh. A leading scholar of the Khawārij, who probably lived during the early times of Islām. See Hajar, *Lisān al-Mixān*, III, 316; Mas'ūdī, V, 442; Shahrastānī (Haarbrilcker), Part I, 155, l. 21. 452
- Yamānī (al-), Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam al-Khayyāt. He was an ascetic. See 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī al-Sarraj, XXII (1914), 208. 456
- Yāmīn (Ibn). A poet of al-Baṣrah, who was at the courts of al-Mahdī and al-Hādī (775-786). See Mas'ūdī, VI, 286. 358
- Yāmīn ibn Yāmīn. A man who was probably a Jew, who accepted Islām and gave information about his original sect. 42
- Yanbughī (Abū al-). He composed some poetry. Flügel gives his name as Abū al-Nafī', and the Tonk MS has another form, but the Beatty MS gives the name as listed. For Yanbugh, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 1039. 363
- Yāqīn ibn Mūsā. He was a leading Shī'ī propagandist, who fled from al-Kūfah when Marwān II tried to arrest him, but later served the 'Abbāsids. He died 801. See Tabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 103, 390, 486, 502, 549, 562, 567, 630, 650; Taghribirdī, Part II, 48, 52, 119, 120. 537, 543
- Yaqīnī (al-). A scribe who transcribed the Qur'ān in gold. 18
- Ya'qūb. See (1) Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥadramī; (2) Abū Yūsuf Yaqūb ibn al-Sikkī.
- Ya'qūb (Abū). See Ishāq ibn Hmuayn.
- Ya'qūb (Abū) Ishāq ibn Aḥmad al-Sijistānī (Sijzī). He followed al-Nasafī in 943 as leader of the Ismā'īliyah in Persia. He was also a scholar and author who died soon after 971. See Hamdānī, *Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, p. 252; Ivanov, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, pp. 29, 90. 472-73
- Ya'qūb (Abū) al-Rāzī. A Mālikī jurist and judge of al-Ahwāz. 497
- Ya'qūb (Ibn). A foolish character about whom amusing anecdotes were told. See Rosenthal, *Humor*, p. 10. 735
- Ya'qūb ibn Abī Shayhah. He wrote a book about the Qur'ān. This may be meant for Ya'qūb ibn Shaybah, or perhaps the son of al-Nafī'. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 154, l. 8; Ziriklī, IX, 261. 80
- Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm. See Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb.
- Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm. A disciple of Nāfi' in reading the Qur'ān. 64
- Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq. See Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī.
- Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Rabā'ī. A poet of al-Madīnah, who died 815. See Ishbahānī *Aghānī*, Part VIII, 163; Ziriklī, Part IX, 254. 244
- Ya'qūb ibn al-Layth al-Shaffār. He became the autonomous ruler of Western Persia in 872, dying a few years later. See Khallikān, IV, 301; Sykes, II, 84. 829
- Ya'qūb ibn Māhān al-Sirāfī. A man who wrote a medical book about both travel and home life. See Qifṭī, p. 378, l. 11; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 203. 700
- Ya'qūb ibn Muḥammad. See Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Muḥammad.
- Ya'qūb ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī. A secretary of secondary importance, who probably lived in the late 10th century. 298
- Ya'qūb ibn Nūh. A government secretary, who wrote poetry and compiled a brief anthology of epistles. 266, 366
- Ya'qūb ibn al-Rabī'. A secretary and poet of minor importance, who was favored at the court, and died early in the 9th century. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIV, 62; Kāhḫālāh, *Mu'jam*, Part XIII, 248; Ziriklī, Part IX, 259. 360, 367

- Ya'qūb ibn al-Sikkīt. See Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn al-Sikkīt.
- Ya'qūb ibn Tāriq. He was an astrologer who was also acquainted with Indian mathematics and who died 796. See Qifī, p. 378; Sartori, I, 530; Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, 167; Suter, VI (1892), 66. 659
- Yaqzan (Abū al-) 'Amir ibn Ḥafṣ, Suḥaym. A Negro authority for genealogy and historical traditions, who died 786/787. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (4), 226; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 3134, 3190. 203-204, 234, 403
- Yashkurī (al-). He is mentioned as an unimportant grammarian. Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 209 has al-Sukkarī. Compare Muḥammad ibn Salamah, mentioned in Ziriklī, Part VII, 18. 176
- Yazdād (Ibn) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazdād ibn Suwayd. He was a secretary and high official under al-Ma'mūn and also a poet, who died at Sāmarrā 844/845. See Mas'ūdī, VII, 3; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 1143; Taghri-Birdī, Part II, 258; III, 147. 271
- Yazdagird (Yezdigird) III. The King of Persia, defeated by the Muslims and killed 651/652. See Sykes, I, 531-44; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 158. 23
- Yazdānbakht, Abū 'Alī Rajā'. He was a leader of the Manichaeans, summoned from al-Rayy and given protection by al-Ma'mūn (caliph 813-833). 793, 801, 805
- Yazdijird ibn Mihindād al-Kisrāwī. A secretary of Persian origin at the time of al-Mu'taḍid (caliph 892-902). See Tanūkhī, p. 65; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 448; IV, 445. The Beatty MS gives al-Kasrāwī, which is unusual, while Flügel, *Ḥajj Khalifah*, II, 120, and one mention in Yāqūt spell the name incorrectly. 23
- Yazīd. He was a Syrian called al-Barbarī, who had his own system of reading the Qur'ān, probably in the 7th or early 8th century. 69
- Yazīd ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr al-Kilābī. See Abū Ziyād Yazīd.
- Yazīd II ibn 'Abd al-Malik. The caliph at Damascus 720-724. 143, 223, 719
- Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥakīm. He quoted the teachings of Sufyān ibn Sa'īd al-Thawrī, probably in the late 8th century. 546
- Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān. A brother of the Caliph Mu'āwiyah and a general, who died 633. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 166, 215; Khallikān, I, 596; IV, 554. 267
- Yazīd ibn 'Amr ibn Hubayrah. He was an officer in the service of al-Manṣūr (caliph 754-775). See Khallikān, I, 596. 224
- Yazīd ibn Hārūn, Abū Khālid al-Wāsiṭī. A conservative jurist, who came from Bukhārā and died at Wāsiṭ 821/822. See Nawawī, p. 636; Sha'rānī, Part I, 54; Qutaybah, *Mā'ārif*, p. 257. 551
- Yazīd ibn Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī. He was an orator and leader, who was killed in 744/745, when Marwān II overthrew the subjects who opposed him. See Mas'ūdī, VI, 32; Khallikān, IV, 447. 273
- Yazīd ibn Manṣūr. He was the uncle of the Caliph al-Mahdī and patron of the well-known scholar Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā al-Yazīdī. See Khallikān, IV, 70. 109
- Yazīd ibn Mazyād, Abū Khālid al-Shaybānī. He was a governor first of Armenia and later of Adharbayjān, who died 801. He was famous for slaying a rebel with the Prophet's sword. See Khallikān, IV, 218. 277
- Yazīd I, ibn Mu'āwiyah. The caliph at Damascus 680-683. 194, 201, 223
- Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab. He was the son of a great general, who after suffering from the hostility of al-Ḥajjāj became governor of al-'Irāq and Khurāsān. Later he revolted and was killed in 720. See Mas'ūdī, V, 453 ff.; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IV, 53, l. 5; VI, 101, l. 26; "Yazīd," *Enc. Islām*, IV, 1163. 202

- Yazīd ibn Muḥammad, Abū Khālīd al-Muḥallabī. A poet who lived during the reigns of al-Mutawakkil and his immediate successors. He died 873. See Mas'ūdi, VII, 257, 280, 304; Zirikli, Part IX, 242; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 87, l. 8; VI, 211, l. 16; VIII, 176-78. 241, 307, 399, 503
- Yazīd ibn Salamah. See Ibn al-Ṭaḥrīyah.
- Yazīd ibn 'Unar. See Ibn Ḥubayrah.
- Yazīd ibn Usayd al-Sulamī. He was an officer engaged in wars against the Byzantines during the early years of the 'Abbāsid rule until about 778. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 100, 374-75, 493. 277
- Yazīd III, ibn al-Walīd. The caliph at Damascus 744. 223
- Yazīdī Family: Yahyā ibn Mubārak, whose sons were Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm, Ismā'īl, 'Abd Allāh, Ya'qūb, and Ishāq. Muḥammad had 12 sons. His grandson was a distinguished man, see name which follows. Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 72, l. 31; 90, l. 26. 109-11, 394, 399, 408
- Yazīdī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn Yahyā ibn Mubārak. He was an authority for grammar, the Ḥadīth and poetry, serving as tutor to the family of al-Muqtadir. He died 922. See Khallikān, III, 50. 77, 109-11, 164
- Yazīdī (al-) Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. A member of the distinguished Yazīdī family, who wrote about the Qur'ān. 77, 79, 111
- Yazīdī (al-), Abū Muḥammad Yahyā ibn Mubārak. He was an authority on grammar, the Ḥadīth, and Qur'ān, who lived at Baghdād. He died in Khurāsān 817/818. See Khallikān, IV, 69-77; Yāqūt, *Iṣṣād*, VI (7), 289; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 72. 110, 191, 394
- Yazīdī (al-) al-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad. He was a grandson of the founder of the Yazīdī family and a friend of Ishāq al-Mawṣilī. He died 891/892. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVIII, 73, l. 16; 90, l. 4. 110, 310
- Yazīdī (al-), Ḥāshim. A reader of the Qur'ān and a disciple of al-Kisā'ī. 63, 67
- Yazīdī (Ibn al-). He is mentioned as contributing notes about the genealogist *Daghfal*. He probably lived in the middle or late 7th century. 193
- Yazīdī (al-), Ismā'īl. A member of the distinguished Yazīdī family, who wrote about the Qur'ān. 82, 111
- Yezdijird. See *Yazdajird*, the King of Persia.
- Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh. See Ibn Māsawayh.
- Yūḥannā ibn Yūsuf, Abū 'Amr al-Kātib. A man who translated one of Plato's works. 588
- Yūḥannā al-Qass. He was a priest named Yūḥannā ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥārith, who lived during the late 9th and early 10th century and translated many Greek works on mathematics into Arabic. See Qiftī, p. 380; Sarton, I, 600; Heath, *Euclid's Elements*, I, 87; Suter, VI (1892), 38; X (1900), 60. 578, 635, 666
- Yūnus. The Prophet Jonah.
- Yūnus al-Qass. He was a priest who gave the author of *Al-Fihrist* information about the Christian Scriptures. xv, 45
- Yūnus ibn 'Abd al-A'lā al-Miṣrī. A Mālikī jurist and teacher, who died 877/878. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 100 and 423, sections 996, 1679; III, 544, section 3053; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 247, 337; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 176, bottom; III, 240. 564
- Yūnus ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Abū Muḥammad. He was a Shī'ī jurist and prolific

- author who probably died about 823. See Tūsi, p. 366, sect. 803; Ziriklī, Part IX, 345. 537
- Yūnus ibn (Abī) Farwāh. He was the secretary of 'Isā ibn Mūsā, governor of al-Ahwāz, and later of al-Kūfah, during the early Abbāsid period. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 329, 604. The name is written incorrectly by Flügel. 274
- Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb, Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān. A man of Persian origin, but born at al-Jabbul, for which place see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 23. He lived from about 708 to 798 and was the great authority of al-Baṣrah on philology and grammar. Many of his pupils became important men of the period. See Khallikān, IV, 586. 63, 76, 92, 93, 111, 118-19, 123, 158
- Yūnus ibn Sulaymān, Abū Sulaymān al-Kātib. A Persian singer, who was brought to Damascus by al-Walīd in 742. He was the author of books about singing and singing girls. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IV, 114. 317
- Yūnus Lubābah. He was a cupper who lived about 800 and was the ancestor of numerous famous men of letters. See *Thawābah* Family. 283
- Yūsha' Bakht (Isho' Bōkt). A bishop in Persia during 544, who became a leader of importance. See Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, p. 322. 429
- Yūsha' ibn Nūn. The Nestorian Patriarch of the East 823-827. See Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, p. 14; Wright, *Short History*, p. 216. The name is garbled in the Flügel edition. 46
- Yūsha' Yaḥb. He was Nestorian Patriarch of the East during the 6th century. See Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, p. 391. The name is not clear in the Flügel edition. 46
- Yūsuf. The patriarch Joseph of the Bible. 27, 39
- Yūsuf (Abū). See Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī.
- Yūsuf (Abū) Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qāḍī. He served the caliphs al-Mahdī, al-Hādī, and al-Rashīd, and was the first person to be called "Judge of the Judges" and to order all magistrates to wear black turbans and cloaks. He died 798/799. See Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part VI, 300; Khallikān, IV, 272; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 251. 415, 502-503
- Yūsuf (Abū) Ya'qūb ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī. He was a mathematician and also a commentator on Euclid. See Qifṭī, p. 64, l. 21; Tūqān, p. 264; Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, L (1896), 404; Suter, VI (1892), 37; X (1900), 66. 635, 665
- Yūsuf ibn Abī Yūsuf. A judge who died about 807/808. See Khallikān, IV, 284; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 251. For his distinguished father, see Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm. 144, 502, 517
- Yūsuf ibn Asbāṭ al-Shaybānī. An ascetic preacher who died about 811. See 'Aṭṭār, p. 209; Kalābādhī, p. 12; Hajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, VI, 317. 456
- Yūsuf ibn al-Dāyah. He edited the poetry of Abū Nuwās, probably during the first half of the 9th century. 353
- Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥakam al-Qass. He was a Christian priest and physician called al-Sāhir because of insomnia. He belonged to the period of al-Mukrafi (caliph 902-908). See Qifṭī, p. 392; Uṣaybi'ah, Part I, 203; Sarton, I, 600. 701
- Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥasan. See Abū Muḥammad al-Sirāfi.
- Yūsuf ibn Khālid. He translated from Persian into Arabic in the 9th century. See Ḥājī Khalīfah, III, 98. For his more famous brother, see Mūsā ibn Khālid. 589
- Yūsuf ibn al-Mughīyah ibn Abān al-Qusayrī. A poet of secondary importance, whose name seems to be given incorrectly by Flügel. 365

- Yūsuf ibn al-Qāsim ibn Šabīh. He served as a secretary and government official both at the end of the Umayyad period and at the beginning of the 'Abbāsid regime. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 600; Ziriklī, Part IX, 323. 266, 366
- Yūsuf ibn al-Šayqal. See Yūsuf Laqwah.
- Yūsuf ibn Sulaymān. He was known for his excellent literary style, and probably served as secretary to the famous vizier. See 'Alī ibn 'Isā. 275
- Yūsuf ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī. He was the governor of al-Yaman and then of al-'Irāq under the caliphs al-Walīd and Hishām (705-743). He fell into disfavor and was killed 744/745. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 104, 105, 442, 488; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1648 ff., 1698 ff., 1770 ff., 1813 ff.; Part III, 2522; "Yūsuf B. 'Umar," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1177. 317
- Yūsuf ibn Yahyā. See al-Buwayṣī.
- Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb al-Sikkīt. A court companion of al-Mu'taḍid (caliph 892-902). For his famous father, see Ibn al-Sikkīt. 159
- Yūsuf Laqwah ibn al-Šayqal (al-Ḥajjāj). He was a secretary, poet, and skilled penman at the time of al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XX, 93. 12, 13, 267, 360, 367
- Yūsuf al-Qaṭṭān, Ibn Mūsā. A cotton worker, who wrote on the Qur'ān and quoted the Ḥadīth. He died 867. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, 1530. See also n. 3 to p. 217 of the Flügel edition of *Al-Fihrist*. 76
- Yūsufī (al-), Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was a scholar who lived during the last half of the 9th century. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVII, 6, l. 11. For his famous ancestor, see Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf. 104, 145, 151, 195, 269, 369
- Zabbālah (Ibn), Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan. An 8th century scholar of genealogy and historical traditions. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 175, l. 8; 229, l. 14; 238, l. 14; 252, l. 5; 255, l. 5. 239
- Zabbān. See Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā'.
- Zādān Farrūkh ibn Yabrā. He served as secretary to al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf. He died 701/702. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, 465-66; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 52, l. 23; IV, 325, l. 18; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, II, 458, 1034. The name is also given as Zād Infarrūkh. 581-82, 739
- Zād Hurmuz. A man who joined the Manichaean Elect and then went to al-'Irāq, where he became a leader of the sect during the early 8th century. See Flügel, *Masi*, pp. 322, 328. 792-93
- Zādwayh ibn Shāhwayh al-Iṣbahānī. A scholar who translated from Persian into Arabic. 589
- Za'farānī (al-), al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Šabbāh, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was a disciple of al-Šāfi'ī and edited his material, but not in a way that met with favor. He died 873/874. See Nawawī, p. 767; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, 32. 517, 520, 564
- Zāhid (al-), Abū 'Umar Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Mutarriz. He was an ascetic and a philologist of Baghdād, who lived from about 870 to 957. See Khallikān, III, 43. 100, 166, 167-68, 183, 190, 266
- Zā'idah ibn Qudāmah al-Thaqafī, Abū al-Šalt. He was a jurist who died during an attack in Asia Minor, probably about 777/778. See Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jan*, Part IV,

- 179; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 39. He should not be confused with the man of that name in the 7th century, mentioned in Zirikī, Part III, 70. 548
- Zajjāj (al-), Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sarī (Surī). He was a grammarian and court favorite, who died at Baghdad 922. See Khallikān, I, 28. 77, 131-33, 135, 139, 178, 185, 187, 191
- Zajjāj (al-), Muḥammad ibn al-Layth. He served as tutor to the sons of Nāṣir al-Dawlah (ruler at al-Mawṣil 929-968) and was also a grammarian. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 237. 187
- Zajjājī (al-). See Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Rahmān.
- Zajjājī (Ibn al-), Ismā'il ibn Aḥmad. A copyist who probably served al-Mubarrad in the 9th century. See Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 95. 129
- Zakār ibn Yaḥyā al-Wāsiṭī. A Shī'ī jurist and author. See Tūsī, p. 144, sect. 299. 536
- Zakariyā'. He was a nephew of a well-known scholar, Abū Mūsā Sulaymān al-Hāmid. Flügel gives a variation for "nephew." 174
- Zakariyā' (Abū). See Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī, who was called al-Shaykh.
- Zakariyā' (Abū) Janūn ibn 'Amr ibn Yūḥannā ibn al-Ṣalt. He was an astrologer of secondary importance. See Suter, X (1900), 67. 662
- Zakariyā' ibn Yaḥyā. See al-Sāfi.
- Zakariyā' ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sulaymān, Abū Yaḥyā. A *warrāq* or scribe employed by al-Jāhiz. 402
- Zakariyā' (al-Mu'nin) ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh. A Shī'ī jurist. See Tūsī, p. 145, sect. 303. 536
- Zakū (Zakō). The disciple of Mānī, who accompanied him to an audience with Shāpūr in 242/243. See Puech, p. 46. 775, 800
- Zamkūn (Ibn). A satirical 10th century poet from al-Mawṣil. The name is not included in the Beatty MS. It may be meant for Ibn al-Zamkadīm mentioned by 'Askarī, Part I, 195. 373
- Zanbūr al-Kātib. He is remembered for writing some poetry. 360
- Zanfalaṣī (al-). A calligrapher, probably of the 10th century. 17
- Zanjī (Ibn), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il. He was a secretary, author, and expert penman, who became prominent about 918. See Miskawayh, IV (1), 64 (59), 126 (113), 251 (224). 288
- Zanqitṭah. A slave of Aḥmad ibn Abī Duwād. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 54, l. 28; 68, l. 24. 734
- Zarqā' (al-), Zarzar. A poetess who was probably the slave girl of Ja'far ibn Sulayman during the early 'Abbāsīd period. She was also a popular singer. See Kaḥḥālāh, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part II, 31. 361
- Zawā'id (Ibn Abī al-), Sulaymān ibn Yaḥyā. A Pre-Islāmic poet, known for his fondness for women and wine. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XII, 170. His name is omitted by Flügel. 363
- Zawā'idī (al-). A well-known penman, probably of the 10th century. 17
- Zayd (Abū). See: (1) Aḥmad ibn Zayd; (2) Abū Zayd Aḥmad al-Balkhī.
- Zayd, Abū (al-Anṣārī). See Abū Zayd Sa'id ibn Aws.
- Zayd (Abū) al-Māzinī. He was a tribal language scholar of secondary importance. 104
- Zayd (Abū) Sa'id ibn Aws al-Anṣārī. He came to Baghdād, where he was a great

- scholar and companion of al-*Asma'ī*. He died about 830/831. See Nawawī, p. 721; Khallikān, I, 570; Ziriklī, Part III, 144.
- 78, 110, 116, 118, 119, 121, 123, 126, 156, 190
- Zayd (Abū) Thābit ibn Zayd ibn al-Nu'mān. See *Thābit* ibn Zayd.
- Zayd (Ibn). A transcriber of the Qur'ān. Compare 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Zayd.
- 12
- Zayd ibn Abī al-Zarqā'. A conservative jurist, who probably lived in the middle of the 8th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 28. 546
- Zayd ibn 'Alī. He was a great-grandson of the fourth caliph, who revolted at al-Kūfah in 740 and was killed. He was called Zayn al-'Ābidīn and gave his name to the Zaydiyyah sect. See Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), I, 410; Mas'ūdī, V, 467-73; VI, 204; "Zaid ibn 'Alī," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1193.
- 202, 237, 251, 443
- Zayd ibn Aslam, Abū Usāmah. He was a member of the Quraysh Tribe, who became a client of the second caliph at al-Madīnah. He was also the author of an early commentary. See Nawawī, p. 258. 75
- Zayd ibn Hārithah, Abū Usāmah. A slave who was adopted by the Prophet and killed when raiding Trans-Jordan, about 629. See Qur'ān, 33:37-38 for his famous divorce. See also "Zaid B. Hāritha," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1194. 208
- Zayd ibn al-Kayyis al-Namirī. The most learned genealogist of the 7th century. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, 202; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 266. 194
- Zayd al-Khayl. A grandson of one of the Prophet's Companions and himself a poet of early Islām. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVI, 47; Qutaybah, *Ma'ānī*, 19, 576, 656, 925-26, 1008, for samples of his poetry. 182
- Zayd ibn Thābit. A humble man, who became the Prophet's secretary and was chiefly responsible for compiling the Qur'ān. See Khallikān, I, 372. 47-48
- Zaydān ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sa'īd. He was a 9th century Shī'ī scholar of secondary importance. For his father, see al-Ḥasan ibn Sa'īd. 540
- Zayyāt (al-). See: (1) *Ḥanzalah* ibn Ḥabīb; (2) *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Malik.
- Zibriqān (al-) ibn Badr al-Tamīmī. He was a poet and Companion of the Prophet, who lived until 665. See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part II, 52; XVIII, 166; XXI, 174; Qutaybah, *Shī'r*, pp. 219, 250. 346
- Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh, Abū Maryam. He was from al-Kūfah. He became a celebrated student of the Qur'ān and philology. He died 701. See Khallikān, II, 1. 64
- Ziyād (Abū) al-Samuwī al-Kilābī. An unimportant tribal scholar of language and grammar. The second name may be al-Sammuwī. 103
- Ziyād (Abū) Yazīd ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr al-Kilābī. A nomad, who went to Baghdād at the time of al-Mahdī (caliph 775-785) and for forty years lived on a private estate, becoming a poet and scholar of language. See Nawawī, p. 719; Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, 55; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, VI, 439; Ziriklī, IX, 238; Kabḥālāh, *Mu'jam*, Part XIII, 238; Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, III, 157, l. 4; IV, 68, l. 1.
- 98, 156, 191, 364
- Ziyād al-A'sam. A metaphysician of the Khawārij, who wrote some epistles but no books. 453
- Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān. See the name which follows.
- Ziyād ibn Abīh. He was the son of a slave girl, adopted as a brother by Mu'āwiyah and becoming governor of al-'Irāq. He died in 673. See Khallikān, IV, 247; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 176. 87-88, 91, 193, 207, 222, 273

- Ziyād ibn 'Amr al-Ashraf ibn al-'Atkī. He was a chief of the Asad Tribe who lived in the early period of Islām. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 284. 224
- Ziyād ibn Mu'āwiyah. See al-Nābighah al-Dhubyanī.
- Ziyād ibn Unayyah ibn 'Abd Allāh. An officer who was summoned to Khurāsān when his father the governor planned to attack Bukhārā in 696. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part II, 1023. 218
- Ziyād al-Mawṣilī. An heretical leader, perhaps the Ziyād ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān mentioned by Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 104, and Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, 149. 357
- Ziyādah ibn Zayd. He was a poet murdered at Makkah by another poet, *Hudbah*, during the reign of al-Mu'āwiyah (caliph 661-680). See Ishbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XXI, 264; Tammām (Rückert), select. 153. 243, 350
- Ziyādī (al-), Abū 'Alī ibn al-Munīr. He wrote an epistle, which was commented on by the distinguished scholar Abū Zayd al-Balkhī. 304
- Ziyādī (al-), Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Sufyān. He was a descendant of Ziyād ibn Abīh, who became a grammarian in the late 8th and early 9th century. See Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 106. 125, 134
- Zoroaster son of Spitama. The great prophet of Persia, who probably lived from about 660 to 583 B.C. In the Beatty MS the name is written Zarādusht. 24, 574, 594, 823, 849
- Zosimus Panopolis. A Greek author, who died about A.D. 300 and wrote about magic and alchemy. See Ruska (6), pp. 25, 43, 44; Lippmann, pp. 75, 111, 337, 340; Sarton, I, 339; Füick, *Ambix*, p. 116; Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs*, I, 175 ff., 184 ff.; II, 107 ff.; III, 117 ff., 221 ff. 849, 852
- Zuhaydah, Umm Ja'far. The famous queen of Hārūn al-Rashīd (caliph 786-809). See Khallikān, I, 532. 264, 715
- Zubayr (ibn al-), 'Abd Allāh. He was born in 622, sided with 'Ā'ishah against 'Alī, and later revolted against the Damascus government. He was killed by the Umayyad forces in Arabia, 692. See "Abd Allāh," *Enc. Islam*, I, 33. 48, 201, 223
- Zubayr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān al-Zubayrī, Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was a Shī'ī jurist of al-Baṣrah, who died during the early 10th century. See Nawawī, p. 743; Shīrāzī, p. 88. His father's name may have been Aḥmad. 522
- Zubayr (al-) ibn Abī Bakr. See al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār.
- Zubayr (al-) ibn Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān, Abū 'Abd Allāh. A well-known blind scholar of al-Baṣrah, who died 929. See Ziriklī, Part III, 74. 82, 191
- Zubayr (al-) ibn al-'Awwām. He was a cousin and Companion of the Prophet, conspicuous in the invasion of Egypt and a member of the council to choose the third caliph. He was killed at the Battle of the Camel, 656. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 38, 43, 336; Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 161, 163, 178, 235; Khallikān, III, 64, n. 2; Sa'd (Ibn), index, for many references; Wāqidī (Jones), III, 1169, index. 317, 436, 438, 557
- Zubayr (al-) ibn Bakkār, Abū 'Abd Allāh. A scholar of historical traditions at al-Madīnah, who became the judge of Makkah. He died in 870. See Khallikān, I, 531. 203, 242, 243-44
- Zubayrī (al-), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muṣ'ab ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was a member of the family of al-Zubayr, who was born at al-Madīnah and went to Baghdād,

becoming an accomplished scholar. He lived through most of the first half of the 9th century. See Khallikān, I, 186, n. 1; Ziriklī, Part VIII, 150.

xvi, 191, 242, 244

Zufar. Abū al-Hudhayl ibn al-Hudhayl. A jurist who took over the idea of *al-ra'y* from Abū Ḥanīfah. He died at al-Baṣrah 774/775. See Nawawī, p. 254; Wafā', Part I, 243; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 249. Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part II, 476.

429, 501

Zufar (Abū) Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Makkī. He was a religious leader at Naysābūr and a scholar sometimes connected with the Mu'tazilah. See Murtaḍā, p. 93; Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* (Nādir), pp. 56, 61, 154; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 172.

429

Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā. A Pre-Islāmic poet, who wrote one of the *Mu'allaqāt* and was famous for piety. He died in 609. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, 146; Ziriklī, Part III, 87.

164, 173, 344, 345

Zuhayr ibn Ḥarb ibn Shaddād, Abū Bakr. He was also called Abū Khaythamah al-Nasā'ī and was a Ḥanbalī jurist who died 848/849. See Baghdādī (Khaṭīb), Part VIII, 482, sect. 4597; Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, 276. See also *Khaythamah* Family.

554

Zuhayr ibn Šāliḥ ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. He was a grandson of the great jurist and himself a jurist who died 915/916. For his father, see Šāliḥ ibn Aḥmad, and for his grandfather see Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.

554

Zuhayrī (al-), Abū Bakr. A friend of the author of *Al-Fihrist*.

21

Zuhdī (al-), 'Uthmān ibn Sa'd. He was nicknamed Warsh, and was born in Egypt in 728. He studied reading of the Qur'ān with Nāfi'. He became an ascetic and authority in Egypt, and died in 812. See Khallikān, III, 434. See also note 8 for p. 28 of the Flügel edition of *al-Fihrist*.

64

Zuhri (al-). See *Muḥammad* ibn Sa'd.

Zuhri (al-) Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd. An early authority on the Ḥadīth. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, 2483.

47

Zuhri (al-) ibn Abī Thābit, 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Imrān. A scholar of Arabian folklore and legend, who probably lived in the 9th century. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, 968; III, 191, 196, 204.

237

Zuhri (al-), 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Sa'd, Abū al-Faḍl. A man of Baghdād, who was a reliable scholar of the Ḥadīth. He spent some time at Sāmarrā and was judge at Iṣbahān, living from 801 to 874. See Ziriklī, Part IV, 349; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, indices p. 367 for numerous references.

204

Zuhri (al-), Ya'qūb ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān. He lived during the 8th century and was quoted because of his reputation for intelligence. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IV, 106; VIII, 93, l. 12.

49

Zubūr ibn al-Faraj. He was a secretary who composed some poetry.

367

Zur'ah (Ibn). See 'Isā ibn Ishāq.

Zurārah, 'Abd Rabbah ibn A'yan. He was called both Abū 'Alī and Abū al-Iḥṣān. He was the son of an enfranchised slave, who became a leading Shī'ī scholar at al-Kūfah. He died about 767. He was heretical, being connected with the Ghulāt. See Tūsī, p. 141, sect. 295; Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Part II, 473; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 301, l. 2.

536-37

Zurārah (Abū). He was a learned shaykh of Ḥarrān, who imposed restrictions on the Šābians early in the 10th century.

753

Zurayq (Ibn). A 10th century worker with illicit magic.

730

- Zurqān, Abū Ya'la Muḥammad ibn Shaddād ibn 'Isā. He was a Mu'tazilī theologian from the region of al-Baṣrah, who died 823/824. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 70; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 523, l. 7. 382, 389
- Zūṭī (Zūṭā). A Muslim protégé from Kābul, who was the grandfather of the great jurist Abū Ḥanīfah. See Khallikān, III, 555. 499

General Index

This index contains the names of localities, tribes, and sects, and also selected topics of a general interest. Only the most important page references are mentioned in connection with a name that occurs a great many times.

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